IBN KHALLIKAN'S

# BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

VOL. II.

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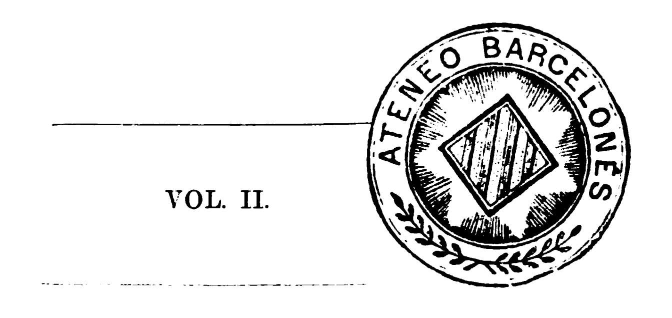
# BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC

BY


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VOL. II.


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# INTRODUCTION.

" It is a curious circumstance that the majority of the learned amongst the
" Moslims belonged to a foreign race; very few persons of Arabian descent
" having obtained distinction in the sciences connected with the law or in
" those based upon human reason: and yet the promulgator of the law was an
" Arab, and the Koran, that source of so many sciences, an Arabic book."
The justness of this observation, made by Ibn Khaldûn in his *Prolegomena*, will be admitted by those who may have occasion to consult Ibn Khallikân's Biographical Dictionary: they cannot have failed to remark that many of the individuals to whom the author has devoted an article are designated by him as *mawlas*, a term denoting their foreign origin and the precise meaning of which shall be given farther on. The reason assigned by Ibn Khaldûn for this peculiarity may not be completely satisfactory, but it is stated in a manner so highly characteristic of that writer that it cannot fail to interest the European reader.

" The (*Moslim*) religion," says he, " when first promulgated, did not
" include (*the knowledge of*) either science or art; such was the extreme
" simplicity of that nomadic civilisation (*to which this doctrine was adapted*).
" The articles of the law, or, in other terms, the commandments and
" prohibitions of God, were then borne (*not in books but*) in the hearts of men,
" who knew that these maxims drew their origin from the Book of God
" and from the practice (*sunna*) of the Prophet himself. The people, at that

" time, consisted of Arabs wholly ignorant of the mode by which learning
" is taught, of the art of composing works and of the means by which
" knowledge is enregistered; for to these points they had not hitherto directed
" their attention. Under the companions of Muhammad and their immediate
" successors things continued in the same state; and, during that period,
" the designation of *kurrâ* (*readers*) was applied to those who, being not
" totally devoid of learning, knew by heart and communicated information.
" Such were the persons who could repeat the Koran, relate the sayings of
" the Prophet, and cite the example of his conduct in different circumstances.
" (*This was a necessary duty*) inasmuch as the articles of the law could only be
" known from the Koran and from the Traditions which serve to explain it.
" The blessed Prophet himself said: *I leave with you two things which, as long as
" you adhere thereto, will preserve you from error: these are, the Book of God and my
" practice* (sunna).

" But, under the reign of ar-Rashîd, this mode of oral transmission, now so
" long continued, rendered necessary that the (*traditional*) explanation of the
" Koran should be set down in writing, and that the text of the Traditions
" should be secured against alteration, lest they should be corrupted. To
" distinguish the authentic Traditions from those of less credibility, an
" exact knowledge of the *isnâds* (1) was found necessary, and a close scrutiny
" was directed into the character of those persons through whom traditional
" knowledge had passed down.

" Whilst the maxims of law deduced from the Koran and the *sunna* rapidly
" augmented in number, the purity of the Arabic tongue underwent a gradual
" alteration; it therefore became necessary to fix the rules of grammar; and,
" as none of the sciences connected with the law could be mastered till the
" mind had acquired the faculties of elicitation, deduction, investigation, and
" comparison (the attainment of which depended on a prior acquaintance
" with the principles of the language, the rules of elicitation, those of com-
" parison, and the arguments by which the dogmas of the faith could be
" defended), the acquisition of these sciences could not be effected without
" the previous development of certain mental faculties under the tuition of

(1) See vol. I. Introduction, p. xxii.

" a master. Hence resulted that these sciences took their place among the " (*professional*) arts; and, as arts do not flourish but among people settled in " fixed abodes (a state of civilisation from which the Arabs were, of all " mankind, the farthest removed), science became a product of domiciliation, " and the Arabs were therefore averse to its acquisition. But the domiciled " people consisted, at that time, of Persians, *mawlas*, and other persons who " had adopted the Persian habits of settled life; for them, the arts and the " sciences were a customary occupation, these habits having taken root " among them at the origin of the Persian empire. Thus Sîbawaih (1), the " master in the art of grammar, al-Fârisi (2), at a later period, and, after them, " ar-Zajjâj (3), were natives of Persia; the majority of those who (to the great " advantage of Islamism) preserved the Traditions (*by learning them by heart*) " were Persians or naturalised in Persia; all the learned in the fundamentals " of jurisprudence were Persians, a fact of which the reader is well aware; " so also were the dogmatic theologians and most of the commentators of " the Koran.

" The Arabs who were contemporary with this state of civilisation pre- " ferred the customs of nomadic life: under the Abbasides, the exercise of " military command and their occupations in the service of government " diverted their attention from learning and study; attached to the state in " the quality of protectors and (*subordinate*) rulers, they were withheld by pride " from engaging in literary avocations, which, as we have just remarked, " had assumed the rank of arts; and we know that persons accustomed to " command others look upon the arts with scorn. They, in consequence, " left such studies to the Persians and the mixed race (*sprung from the inter- " marriage of the conquerors with the conquered*), fully acknowledging their ser- " vices in the cultivation of science."

The influence of the same principle by which Ibn Khaldûn was guided throughout his *Prolegomena* is strongly marked in this passage; led away by his passion for generalizing, he examined every question in the abstract,

(1) See vol. II. page 396.

(2) See vol. I. page 379.

(3) Vol. I. p. 28. — Here Ibn Khaldûn has fallen into a mistake; az-Zajjâj was preceptor to al-Fârisi and died at least fifty years before him.

and always assumed that, for one effect, a single cause was quite sufficient. This rule is by no means so certain as he imagined, and its weakness is manifest in the present case. That the Arabs, when once converted into a people of rulers and occupied in the exercise of power, neglected learning and left its culture to foreigners is a fact attested by history; that they were restrained by pride from such a pursuit is natural enough (not however because they considered it in the light of an art, but because it would have betrayed their own ignorance and incapacity), yet it still remains to be explained why foreigners were induced to devote their minds to the study of Moslim law and Arabic literature.

Though it should appear presumptuous to control the judgments of perhaps the ablest philosophical writer which Islamism ever produced, the attempt may be justified in some cases, and this is one of the number. The question which Ibn Khaldûn overlooked admits of an easy solution: learning was the only path by which members of the conquered nations could hope to reach a position which might ensure them the respect of their masters; and by learning we are to understand such branches of knowledge as could serve to elucidate the doctrines of Islamism and develop the principles of the law: they saw the Arab government unable to apply to the new state of things by which it was surrounded those vague and incoherent maxims of jurisprudence which were furnished by the Koran, the Traditions, and the practice of the first Moslims; they felt that the faculties of mind which they had themselves derived from an advanced state of civilisation could be applied with advantage to the task of collecting and discussing the Traditions, clearing up the obscurities of the Koran by the study of Arabic literature, and moulding into a regular system the ordinances of the law. This they undertook and accomplished; labouring to establish their own right to public respect, they gave consistence to Islamism; and the conquests of the Arabs received stability from the more peaceful occupations of the *mawlas*.

The word *mawla* (مولى) is derived from the verb *wala* (ولى *to be near*); its grammatical form shows it to belong to that class of nouns which are called *nouns of place* (اسماء مكان), and serve to designate either the *place* in which the *action* indicated by the verb of the same root takes effect, or the *subject* in which the *state of being* expressed by that verb has its existence. The signifi-

cation of the word *mawla* is therefore *the place in which*, or *the person in whom proximity exists*, and, in its ordinary application, it serves to denote the ideas of *master* and *slave*, *patron* and *client*, *companion*, *neighbour*, *confederate*, *relation* (*affinis*), the *granter and the receiver of a favour*, etc. It is easy to see that one general idea pervades these various significations, that of *proximity*, either in a physical or a moral sense. The primitive signification of the verb *wala* is also apparent in the derivative *walî* (ولی *propinquus*), which serves to express the idea of *friend*, and that of *saint*, because saints are *near* to God.

The relationship betwen patron and client is termed *walâ* (ولاء) and it implies mutual assistance (*tanâsur*). This mutual assistance embraces two conditions: 1. The obligation of the patron (*al-mawla al-aala*) to pay the *diya*, or fine for blood (1), incurred by the client (*al-mawla al-asfal*); 2. The right of the patron to inherit of the client; or, in other terms, that the patron should become his client's *aakila* (عاقلة *ransomer*) and *wârith* (وارث *heir*).

*Walâ* results from enfranchisement or from approximation; it is therefore of two kinds, *relationship by enfranchisement* (*walâ 'l-atâka*), called also *relationship by favour* (*walâ 'n-nêma*), and *relationship by approximation* (*walâ 'l-muwâlât*); terms for which may be substituted in English *effective patronage* and *adoptive patronage*.

Effective patronage is established by enfranchisement. The enfranchised slave becomes the client of him who enfranchises, and if he die without male heirs, his property is inherited by the enfranchiser or his heirs. Effective patronage is valid not only when the two parties are Moslims, but when they are both infidels, or when one is a Moslim and the other an infidel.

Adoptive patronage is established by a contract made with mutual consent, as when a person makes profession of Islamism to another person, and then says : " Thou art my *mawla* (*patron*), to inherit of me when I die and to pay

(1) The *diya* is the penalty imposed on the author of a homicide *per infortunium*. It consists of one hundred camels, or one thousand pieces of gold (*dinars*), or twelve thousand pieces of silver (*derhims*). The *diya* incurred for the homicide of a woman, a Christian, a Jew, or a Magian, is half the ordinary *diya*. The *diya* is incurred for having occasioned the loss of the two hands, or of the two feet, or of the two eyes; the loss of a single hand, foot, or eye, requires the penalty of a half *diya*. The whole *diya* is incurred for having caused the loss of the nose, or of the hearing, or of the reason, or of the tongue, or of the sexual organs, etc

"the fine for me when I am amerced;" and the other replies: "I accept," or: "I form proximity with thee."

The necessary conditions of this act are that the future client should be without heirs, that he should not be an Arab or a *mawla* to an Arab, that no other person had already engaged to pay the fine for blood in case of his being amerced, and that the right of inheriting and the obligation of paying the fine should be enounced when forming the contract. Islamism in one or both parties is not a necessary condition, according to the majority of the doctors: a *zimmi* may contract *walâ* with a *zimmi* or with a Moslim, and a Moslim with a *zimmi*; a man may also contract it with a woman, and a woman with a man; neither is it necessary that the act should pass in a Moslim country. The children of the client (born after the contract, for, before it, he was without heirs,) are bound by that act and benefit by the advantages which it assures them. Adoptive patronage confers on the foreign neophyte all the civil rights possessed by a Moslim, and by it he has the advantage of chosing his *aâkila*.

In the eyes of the Moslim law every individual must have an *aâkila*, that is, a person or a body of men bound to pay the fine of blood if he be amerced. The *aâkila* of a man are all those who are inscribed on the same roll (*diwan*) with him, if he be engaged in military service, or if he receive a pension from the public treasury; otherwise, it is his tribe or family; then his patron, then his clients; and if he have no *aâkila*, the public treasury pays for him. If he inhabit a city or its suburb, all the enregistered inhabitants form his *aâkila*, and if he exercise a profession there, all the members of the same trade are his *aâkila*. Each class of *zimmis* is the *aâkila* of its individual members; the *aâkila* of a *mawla* by enfranchisement are the emancipator and kindred of the emancipator, and the *aâkila* of *a mawla by approximation* are his patron and patron's kindred.

## MOSLIM EDUCATION.

The course of study universally followed in Muhammedan countries has been briefly indicated in the first volume of this work (1), but it is much to be regretted that the information we possess on this subject is very slight, and that the system of mental culture requisite to form a well-educated Moslim is a point on which great obscurity still prevails. And yet the importance of obtaining a clear insight into the causes which gave to the character of a great and polished nation its peculiar cast and form cannot but be deeply felt. Were it possible to dissipate the obscurity in which this question is involved, a more exact idea would then be formed of the Moslim mind and Moslim civilisation. In such an investigation the works of Arabic authors might be expected to afford the highest assistance, but unfortunately the documents which they have left on this subject do not enable us to view it in all its bearings. These indications are not, however, without their value; they aid us to understand some parts of the system, and from the parts we may judge of the whole. One of the most curious is that given by Ibn Khaldûn in his *Prolegomena*, where he expresses himself thus:

" To teach children the Koran is a sign of religion shown by the Moslims " in all their cities, and a duty which they universally fulfil; for by this " means the faith is firmly planted in the youthful heart, as also a know- " ledge of the dogmas which are enounced in the verses of that book. The " Koran is therefore the basis on which are reared the future faculties of " the mind; for that which is learned at an early age remains deeply im- " pressed on the memory and serves as a foundation for what follows, and " we know that the form of the edifice is determined by the disposition of " the foundations.

" The different systems followed in teaching children the Koran are dis- " tinguished by the peculiar faculties developed by each. In Maghrib (*Al-* " *giers and Morocco*), that book is taught without any accompaniment; they

(1) See vol. I. Introduction, page xxxi.

"begin by making the scholar read it over; then he learns it by heart from "the edition of the text received in that country; and he is instructed, at "the same time, in its peculiar orthography, the questions to which it "gives rise, and the various readings remarked in the systems of those "(*ancient masters*) by whom it was transmitted down. Till this first step be "surmounted, every thing else, such as Traditions, jurisprudence, poetry, and "the idiom of the desert Arabs, is excluded. It therefore happens that a "failure in this early stage of the pupil's progress puts an entire stop to "his career.

"Such is the mode of instruction followed in the cities of Maghrib and in "some Berber towns where the example has been adopted; it applies equally "to the scholar who has not attained the age of puberty, and to persons more "advanced in years who intend to recommence their studies; the result is, "that the Maghribins are more intimately acquainted with the orthography "of the Koran, and know it by heart much better than people of other "countries.

"In Spain they proceed otherwise; for, whilst they make it a rule to teach "the reading of the Koran and its orthography as actually used (because "they consider that book as the foundation of learning, the groundwork of "education, and the basis of religion and the sciences), they instruct their "children at the same time in poetry, epistolary writing, the principles of "grammar, and the art of penmanship. The acquisition of this last accom-"plishment occupies scholars till the age of puberty, so that whilst youths "obtain a knowledge of grammar and an acquaintance with the works of "the poets, they become skilful penmen and persevere, nearly all, in the "pursuit of learning. But learning subsists by transmission, and, as its trans-"mission has been interrupted in the provinces of Spain, the students of "that country can only acquire such portions of knowledge as are accessible "from the first steps of their education. This is however sufficient for him "whom God directs, and it gives him the means of reaching other branches "of learning.

"In Ifrîkiya (*the province of Tunis*), they generally instruct their children "in the Traditions whilst teaching them the Koran, to which they add the "principles of the sciences and some of the questions which they involve;

" but, as their chief object is, to communicate a correct knowledge of the
" text and various readings of that book, the art of penmanship is neglected.

" In the East instruction is also of a mixed nature, but I do not know to
" what length it is carried; we have been told however that they pay more
" attention to the culture of penmanship and of the sciences than to the
" study of the Koran.

" The people of Ifrîkiya and Maghrib, by confining their application to the
" Koran, can never attain the faculty of mastering the language. The
" reason of this we shall here explain: No peculiar faculty can be develo-
" ped in the mind by the study of the Koran, because the declaration that it is
" impossible to produce anything equal to it prevents it from being taken
" as a model for imitation; so that the student, though he may acquire an
" ample share of spiritual merit, can neither obtain a good command of
" Arabic nor a facility of diction. The people of Ifrîkiya are perhaps more
" advanced in this last respect than those of Maghrib, because, in studying
" the Koran, they learn Traditions and scientific rules; they have therefore
" a certain command of language, but they do not attain elegance of ex-
" pression.

" The habit of teaching pupils, of repeating poems and epistles, and of
" studying the rules of grammar is so general in Spain, that the natives of that
" country have acquired a complete mastery of the Arabic tongue; but in the
" other branches of knowledge their skill is inferior, because they have not
" paid sufficient attention to the Koran and the Traditions, which are the
" source and basis of the sciences. In grammar, however, and polite lite-
" rature they excel in a greater or less degree, accordingly as they have
" devoted more or less time to these occupations on terminating the studies
" which engaged their youth.

" The *kâdi* Abû Bakr Ibn al-Arabi (1) has laid down, in his *Rihla*, a highly
" curious and original plan of study. He proposes that youths should be first
" instructed in grammar and the works of the poets, conformably to the
" Spanish custom, 'for,' says he, 'language is enregistered in its poetry,
" 'and the corruption of the language renders it necessary that you should

(1) The life of Abû Bakr Ibn al-Arabi will be found in the third volume of this work.

" 'commence by that and by grammar; you should then pass to arithmetic,
" 'and, having acquired an idea of its rules, you may proceed to the study of
" 'the Koran, which, by means of these preparatory labours, will be found
" 'much easier than it generally is. You may then commence dogmatic
" 'theology (*osul ad-dîn*) and the fundamentals of jurisprudence (*osûl al-fikh*),
" 'after which you may proceed to dialectics (*djedel*), and from that to the
" 'Traditions and the sciences connected with them.' He disapproves of
" teaching two sciences simultaneously, unless the pupil be remarkably intel-
" ligent. Such are the counsels of the *kâdi*, and I acknowledge that the
" plan laid down by him is excellent; but settled custom, that influential
" element in the human character, renders it inadmissible. In taking the
" Koran for the basis of education, people are actuated by the desire of me-
" riting the divine favour, as, by this means, they protect youth against its
" own follies and preserve it from that levity of mind which not only ruins
" the knowledge already obtained or interrupts its acquisition, but would also
" prevent the young Moslim from learning the Koran. Indeed, whilst under
" the guardianship of his family, he may be retained in habitual submission,
" but, when the age of puberty delivers him from control, the storms of
" passion may soon cast him away on the coast of folly. They therefore
" take advantage of the time during which he is under command, to teach him
" the Koran, so that, at a later period, he may not be entirely ignorant of its
" contents. However, were it certain that the student would persevere in
" the pursuit of knowledge and submit to receive instruction, the system
" proposed by the *kâdi* would be the best which the people of the East and
" the West could adopt; but God ordains what he pleaseth, and no change
" can be effected in His decisions."

To proceed from this first step so well described by Ibn Khaldûn and follow the young Moslim in his path through the higher departments of study, we must have recourse to the biographical notices on their learned men. The life of Avicenna offers us a transitory glance at his early education, and therefore merits attention, but much fuller information will be obtained from the autobiography of Abd al-Latîf. In this work, he gives us a perfect outline of his own studies under some of the most distinguished masters of the epoch. Were this treatise less known, I should have felt it indispensable to insert an

extract from it here, but it has been rendered fully accessible by two editions, one in Arabic and Latin by Mousley, and the other in Arabic and French by de Sacy; the latter so admirably translated and commented that, were I to undertake a new version of it into English, I feel I should rest far—very far indeed—beneath that illustrious orientalist, my deeply venerated master.

Another contribution to the same stock of documents is furnished by Ibn Khaldûn in his autobiography. He informs us that, having learned to read the Koran and got it off by heart, he read it again according to each of the seven *readings* or editions, and then combined these various readings in a final repetition of the text. During this occupation he went over the Koran twenty-one times, and in a twenty-second repetition, he went over all the various readings. He finished by the lecture of the two editions, or systems of readings, taught by Yakûb (1). At this period, two other works occupied his attention: the *Lâmiya*, a poem of Ibn Firro as-Shâtibi, on the readings of the Koran, and the *Râiya*, another poem by the same author on the orthography of that book (2). He next studied the *Takassi*, a treatise composed by Ibn Abd al-Barr (3) on the Traditions cited in the *Muwatta* (4), and a great number of other works, such as the *Tashîl* (5) of Ibn Mâlik and Ibn al-Hâdjib's (6) abridgment of jurisprudence, but these last he did not get off by heart. During the same period he cultivated the art of grammar under the tuition of his father and of the first masters. He perused also the *Six Poets* (7), the *Hamâsa*, the poems of Abû Tammâm (8), part of al-Mutanabbi's (9) poetical works, and some of the pieces preserved in the *Kitâb al-Aghâni* (10). Under Shams ed-

(1) He means Yakûb Ibn Ishak al-Hadrami, one of the great *readers*. His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(2) See page 499 of this volume. By the *Lâmiya*, Ibn Khaldûn means to designate Ibn Firro's *Hirz al-Amâni*.

(3) In a subsequent volume will be found the life of Ibn Abd el-Barr.

(4) See page 549, note (12), of this volume.

(5) This is a treatise on grammar by Ibn Mâlik, the author of the *Alfîya*, who died A.H. 672 (A.D. 1273-4). See M. de Sacy's *Anthologie Grammaticale*, pages 203, 215, and Fluegel's Hajji Khalifa, tom. II. page 290.

(6) See page 193 of this volume.

(7) The *six poets* are Amro 'l-Kais, Nâbigha, Alkama, Zohaih, Tarafa, and Antara. See page x of my preface to the *Diwan d'Amro 'l-Kais*.

(8) See vol. I. page 348.

(9) See vol. I. page 102.

(10) See vol. II. page 249.

dîn al-Kisai, chief traditionist of Tunis, he perused Muslim's collection of Traditions and received a general licence (*ijâza*). In law he studied the abridgment of the *Mudawwana* (1) composed by Abû Said al-Baradâi, and the exposition of the doctrines held by the sect of Mâlik. He followed, besides, a general course of law and learned Mâlik's *Muwatta;* certificates were also obtained by him authorizing him to teach that book, the *Sîrat ar-Rasûl* (2), the treatise of Ibn Salâh on the Traditions, and many other works. He obtained access to the library of Abd al-Muhaimin al-Hadrami, chief traditionist and grammarian of Morocco, who had accompanied to the city of Tunis Abû 'l-Hasan, the sovereign of that empire, in the quality of secretary of state. This collection of books consisted of more than three thousand volumes on the Traditions, law, grammar, philology, the intellectual sciences, general literature, and poetry; these manuscripts were all of the highest correctness and their authenticity was guaranteed by certificates annexed to them. Under another master he studied logic, dogmatic theology, jurisprudence, and all the intellectual and philosophical sciences. Whilst pursuing his studies, he followed the public lectures at Tunis, and attended the assemblies held by the first doctors and professors of the place. He finally devoted three years to study under a *shaikh* called Abû Abd Allah al-Abbali (الابلى) "and then", says he, "I felt that I knew something." Ibn Khaldûn terminated his studies in the twentieth or twenty-first year of his age (3).

(1) See vol. II. page 86.

(2) Vol. II. page 128.

(3) This notice was just terminated, when a large manuscript, containing the biography of the doctor and historian Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Hajar al-Askalâni, by the *hâfiz* Shams ad-dîn Muhammad as-Sakhâwi, fell into the writer's hands. A chapter of this work is devoted to the history of Ibn Hajar's youth, travels, studies, etc.; but it is drawn up in such a manner that to make an analysis of it would be a very difficult task. We find however that he began by learning the Koran by heart, and proceeded to the study of the Traditions and jurisprudence; following, in fact, the same system which has been already indicated in the introduction of our first volume.




# IBN KHALLIKAN'S

# BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

## AASIM IBN ABI 'N-NAJUD.

Abû Bakr Aâsim was the son of Abû 'n-Najûd Bahdala, a *mawla* to the tribe of Jadîma Ibn Mâlik Ibn Nasr Ibn Koain Ibn Asad. His acquaintance with the koranic *readings* drew upon him general notice and ranked him as one of the seven great masters of that science. He had learned it from Abû Abd ar-Rahmân as-Sulami (1) and Zirr Ibn Hubaish (2); he taught it to Abû Bakr Ibn Aiyâsh (*see vol. I. page* 553) and Abû Omar al-Bazzâz (3), but these two varied very much in their manner of reading certain words. Aâsim died at Kûfa, A.H. 127 (A. D. 744-5).—The word *najûd* signifies *a female wild ass not pregnant*; others say that she is thus designated when keeping watch on the top of a hill. — Some persons state that *Bahdala* was his mother's name (*not his father's*). 343

(1) Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Abd Allah Ibn Habîb as-Sulami al-Kûfi (*a member of the tribe of Sulaim and a native of Kûfa*) was born in the lifetime of Muhammad. He learned to read the Koran under the tuition of the khalifs Othmân and Ali, and then taught the same science in the great mosque of Kûfa. He died A. H. 74 (A.D. 693-4).—(Ad-Dahabi's *Tabakât al-Kurrâ*.)

(2) Abû Miryam Zirr Ibn Hubaish Ibn Hubâsa, a member of the tribe of Asad and a native of Kûfa, was one of the great masters in the art of reading the Koran. He was celebrated also as a philologist, and died at a very advanced age, A. H. 82 (A. D. 701).—(Ad-Dahabi's *Tabakât al-Kurrâ*, fol. 8.)

(3) Abû Omar Hafs Ibn Abi Dâwûd al-Bazzâz, the disciple of al-Aâsim, was a native of Kûfa and a *mawla* to the tribe of Asad. Born A H. 90 (A.D. 708-9); died A.H. 180 (A.D. 796-7).—(*Tab. al-Kurrâ*.)

## ABU BURDA IBN ABI MUSA.

Abû Burda Aâmir was the son of Abû Mûsa Abd Allah Ibn Kais al-Ashari, one of Muhammad's companions, who had come to him from Yemen with the Asharites when they became converts to Islamism (1). Muhammad Ibn Saad mentions in his *Tabakât* that Abû Burda succeeded to Shuraih (*see vol. I. p.* 619) as kâdi of Kûfa. By the nobleness of his conduct and by his virtues he attained a high reputation. Abû Mûsa, when governor of Basra, married Taniya the daughter of Dammûn, a native of Tâif, and she bore him Abû Burda; the child was put to nurse with the tribe of Fukaim, which dwelt at al-Ghark (2); when grown a boy, he was dressed in two mantles (*burda*) by (*his foster-father*) Abû Shaikh Ibn al-Gharik, and brought to his father, who then surnamed him *Abû Burda*; from that time his real name ceased to be given him. Abû Mûsa was kâdi of Basra under the khalif Omar and afterwards, in the reign of Othmân, he acted as a kâdi at Kûfa; his (*grand*)son Bilâl was also kâdi of Basra: this was the circumstance which gave rise to the saying, *three kâdis in succession.*—The poet Zû 'r-Rumma composed a number of splendid poems in praise of Bilâl, and in the following verse, addressed to his camel, he alludes to him also:

> When thou reachest Bilâl the (*grand*)son of Abû Mûsa (*thy toils are at an end,*) and the butcher then may wield his axe to disjoint thy limbs.

He said also of him:

> On hearing that the tribe were roaming through the desert with their flocks in search of pasturage, I said to Saidah: "Seek abundance near Bilâl!"

*Saidah* was the name of the poet's camel.—Bilâl was one of the deputies in the service of Khâlid al-Kasri (*see his life, vol. I. p.* 484); when the latter was deprived of the government of Arabian and Persian Irak, his successor Yûsuf Ibn Omar ath-Thakafi required from him and his agents an account of what had been done with the revenues of these provinces, and employed torture to make them refund; al-Kasri and Bilâl expired under their sufferings. In a book containing a collection of anecdotes I found the following: At a public assembly Abû Burda was extolling the virtues of his father, and mentioned that he had been one of Muhammad's companions; he vaunted also the glory which accrued to himself



in being sprung from so illustrious a parent. He held a long discourse on this topic, till the poet, al-Farazdak, who happened to be present and wished to humble his pride, made the remark that, had Abû Mûsa possessed no other merit than that of having cupped the Prophet, such an honour would have been quite sufficient for his reputation. On this, Abû Burda got angry (3) and replied: "Your observation is true, but he never cupped any person either be-"fore or after."—"By Allah!" exclaimed al-Farazdak, "Abû Mûsa was too "good a man to dare make his first essay in cupping on the person of the Pro-"phet!" This retort silenced Abû Burda and forced him to smother his anger.—The following anecdote is related by Ghars an-Nima as-Sâbi (4) in one of his works: "Abû Safwân Khâlid Ibn Safwân, a member of the tribe of "Tamim, was celebrated as an eloquent speaker. He used to visit Bilâl Ibn "Abi Burda and converse with him, but his language was frequently ungram-"matical. This grew at length so irksome to Bilâl, that he said to him: 'O "Khâlid! you make me narrations fit for khalifs to hear, but you commit as "many faults against grammar as the women who carry water in the streets.' "Stung with this reproach, Khâlid went to learn grammar at the mosque, and 344 "some time after he lost his sight. From that period, whenever Bilâl rode by "in state, he used to ask who it was, and on being answered that it was the "emir, he would say: 'There goes a summer-cloud, soon to be dispelled.' "When this was told to Bilâl, he exclaimed: 'By Allah! it shall not be dis-"pelled till he get a full shower from it;' and he then ordered him a whipping "of two hundred strokes. This Khâlid was extremely giddy and never paid "the slightest attention to what he said. He drew his descent from Amr Ibn "al-Ahtam (5), one of Muhammad's companions; his grandfather Abd Allah "being that person's son. Al-Ahtam was the son of Sumaî Ibn Sinân Ibn "Khâlid Ibn Minkar, of the tribe of Tamim; and for this reason he bore the "surnames of *al-Minkari* and *at-Tamîmi*. His real name was Sinân, but when "Kais Ibn Aâsim al-Minkâri (6) struck him across the mouth with his bow and "broke his front teeth, he was called al-Ahtam (*broken-tooth*)." Others say that his teeth were broken on the battle-day of al-Kulâb (7). Shabib Ibn Shabba (8) was an uncle of this Khâlid.—Abû Burda died A. H. 103 (A. D. 721-2), but others place this event in the years 104, 106, and 107. (*Muhammad*) Ibn Saad says that Abû Burda and as-Shâbi died in the year 103 and on

the same day, which was a Friday.—We shall explain the mean ng of the surname *al-Ashari* in the life of Abû 'l-Hasan (*Ali*) al-Ashari.

(1) The conversion of the Yemenites took place in the tenth year of the Hijra.

(2) I am unable to fix with any certainty the situation of this place. The author of the *Merâsid* merely says: "*al-Ghark*, a village in the dependencies of Marw—*al Ghork*, a village in Yemâma, and a plantation of date-"trees belonging to the tribe of Adi Ibn Hanîfa."

(3) The profession of a cupper was considered by some jurisconsults as degrading. In one of the Traditions it is said: "The price of a dog is impure, and the wages of fornication are impure, and the pay of a cupper is "impure."—(Matthew's *Mishcât*, vol. II. page 2. See also the first volume of the present work, p. 501.)

(4) Mention has been made of this historian in the first volume, page 290.

(5) Amr, the son of Sinân al-Ahtam, an eminent chief of the tribe of Tamîm, an able orator and a good poet, flourished before and after the promulgation of Islamism. He and Amr Ibn Zibrikân went together to Muhammad and embraced his religion. He died A.H. 58 (A D 677-8). For further information see Rasmussen's *Historia Anteislamica*, p. 119 note; and his *Additamenta ad Hist. Islam.* p. 33.

(6) See vol. I. page 166, note (17); Rasmussen's *Additamenta*, p. 67, and *Hist. Anteisl.*—*Al-Minkari*, the surname borne by Kais, is derived from *Minkar*, the name of one of his ancestors, descended from Tamîm.

(7) For the account of this battle or skirmish see Rasmussen's *Hist. Anteislam.* p. 117.

(8) Shabîb Ibn Shabba, a celebrated preacher (*Fihrist*, fol. 171), was a contemporary of the khalif al-Mahdi. That prince had a daughter named al-Yâkûta, of whom he was so fond that he could not bear to be separated from her a single instant. He therefore had her attired in the uniform of a page, so that she might accompany him when he rode out. She died before him, and he continued inconsolable for her loss till Shabîb Ibn Shabba addressed to him a short but most effective exhortation.—(Ibn al-Athîr's *Kâmil*, year 169.)

## AS-SHABI.

Abû Amr Aâmir as-Shâbi was the son of Sharâhil Ibn Abd Ibn (1) Zi Kibâr: Zû Kibâr was one of the princes of Yemen. As-Shâbi sprang from Himyar and was counted as a member of the tribe of Hamdân, but Kûfa was the place of his birth. He held a high rank among the *Tâbis* and was distinguished also by his profound learning. It is stated that Ibn Omar (2) walked past him one day whilst he was relating the history of a victorious campaign made by the first Moslems, and said, on hearing the narration which he made: "He knows what "was done at the expedition better than I who was with it." Az-Zuhri made the remark that the really learned men were four in number: Ibn al-Musaiyab (3) at Medina, as-Shâbi at Kufa, al-Hasan al-Basri (4) at Basra, and Mak-

hûl (5) in Syria. It is said that he conversed with five hundred of the Prophet's companions. The following anecdote is related by himself: Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân sent me on an embassy to the king of the Greeks; and that prince addressed me a number of questions, to all of which I returned satisfactory answers. It was not customary for ambassadors to make a long stay at his court, but he detained me so many days that I desired impatiently to depart. When on the point of quitting him he said to me: "Are you of a royal family?" to which I replied: "No; I am one of the general class of Arabs." On this he muttered some words and a paper was put in my hand: "When you have given "to your master an account of your mission," said he, "present this paper to "him." Having returned to Abd al-Malik, I informed him of the results of my embassy, but I never thought of the paper, and it was only on passing through another part of the palace with the intention of withdrawing, that I recollected it. I immediately went back and presented it to him. When he had perused it he asked me if the Greek sovereign had said any thing to me before he gave me the paper? "Yes," I replied, "he asked me if I was of a royal family, and I "answered that I belonged to the general class of the Arabs." I then retired and had reached the door when I was brought back into the khalif's presence. "Do you know," said he, "what is in this paper?"—"No," said I; on which he told me to read it. It contained these words: *I am astonished that a people who have among them a man like this could have chosen any other but him for their ruler.* "By "Allah!" I exclaimed, "had I known the contents, I should not have taken "charge of it; had he ever seen you, he would not have said such a thing!" —"Are you aware," said Abd al-Malik, "why he wrote it."—"I am not."— "It was because he envied me so able a servant as you, and hoped to incite me "by this to put you to death." These words, continues as-Shabi, reached at length the ears of the Greek king, who acknowledged that such was really his design.—As-Shâbi once spoke to Omar Ibn Hubaira, the governor of the two Iraks, in favour of some prisoners, and asked him to set them at liberty; but not being able to obtain his consent, he addressed him in these terms: "O emir! "if you have imprisoned them without cause, let your justice deliver them; and 545 "if they be guilty, let your clemency be ample enough to reach them." Ibn Hubaira immediately set them free.—It is stated by Katâda that as-Shâbi was born four years before the death of the khalif Omar (*which happened A. H.* 23),

but Khalifa Ibn Khaiyât (6) mentions that al-Hasan al-Basri and he were born in the year 21, and al-Asmâi says that he came into the world at Kûfa, A.H. 17.— As-Shâbi was a thin emaciated man, and he once said, on being asked the cause: "I was straitened for room in my mother's womb." The fact was that she had two sons at a birth, and (*Ibn Kutaiba*,) the author of the *Kitâb al-Maârif* pretends that she was pregnant with him for two years.—It is related that al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf ath-Thakafi said to him one day: "How much is your yearly "salary?" (*kam ataak, according to the vulgar pronunciation*), to which as-Shâbi replied (*in the same jargon*): "Two thousand dinars" (*alfain*).—"Tut!" exclaimed al-Hajjâj, "*kam atâuka?*" (*repeating the question correctly*), and as-Shâbi then answered (*grammatically*): *alfâni*. "Why," said al-Hajjâj, "did you speak "incorrectly at first?"—"The emir spoke false grammar," replied he, "and I "spoke false grammar; and when he spoke with the right inflexions, I did the "same; for I could not have allowed myself to speak grammatically when the "emir did not." Al-Hajjâj was highly pleased with this answer and made him a present.—As-Shâbi was inclined to pleasantry; he was one day sitting in his house with a female when a person came in and asked: "Which of you two is "as-Shâbi?" To which he replied: "She is the man."—He was born in the seventh year of the khalifat of Othman, (A. H. 30, A. D. 650-1); others say, however, in A.H. 20 or A.H. 31; but it is related that he himself mentioned that his birth took place the year in which the town of Jalûlâ was taken, and this occurred A. H. 19 (A. D. 640) (7): he died suddenly, A. H. 104 (A. D. 722-3); other accounts say 103, 106, 107, and 105. His mother was one of the captives made at Jalûlâ.—*Shâbi* means *belonging to Shâb*, a branch of the tribe of Hamdân. Al-Jauhari says: "This relative adjective is derived from *zû-Shâbain* "(*the double-valleyed*), which is a mountain in Yemen, where Hasan Ibn Amr "the Himyarite (8) and his children took up their residence, and where he was "buried. The descendants of that family who inhabit Kûfa are calledthe *Shâ-* "*biûn*; those in Egypt and Maghrib are styled *al-Ushûb*; in Syria the name of "*Shâbânîûn* is given to them, and in Yemen they are known as *the people of* "*Zû Shâbain*."—*Jalûlâ* is the name of a town in the province of Fars, where a famous battle was fought in the time of Muhammad's companions.—As-Shâbi often cited this verse of Miskîn ad-Dârimi (9):

To judge of a man's prudence, observe him when provoked, not when pleased.

(1) In the printed text the word *Ibn* بن has been left out by mistake.

(2) See vol. I. page 567, note (1).

(3) See his life, vol. I. page 568.

(4) See vol. I. page 370.

(5) The life of Mak'hûl and that of az-Zuhri will be given by the author of this work.

(6) His life is given in the first volume, page 492, but by a strange mistake his father's name is written throughout that article *Haiyât*.

(7) The celebrated battle of Jalûla was fought A. H. 16. See Abû 'l-Fedâ's Annals; Price's *Retrospect*, vol I. page 124.

(8) This is the prince whom Hamza al-Ispahâni mentions as the immediate predecessor of Zû Shanâtir, the celebrated tyrant of Yemen, who was slain by Zû Nuwâs.—(See Schulten's *Historia Ioctanidarum*, p. 37.)

(9) M. de Sacy says, in his *Anthologie Grammaticale*, p. 399, that this ancient poet's real name was Rabîa Ibn Aamir Ibn Onaif; but at-Tabrizi says in his commentary on the *Hamâsa*, p. 744, that according to Abû 'l-Ala, Miskîn's name was Amr.

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## AL-ABBAS IBN AL-AHNAF.

Abû 'l-Fadl al-Abbâs Ibn al-Ahnaf Ibn al-Aswad Ibn Talha Ibn Jarâdin (1) Ibn Kalada Ibn Khudaim (2) Ibn Shihâb Ibn Sâlim Ibn Haiya Ibn Kulaib Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Adi Ibn Hanîfa Ibn Lujaim al-Hanafi al-Yamâmi, a celebrated poet, was gifted with a tender spirit and a subtle wit; all his poems are love pieces, and the *diwân* of his works does not contain any eulogium. The following verses from one of his *kasîdas* may serve as an example of his pathetic style:

> Desist, self-tormentor! thus only can thy woes be healed. Thy eyes have exhausted their tears in weeping; try then to find others shedding copious drops, and with them recruit the last of thine (3). But who would lend thee his eyes that thou mayest weep with them? Were eyes ever lent that their tears might be shed?

The two next lines, extracted from a piece of verse, are also his, but some attribute them to Bashshâr Ibn Burd (4); and Abû Ali 'l-Kâli (5) mentions in his *Amâli* that Bashshâr said: "A boy of the tribe of Hanifa (6) kept running in "and out of where we were till he at length recited these lines: 346

> 'They who caused me to taste their love now make me weep; they awoke my heart to 'passion, but then their hearts yielded to slumber. They roused me, but when I stood 'up with the burden which they placed upon me, they sank into repose.'"

The following verses are also his:

I prefer love-pains with hope to repose with despair. Did I not love you, I had spared you my reproaches; and you had then been for me as the rest of mortals.

O Saad! thou hast spoken to me of my beloved and increased my folly; speak yet more to me, O Saad! My heart shall never know any love but that I bear her! it is a love without beginning and without end (7).

Since thy rigours cannot be softened unless by the intercession of another, I renounce such love as requires a mediator. I swear that indifference or dislike are not the motives which withhold me from reproaching thee thy cruelty; it was the certainty that all complaints were useless. If I cannot bear my pains in patience, I must yet submit to them though unwilling.

All his poetry is good.—He was the maternal uncle of Ibrahîm Ibn al-Abbâs as-Sûli, as we have already mentioned (*vol. I. page* 23). His death took place at Baghdad in the year 192 (A. D. 807-8); but the following anecdote on the subject is given on good authority by Omar Ibn Shabba: "Ibrahîm al-Mausili, surnamed an-Nadim, died in the year 188, on the same day as al-Kisâi the grammarian, al-Abbâs Ibn al-Ahnaf and Hushaima al-Khammâra; (*the khalif*) ar-Rashid, who had been informed of the circumstance, ordered (*his son*) al-Mâmûn "to say the funeral prayers over them, and the corpses were therefore placed "in a line before him. He asked whose body was that which was nearest to "him, and on learning that it was Ibrahîm al-Mausili's, he ordered it to be "removed and that of al-Abbâs Ibn al-Ahnaf to be put in the first place. When "he had finished the prayer and was returning home, Hâshim Ibn Abd Allah Ibn "Malik al-Khuzâi went up to him and said: 'My lord! why did you honour "al-Abbâs Ibn al-Ahnaf with the first place?' To which he replied by repeat- "these verses:

'Some persons accused thee and said that it was thou who caused my pains and afflic- 'tions; but I denied the truth of their words, so that their suspicions might be turned 'away from thee to another:—I like the lover who refuses (*to reveal the name of his 'beloved*).'

"Al-Mamûn then said: 'Can you recollect them?' and Hâshim replied: 'I "can,' and then repeated them. 'Well,' said the prince, 'is not the author "of such verses worthy of the first rank?'—'He is, my lord.'"—I must observe that this anecdote is in contradiction with what we shall say farther on, in the life of al-Kisâi. as we there mention that he died at Rai (*not at Baghdâd*); besides which, much incertitude prevails respecting the year of his death, and

moreover, the death of al-Abbâs has been placed by some in the year 192. Abû Bakr as-Sûli says: "Aûn Ibn Muhammad informed me that his father 347 "said to him: 'I saw al-Abbâs Ibn al-Ahnaf at Baghdad after the death of ar-"Rashid, and his dwelling was near the Syrian gate. He was a friend of mine, "and he died before he reached his sixtieth year.'" Here as-Sûli remarks that he must have died later than the year 192, since ar-Rashid's death took place at Tûs on the third of the latter Jumada, 193 (24th March, A. D. 809).—Al-Ahnaf, the father of al-Abbâs, died A. H. 150 (A. D. 767), and was buried at Basra. Al-Masûdi, in his *Murûj ad-Dahab*, gives the following anecdote on the authority of some natives of Basra: "We set out," said they, "to perform the "pilgrimage, and on our way we saw a boy standing by the side of the road, "who called out to us to know if any of us were natives of Basra. On this we "went over to him and asked what he wanted; to which he made answer: 'My "master wishes to give you his dying injunctions.' We then turned off from "the road and followed him till, at some distance, we found a man lying under "a tree and unable to give us any answer. We seated ourselves around him, "and being at length aware of our presence, he looked up at us, but his weak-"ness was so great that he could hardly raise his eyes. He then recited these "verses:

'Alas! a stranger, lonely and far from home, is here weeping in affliction! With 'each fresh burst of grief, illness draweth closer to his enfeebled body!'

"He then swooned away, and we remained sitting about him for a long time, "till he at length came to himself. At that moment a raven perched on the "top of the tree and croaked aloud, on which he opened his eyes and listened "to its cry. The boy then pronounced these lines:

'The heart receiveth yet a deeper wound from the cry of that bird which lamenteth 'on its branch. The same misfortune which has worn us down afflicteth him and he 'grieveth! each of us are grieving for the loss of a true friend!'

"The sick man then heaved a deep sigh and breathed his last, and we did "not leave his corpse till we had washed it and shrouded it and said over it the "funeral prayer. When we had buried him, we asked the boy who it was, "and he said: 'It is al-Abbâs Ibn al-Ahnaf.'" God best knoweth if this relation be true.—*Hanafi* means *belonging to the tribe of Hanîfa*, who was the

son of Lujaim Ibn Saab Ibn Ali Ibn Bakr Ibn Wâil; it is a celebrated tribe. Hanifa's real name was Uthâl, but it was changed for this reason: he and al-Ahzan Ibn Aûf al-Abdi were conversing together on a subject which it would take us too long to relate, when Hanifa struck al-Ahzan with his sword and cut off (*jazam*) his hand, and al-Ahzan struck Hanifa on the foot and shattered it (*hanaf*); so al-Ahzam received the surname of *Jazîma* (*the one-handed*), and his adversary that of *Hanîfa* (*the club-footed*). This Hanifa was the brother of Ijl (*the progenitor of a famous tribe*).—*Yamâmi* means *belonging to Yamâma*, a town in the desert which forms part of the province of Hijâz; the greater part of the inhabitants belong to the tribe of Hanifa. It was there that the impostor Musailama set up for a prophet and lost his life. His history is well known.

(1) *Jarâdin* جَرادن in the autograph MS.

(2) *Khudaim* خُدَيم in the autograph.

(3) In place of لعبرك, the autograph has يُعيذك; the sense is then: try and find other eyes to help you.

(4) His life will be found in the first volume.

(5) See his life in the first volume.

(6) It must be remembered that al-Abbâs himself belonged to that tribe.

(7) Literally: It has neither before nor after.

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## AR-RIASHI.

Abû 'l-Fadl al-Abbâs Ibn Faraj ar-Riâshi, a grammarian, a philologer, and a native of Basra, was a man of great learning and a trustworthy transmitter of oral literature; he knew besides the traditional accounts of the combats and adventures of the desert Arabs, and possessed great general knowledge. The information which he communicated to others was given by him on the authority of al-Asmâi, Abû Obaida, and other great masters, and his own authority was cited by Ibrahim al-Harbi (1), Ibn Abi 'd-Dunia (2), and others. The following is one of the (*curious philological*) passages which, according to his statement, he had learned from al-Asmâi: "An Arab of the desert," said he, "passed near 348 "us in search of his son, and we said to him: 'Describe him;' and he an-

"swered: 'He is like a (*pretty*) little piece of gold;' on which we replied that "we had not seen him. Soon after, he returned with a swarthy little fellow, as "black as a beetle, perched upon his shoulder; and we then said to him: 'Hadst "thou asked us about that fellow, we could have directed thee, for he did not "stir out of our sight all day (3).' Al-Asmâi then repeated these lines:

> 'Any bedfellow is good on the break of day, after a frosty night, when the chilled
> '(*sleeper*) shivers with cold. God makes her as charming to the heart as the son is
> 'charming to the eyes of his father!'"

Ar-Riâshi was slain at Basra during the insurrection of al-Alawi al-Basri (4), the chief of the Zenj. He lost his life in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 257 (September, A. D. 871). He had been asked towards the end of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 254, how old he was, and he replied: "Seventy-seven years, I believe." Our *shaikh* Ibn al-Athir mentions, in his great historical work (*the Kâmil*), that ar-Riâshi was killed by the Zenj at Basra, A. H. 265, but this is a mistake; for all persons who have studied history unanimously agree that the Zenj entered Basra at the hour of Friday prayer, on the 16th Shawwâl, A. H. 257; that night and the following Saturday they ravaged the city with fire and sword, and on Monday they entered it again, after the flight of the garrison, and proclaimed a general amnesty; but when any of the people showed themselves, they massacred them. Very few of the inhabitants escaped, and the great mosque with all who were in it was destroyed by fire. Ar-Riâshi lost his life in one of the above-mentioned days, for he perished in the mosque.—*Riâshi* is derived from *Riâsh*, which was the name of the ancestor of a man who belonged to the tribe of Judâm; this man possessed as a slave the father of (*al-Abbâs ar-Riâshi*,) him who was surnamed after him. The father had (*first*) received this surname and it never quitted him.

(1) See vol. I. page 46, note (5).

(2) See vol. I. page 531.

(3) This passage contains some diminutive nouns of rare occurrence, and it was therefore precious for philologers and lexicographers.

(4) Al-Alawi al-Basri, i. e. *the descendant of Ali and native of Basra*. His real name was Ali Ibn Muhammad; he revolted A. H. 255, and after devastating the southern provinces of the khalifat for many years, he was made prisoner and executed, A.H. 270 —(See his history in Abulfeda's *Annals*; Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II. page 165; and al-Makîn, p. 162. This last writer styles him الخبيث صاحب الزنج (*the wicked wretch, chief of the Zenj*), which words Erpenius has rendered *Habibus Rihorum Dominus*.



## ABD ALLAH IBN AL-MUBARAK.

Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Abd Allah Ibn al-Mubârak Ibn Wâdih al-Marwazi (*native of Maru*), a *mawla* to the tribe of Hanzala, was a man possessing profound learning combined with great self-mortification. He studied jurisprudence under Sofyân ath-Thauri, and Malak Ibn Anas (1), from whom he learned by heart the *Muwatta*, and then taught it to others. He loved retirement and solitude, and was extremely assiduous in the practice of ascetic devotion. It is related of his father, who, like him, was a man of great piety, that he served a master who employed him to work in his garden; he had passed a considerable time in this occupation, when his master came to him one day and told him to bring him a ripe pomegranate, on which he went to a tree and gathered an unripe one. His master having broken it open and found it sour, got angry with him and ordered him to go for a ripe one; he then went and cut one off another tree, but it was also sour, and his master's anger became more violent: "I asked you for a ripe one," he exclaimed, "and you give me a sour one! "bring me a ripe one!" He went then for the third time and did as before, on which his master said to him: "Do you not know the difference between a "ripe and an unripe pomegranate?"—"No."—"And how does that hap- "pen?"—"Because I never tasted of them so as to know the difference."— "And why did you not?"—"Because I had not your permission." His master having found on examination that he had told the truth, conceived the highest respect for him and gave him his daughter in marriage. It is said that God blessed this union with a son, this Abd Allah, to whom were transmitted the divine graces granted to his father. In some historical work I have found the same thing related of the pious and holy Ibrahîm Ibn Adham (2), and it is told of him also by at-Tortûshi (3), towards the commencement of his work the *Sirâj al-Mulûk*. Abû Ali 'l-Ghassâni (4) relates the following anecdote: Abd Allah Ibn al-Mubârak was asked which was the more blessed man of the two, Moawia Ibn Abi Sofyân or Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz, to which he made answer: "The very dust which entered into Moawia's nostrils when accompanying God's
349 "blessed Prophet is a thousand times more holy than all Omar. Moawia was "praying behind the Prophet when the latter said: *God hearkeneth to him who*

" *speaks his praise.* On which Moawia exclaimed: *O Lord! to thee be praise!* " Can there be any stronger proof of Moawia's blessedness than that?"—Ibn al-Mubârak composed some poetry, from which we will quote the following verses:

> Other men open shops to sell their goods, but you have opened a shop that you may sell religion;—a shop between the columns (*of the mosque*) and without a lock, where you give religion in exchange for the money of the poor. You have made of religion a falcon wherewith to catch your prey, but falconers never acquire riches by their trade (5).

One of his sayings was: "We sought learning that we might acquire worldly " advantages, and it led us to renounce the world." He died at Hît, on his return from an expedition against the infidels, in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 181 (November, A.D. 797). He was born at Marw in the year 118 (A.D. 736). —*Hît* is a town situated on the Euphrates, higher up than al-Anbâr; it belongs to the government of Irak, but it lies on the Syrian side of the river, whilst al-Anbâr is on the Baghdad side. The Tigris flows between these two last cities. Ibn al-Mubârak's tomb is still visible at Hit and continues to be a place of pilgrimage. The history of his life has been compiled in two volumes.

(1) I have hitherto transcribed انس by *Ans*, but the true pronunciation is *Anas* or *Anes*.

(2) Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn Adham Ibn Mansûr al-Balkhi was celebrated for his holy life. His father Adham was a native of Balkh and belonged to one of the first families in the place. He made the pilgrimage to Mekka with his wife who was then pregnant, and she brought forth Ibrahîm in that city. His father carried him round the Kaaba and begged of the assembled multitude to implore God's blessings on the child, and the effect of their prayers was manifested many years later. Adham was very rich and possessed numerous slaves, horses, hounds, and falcons; his son Ibrahîm took the dogs and falcons one day, and rode out to hunt; he was galloping after the game when he heard a voice say: "O Ibrahîm! what meaneth this sport? dost thou think "that we created thee in sport! Fear God and make provision for the day of need!" On hearing these words, he got off his horse and renounced the world. His death took place A. H. 160 (A. D. 776-7) —(Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *Nujûm*.)—This author gives him the surnames of at-Tamîmi al-Ijli (*belonging to the tribes of Tamîm and Ijl*), which does not seem to be exact, as those two tribes were quite distinct; that of Tamîm drawing its origin from Nizâr by Modar and Tâbikha, and Ijl from Nizâr by Rabîa.—Abû 'l-Fedâ gives some account of Ibrahîm Ibn Adham and places his death in 161; al-Yâfi, who vaunts the high perfection which Ibn Adham had attained by his spiritual exercises, mentions that he died in 162.

(3) The life of Abû Bakr Muhammad at-Tortûshi will be found in this work.

(4) His life will be found in vol. I. page 458.

(5) This is manifestly directed against some teacher of theology who opened a course of lectures in the mosque and required payment from his scholars. Such a proceeding was highly scandalous at that early period, but in later times it was permitted as a necessary evil.—(See d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*. tom. VI. page 143.)



## IBN ABD AL-HAKAM.

Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Abd al-Hakam (1) Ibn Aâyan Ibn Laith Ibn Râfi was a doctor of the sect of Mâlik and a native of Egypt. He was the best acquainted of all Mâlik's disciples with the various branches of his master's doctrine; and on the death of Ashhab (2), the presidency of the Malikite sect devolved to him. He transmitted orally to his scholars the contents of Mâlik's work, the *Muwatta*, which he himself had learned by heart under that imâm's dictation. His riches and the numerous hotels (3) which he possessed enabled him to live in great state, and (*for his virtue*) he was treated with profound respect. He filled the office of *justifier and impugner of witnesses* (4); but neither he nor any of his sons would ever give evidence in a court of law, on account of a vow which he had previously made against doing so: this particularity is mentioned by al-Kudâi in his *Khitat* (or *topographical history*) of Old Cairo. It is said that on the arrival of as-Shâfi in that city, he gave him one thousand dinars out of his own money, with two thousand more, one half of which he had obtained for him from a merchant named Ibn Osâma, and the remainder from two other men. He was the father of Abû Abd Allah Muhammad (*Ibn Abd al-Hakam*), the disciple of as-Shâfi, whose life we shall give in the letter *M.*— Bishr Ibn Bakr (5) relates that some days after the death of Mâlik Ibn Anas, he had a dream in which that doctor appeared to him and said: "There is a man "in your country called Ibn Abd al-Hakam; receive the knowledge he may "impart to you, for he is a sure authority."—Abû Muhammad had another son called Abd ar-Rahmân, who studied the Traditions and history, and wrote some works, one of which was on the conquests of the Moslims.—Abû Muhammad was born A. H. 150 (A. D. 767-8); some say 155; he died at Old Cairo in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 214 (November, A. D. 829). He was buried close to the tomb of the *imâm* as-Shâfi, at the south side of it; his son Abd ar-Rahmân died A. H. 257 (A. D. 870-1), and was interred at the south side of his father's grave; so that, of the three tombs, Abû Muhammad's is in the middle.

(1) In the first volume of this translation, this name has been erroneously transcribed *Abd al-Hukm*.

(2) See vol. I. page 223.

(3) *Hotel;* in Arabic *raba* See vol. I. page 347, note (2).

(4) The *justification and impugning of witnesses* (*tazkiya wa tajrîh*) is a duty devolved secretly by the kâdi on some person of acknowledged probity living in his jurisdiction. This *censor* examines into the moral character of the witnesses and informs the kâdi whether their evidence is receivable or not. He is called also the *muzakki* or *purifier*. Consult on this subject Hamilton's *Hedaya*, chap. on Evidence. Here, in the printed Arabic text of Ibn Khallikân, is a repetition of the same fault already noticed, vol. I. page 417, note (1).

(5) Abû Abd Allah Bishr Ibn Bakr at-Tinnîsi as-Shâmi (*a native of Tinnîs and sprung from a family which inhabited Damascus*) is known as a Traditionist. He studied under al-Awzâi and died towards the end of A. H. 205 (A. D. 821). —(*Tab. al-Muhaddithîn.*)

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## IBN WAHB.

Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Wahb Ibn Muslim, a member, by adoption, of the tribe of Koraish, a doctor of the sect of Mâlik and a native of Egypt, was a *mawla* to Rihâna, who was herself a *mawla* to Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Yazîd Ibn Unais, of the tribe of Fihr (*or Koraish*). He was one of the great imâms of that age, and had been a disciple of the imâm Mâlik Ibn Anas during twenty years: he put down in writing (*his master's works*) the greater *Muwatta* and the less. Mâlik said of him: "Abd Allah Ibn Wahb is an *imâm*." Abû Jaafar Ibn al-Jazzâr (1) mentions that Ibn Wahb set out (*from his native place*) to see the imâm Mâlik in the year 148 (A. D. 765-6), and never left him till he, Mâlik, died. He had commenced his studies under him more than ten years before Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn al-Kâsim (2). When Mâlik wrote to consult him, he addressed his letters thus: *To Abd Allah Ibn Wahb the mufti*, an honour which he never conferred on any other of his disciples. Ibn Wahb saw and conversed with upwards of twenty persons who had studied under Ibn Shihâb az-Zuhri. His name and that of Ibn al-Kâsim were once mentioned in the presence of Malik (3), and that *imâm* said: "Ibn Wahb is a learned man, and Ibn al-Kâsim a juris-"consult." Al-Kudâi says in his *Khitat:* "Different opinions are entertained "respecting the site of Ibn Wahb's tomb, but in the *Majarr Bani Miskîn* (4) "there is a small one, much dilapidated, which people call the tomb of Abd "Allah; it is a very ancient monument and is probably the tomb of Ibn Wahb." He was born at Old Cairo in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 125 (September, A. D. 743), but some say 124; he died in the same city on Sunday, the 24th of

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Shaabân, A. H. 197 (April, A. D. 813). He composed a number of well-known works on jurisprudence, and was also a Traditionist. Yûnus Ibn Abd al-Aala (5), one of the imâm as-Shâfi's disciples, relates as follows: The khalif wrote to Ibn Wahb, desiring him to accept the place of kâdi at Old Cairo, on which he concealed himself (6) and avoided stirring from home; but one of his neighbours, Asad (7) Ibn Saad, happening to look out, and seeing him making his ablutions in the court-yard of his house, called to him and said: "Why dost thou not go forth to the people and judge between them according "to the book of God and the *sunna* of the Prophet?"—On this, Ibn Wahb looked up and replied: "Is that the utmost extent of thy wisdom? dost thou not "know that the learned shall be raised to life with the prophets, and the kâdis "with the princes?" (8)—Ibn Wahb was a man of learning and holiness, living in the fear of Almighty God. His death happened in the following manner: A student was reading to him out of his own *Jâmi*, or collection of Traditions, an account of the terrible signs which are to precede the day of judgment, when something like a swoon came over him, and he was carried to his house, he remained in that state till he expired. Ibn Yûnus al-Misri says in his History (*of Egypt*) that Ibn Wahb was a *mawla* to Yazid Ibn Rommâna, who was himself a *mawla* to Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Yazid Ibn Unais; the statement first given is made by Ibn Abd al-Barr, and God best knoweth which is the truth. The following anecdote is related by Abd Allah Ibn Wahb: "When Haiyat Ibn Shu-"raih (9) received his yearly salary of sixty dinars, he used to distribute it all "in alms before he went home, but on entering into his house, he would find "this money again under his mattress. Haiyat had a cousin who, on learning "the circumstance, took his salary also and gave it in alms; he then sought it "under his mattress, but found nothing; and Haiyat, to whom he complained of "his disappointment, said to him: 'I gave to the Lord with full confidence, "but you gave to him merely to make a trial of his goodness.'"

(1) See vol. I. page 672.

(2) The life of this celebrated disciple of Mâlik will be found in this volume.

(3) Some mistakes disfigure this notice in the printed Arabic text: here عبد الهلك has been put for عند ملك, and in the first line زيد for يزيد. In the third line the word ابى must be suppressed. A too scrupulous adherence to his manuscripts led the editor into these faults and some others, which shall be noticed when met with.

(4) I have not been able to discover any account of this place in al-Makrîzi's *Khitat*.

(5) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(6) The printed text has فخبا and the autograph فجذن. The meaning of both words is the same.

(7) In place of *Asad* أسد the autograph seems to have *Shadîn* شدين.

(8) See an observation on this subject in vol. I. p. 235, note (5).

(9) There were two Traditionists of this name, both of whom drew their origin from Hadramût. The first, who was probably the same person who is mentioned here, bore the surname of Abû Zaraa زرعة and was a native of Egypt. He taught the Traditions on the authority of Ibn al-Mubârak, Ibn Wahb, and other doctors. He died A. H. 157 (A. D. 773-4), during the khalifat of Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr. The other Haiyat Ibn Shuraih was surnamed Abû 'l-Abbâs and was a native of Emessa. His authority is cited by al-Bukhâri in that chapter of his work which treats of the prayer to be said in time of danger.—(*Tab. al-Muhad.*)

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## ABD ALLAH IBN LAHIA.

Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Abd Allah Ibn Lahîa Ibn Okba Ibn Lahîa al-Hadrami al-Ghâfiki (*member of the tribe of Ghâfik*) (1), a native of Egypt, was a narrator of Traditions, historical relations, and pieces in prose and verse, a great quantity of which he transmitted down. Muhammad Ibn Saad states that he was a man of weak memory, and that those who received from him oral information when he first began to give lessons, had most probably acquired more correct versions of the pieces which he taught them, than those who studied under him in the latter period of his life. It sometimes happened that his pupils read to him (*out of their note-books*) passages which he had never taught them (2), and he would make no observation on the subject; being afterwards told of the circumstance, he would reply: "It is not my fault; they come to me with a book and read it "in my presence; they then go away. Had they asked me if that was what I "taught them, I should have told them that it was not." In the beginning of the year 155 (A.D. 772), he was appointed kâdi of Old Cairo by Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr, and was the first person raised to the place of kâdi in that city by the direct nomination of the khalif. He was removed from office in the month of the first Rabî, A. H. 164. He was also the first kâdi who made it his duty to be present when watch was kept for the first appearance of the new moon in the month of Ramadân (3), and this custom is still continued to the present time (4). Ibn al-Farrâ mentions him in his Annals under the year 152: "In this

"year," says he, "died the kâdi Abû Khuzaima Ibrahîm Ibn Yazîd al-Himyari "(*descended from Himyar*) (5); he was succeeded by Abd Allah Ibn Lahîa al-"Hadrami. Ibn Khudaij (*Hudaij*), who was in Irak at that time, relates in the fol-"lowing terms the cause of his nomination: 'I went to see Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr, "'who said to me: Ibn Khudaij! there is a man in your city who has just died "'and left the people in affliction for his loss.—Commander of the faithful! "'I replied, it must be Ibn Khuzaima!—It is, said he; and whom do you "'think we should put in his place?—I answered, Commander of the faith-"'ful! I suppose Ibn Maadan al-Yahsubi.—It is not fit that a kâdi should be "'deaf, replied al-Mansûr, and he is.—It is then Ibn Lahîa, said I.—The very "'man, answered the khalif, although his memory be a little weak. He then "'gave orders for his appointment and settled on him thirty dinars a month.' "He was the first kâdi who received a salary, and the first also who was nomi-"nated directly by the khalif; before that, the kâdi was chosen by the go-"vernor of the city." (6)—Ibn Lahîa died at Old Cairo on Sunday, the 15th of the first Rabî, A. H. 174 (August, A. D. 790),—or by another account in 170, —aged eighty-one years. Abû Mûsa al-Anazi (7) says in his History, that al-Laith Ibn Saad was one or two years older than Ibn Lahîa. Ibn Yûnus also mentions him in his History, in these terms: "Abd Allah Ibn Lahîa Ibn Okba "Ibn Furân Ibn Rabîa belonged to the family of Odûl, one of the first in "Hadramaut. His surname was Abû Abd ar-Rahmân. Traditions were given "on his authority by Amr Ibn al-Hârith (8), al-Laith Ibn Saad, Othmân Ibn "al-Hakam al-Judâmi, and Ibn al-Mubârak (9)." He then gives the date of his death and adds: "He was born A. H. 97 (A. D. 715-6);" after which, he mentions the following words, and traces them down, through an uninterrupted series of narrators, from Ibn Lahîa to himself: "On going to see Yazîd "Ibn Abi Habib (10), he said to me: 'I think I see you seated on the cushion,' "meaning the one on which the kâdi sits.'" And so it came to pass, for Ibn Lahîa did not die before he filled the place of a kâdi.— *Hadrami* means belonging to *Hadramaut*, which is a country in the most distant part of Yemen.

(1) According to the author of the *Ansâb*, Ghâfik was the son of as-Shâhid Ibn Alkama Ibn Akk, a descendant from Kahlân.

(2) Students took notes of the master's lessons and read them to him the next day.

(3) In those countries where the *Sunnite* doctrines are professed, the fast of Ramadân is not commenced till the appearance of the new moon has been regularly certified.

(4) Ibn Khallikân might have observed that it was discontinued under the Fatimite dynasty and had been re-established by Salâh ad-dîn.

(5) Abû Khuzaima Ibrahîm Ibn Yazîd, a native of Old Cairo, was appointed kâdi of that city by Yazîd Ibn Hâtim, A.H. 144 (A.D. 761-2). He continued to fill this place till his death, which took place A.H. 154 (A. D. 770-1). He was a man of great piety and lived by making halters, of which he sold two every day; with the price of one he supported himself, and he gave the price of the other to his brethren in Alexandria.—(*History of the kâdis of Cairo,* by *Sibt* Ibn Hujr, MS. No. 691.)

(6) *Sibt* Ibn Hujr, in his *Lives of the Kâdis,* mentions Ibn Lahîa and relates the anecdote given here. Ibn Khudaij, or, as he writes the name, Abd Allah Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Hudaij, was the son of a kâdi of Cairo who had been nominated A. H. 86 and died A. H. 94 (A. D. 712-3).

(7) In the Arabic text this name is incorrectly printed العترى.

(8) Abû Omaiya Amr Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Yakûb, a native of Egypt and surnamed al-Muwaddib (*the preceptor*), was allied by adoption to the Ansârs. He learned the Traditions from Katâda and other great masters, and among his own pupils he had Ibn Wahb. His death took place between A. H. 147 (A. D. 764) and 149. He was then upwards of fifty.—(*Tab. al-Muhad.*)

(9) The life of Ibn al-Mubârak is given in this volume, page 12.

(10) Abû Rajâ Yazîd Ibn Abi Habîb Suwaid, a member by adoption of the tribe of Koraish and a native of Egypt, studied the Traditions under a number of eminent masters and had al-Laith Ibn Saad among his own pupils. He died A. H. 128 (A. D. 745), aged between seventy-five and eighty years.—(*Tab. al-Muhaddithîn.*)

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## AL-KAANABI.

Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Abd Allah Ibn Maslama Ibn Kaanab al-Hârithi, surnamed al-Kaanabi, was a native of Medîna. He received instructions in jurisprudence and the Traditions from the imâm Mâlik, and was one of his most talented, learned (1), and virtuous disciples. He knew by heart his master's work, the *Muwatta*, and taught it to his own pupils from memory; for such was the manner in which this work was transmitted down by a number of Mâlik's disciples: some diversity exists in the text as thus related by each; but the most perfect copy of it is that given *viva voce* by Yahya Ibn Yahya, as shall be again remarked in his life. Al-Kaanabi was surnamed ar-Râhib (*the monk*) for his devotion and his virtue. Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Haitham related that his grandfather had said to him, in speaking of al-Kaanabi: "When we went to see him, he would "come out to us with the face of one who had been looking down on (*the ter-*

"*rors of*) hell; may God preserve us from it!" He died at Basra, the city where he resided, on Friday the 6th of Muharram, A. H. 221 (January, A. D. 836). Ibn Bashkuwâl mentions, in his list of those who transmitted orally 352 the *Muwatta* from Malik to their own pupils, that al-Kaanabi died at Mekka.— The surname of *Kaanabi* is derived from the name of his grandfather.

(1) The word ثقة signifies *esteemed as a sure authority for the exactness of the Traditions which he transmits*. It is here rendered by *learned*.

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## IBN KATHIR THE KORAN-READER.

Abû Mabad (1) Abd Allah Ibn Kathîr, one of the seven great masters in the science of *koran-reading*, died at Mekka, A. H. 120 (A. D. 737-8). This is the only information I can find respecting him.—I have since discovered that he is spoken of in the *Kitâb al-Iknâ* (2), a work treating of the different *readings* of the Koran. The author of that book says: "Ibn Kathîr al-Makki (*native of* "*Mekka*) ad-Dâri (*belonging to the tribe of ad-Dâr*), which is a branch of that of "Lakhm and produced Tamim ad-Dâri (3); some say however that he took "this surname from Dârain (4), because he was a druggist and perfumer, and "that is the place where perfumes are procured; this last derivation is the true "one. They say that he was a *mawla* to Amr Ibn Alkama al-Kinâni, and "that he drew his origin from one of those Persians whom Chosroes had sent "by sea to Yemen, when he expelled the Abyssinians from that country (5). "He dyed his beard with *hinna* (6) and was kâdi of the community at Mekka (7). "In the classification of the *Tâbîs*, he was placed in the second division (8). He "was advanced in years, his hair was white, his beard long, his body large, his "complexion tawny, and his eyes dark blue; his grey hair was dyed with *hinna* "or with yellow dye (*sufra*), and in his conduct he displayed a dignified gravity. "He was born at Mekka, A. H. 45 (A. D. 665-6), and he died in that city, A. H. "120."—This writer gives here the same date for his death as that mentioned above, and it seems a point on which all the *readers* agree; but, in my opinion, it cannot be exact, for Abd Allah Ibn Idrîs al-Audi, who learned the *readings* of the Koran under Ibn Kathîr, was born A.H. 115; and how could he have done

so, if his master had only lived till A.H. 120? This error originated with Abû Bakr Ibn Mujâhid, who was deceived by the fact that Abd Allah Ibn Kathîr of the tribe of Koraish, but a different person from the *koran-reader* (9), died in that year; but God knows best! (10) The system of *reading* followed by Ibn Kathîr was transmitted down orally by two persons, Kunbul and al-Bazzi; the former, whose real name was Muhammad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khâlid Ibn Saîd Ibn Jurja al-Makki al-Makhzûmi died A. H. 291 (A.D. 903-4), aged ninety-six years; the latter, who bore the name of Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Nâfi Ibn Abi 'l-Bazza Bashshâr al-Fârii (11), died A. H. 270 (A.D. 883-4), aged eighty.

(1) The autograph has *Abû Saîd*, but the *Nujûm* writes the name *Abû Mabad* as here, and the author of the *Tabakât al-Kurrâ* states expressly that such was his real surname.

(2) Abû Jaafar Ahmad Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Bâdish الباذش, a descendant from the Ansârs and a celebrated teacher of the *koranic readings*, was a native of Granada, and held the office of public preacher in that city. His work, the *Iknâ fi 'l-Kiraât* (*the sufficient help, treating of the koranic readings*), is esteemed one of the best treatises on the subject. He was likewise well acquainted with the Traditions. Died A.H. 542 (A.D. 1147-8).—(*Tab. al-Kurrâ*, fol. 162 verso.)

(3) Abû Rukaiya Tamîm Ibn Aûs ad-Dâri was originally a Christian, but embraced Islamism in the ninth year of the Hijra and became one of Muhammad's *Companions*. He was so assiduous in the practice of devotion, that he obtained the appellation of *Râhib al-Omma* (*the monk of the people*). He possessed a talent for relating stories or histories, and he continued that practice with the permission of the Prophet.—(*Majmâ 'l-Ahbâb*, MS. fonds St. Germain, No. 131; *Siar as-Salaf*, ibid. No. 133.)—See d'Herbelot's *Bib. Orient.* TAMIM.

(4) According to al-Idrîsi, Dârain is situated in the province of Fars; and the author of the *Marâsid* calls it a sea-port where musk was imported from India.

(5) According to Abû 'l-Fedâ, this occurred in the reign of Anushirwân; Saif Ibn Zi-Yazan then recovered the throne of his ancestors.

(6) See vol. I. page 46, note (3).

(7) *Kadi of the community* قاضى الجماعة; this was a title given to the chief kadi (*kâdi 'l Kudat*), more particularly in Africa and Spain. See *Notices et Extraits*, tom. XII. page 578.

(8) The *Tâbis* were classed by the length of time which they had known and frequented the companions of Muhammad.

(9) This Ibn Kathîr is cited in the *Sahîh* as an authority for one of the Traditions given in that work. His grandfather's name was al-Muttalib.—(*Tab. al-Kurrâ*.)

(10) On this subject, ad-Dahabi makes the following observations in his *Tabakât al-Kurrâ*: "Abû Jaafar Ibn "al-Bâdish al-Andalusi is grossly mistaken in saying that Abd Allah Ibn Idrîs al-Audi studied koran-reading "under Ibn Kathîr; a statement on which an opinion has been founded that Ibn Kathîr died later than A. H. "120, which is another mistake."—(MS. No. 742, fol. 17 verso.)

(11) Al-Bazzi was a *mawla* to the tribe of Makhzûm, and a *muwazzin* in the great mosque of Mekka. Ad-Dahabi has a long article on him in the *Tabakât al-Kurrâ*.

## IBN KUTAIBA.

Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Muslim Ibn Kutaiba ad-Dinawari (*native of Dînawar*),—some say al-Marwazi (*native of Marw*),—the author of the *Kitâb al-Maârif* (1) and the *Adab al-Kâtib* (2), was a grammarian and a philologer of eminent talent and noted for the correctness of his information. He resided at Baghdad and taught the Traditions in that city on the authority of Ishak Ibn Râhwaih (3), Abû Ishak Ibrahim az-Ziâdi (4), Abû Hâtim as-Sijistâni (5), and other masters of the same period; his own authority was cited for Traditions by his son Ahmad and by Ibn Durustûya (6). Besides the works just mentioned, he composed a number of others equally instructive, such as his Explanation of the rare expressions occurring in the Koran, Explanation of the rare expressions occurring in the Traditions, the *Oyûn al-Akhbâr* (7), the *Mushkil al-Korân* (*obscurities of the Koran*), the *Mushkil al-Hadîth* (*obscurities of the Traditions*), the *Tabakât as-Shuarâ* (*notices on the poets*), the *Kitâb al-Ashriba* (*treatise on the different sorts of drinks*), the *Islah al-Ghalat* (*faults corrected*) (8), the *Kitâb at-Tafkîh* (*the instructor*) (9), the *Kitab al-Khail* (*treatise on horses*), the seven *Readings* of the Koran analysed grammatically, a work on the *Anwâ* (10), the *Kitâb al-Masail, etc.* (*book of questions and answers*), the *Kitâb al-Maisir wa 'l-Kidâh* (*on games of chance*) (11). These books he continued to explain to his pupils at Baghdad till his death. His father was, it is said, a native of Marw, but he himself was born at Baghdad, or, according to some, at Kûfa; having acted for some time in the capacity of a kâdi at Dinawar, he received the surname of *Dînawari*. His birth took place A. H. 213 (A. D. 828-9), and his death occur-
353 red in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 270 (May, A. D. 884); but this point is not well established, as some say that he died in A. H. 271, others in A.H. 296, on the first of Rajab, or on the 15th of that month (April, A.H. 909), and this last opinion is nearest to the truth. His death happened quite suddenly; he uttered a cry loud enough to be heard at a great distance, and then, falling into a state of insensibility, he expired. Another account says: He had eaten some *harîsa* (*a sort of pottage so called*) which brought on an inflammation (12); he then uttered a loud cry and fell into a state of insensibility which lasted till the hour of noon; he was then agitated convulsively for some time, after which

he remained quiet, and he continued to utter the profession of faith till day-break the next morning, when he expired.—His son Abû Jaafar Ahmad Ibn Abd Allah was a doctor of the law, and taught also all the works of his father, by whom he had himself been instructed in them. He filled the place of kâdi in Old Cairo, which city he first entered on the 18th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 321; he died there in the exercise of his functions, A. H. 322, in the month of the first Rabî (February-March, A. D. 934): he was born at Baghdad.—It is said that most of the learned men (*of that time*) called the *Adab al-Kâtib* a preface without a book, and the *Islâh al-Mantik* (*Ibn as-Sikkît's work*) a book without a preface; but this observation betrays a certain degree of prejudice against Ibn Kutaiba, for his *Adab al-Kâtib* contains an abundance of information disposed under regular heads; and I am convinced that their only motive for saying so was, because its preface is very long, whilst the *Islâh* has none at all. It is reported that he composed this work for Abû 'l-Hasan Obaid Allah Ibn Yahya Ibn Khâkân (13), the vizir of the Abbaside khalif al-Motamid, son of al-Mutawakkil. It has been commented by Abû Muhammad (*Abd Allah*) Ibn as-Sîd al-Batalyausi, whose life will be found farther on. This learned scholar has explained therein the difficulties of the *Adab al-Kâtib* in the fullest manner, and pointed out the mistakes into which the author has fallen. His treatise bears the title of *al-Iktidâb fi sharh Adab al-Kuttâb* (*Extemporizing, being a commentary on the Guide for Kâtibs*), and is a proof of the extensive information possessed by its author. —*Kutaiba* is the diminutive of *kitba*, the singular form of the word *aktâb*, which signifies *entrails*. It is a common noun, but came to be used as a proper name. From it is formed the relative adjective *Kutabi*.—*Dînawari* (or *Dainawari*, as it is pronounced by as-Samâni, but incorrectly) means *belonging to Dînawar*, a town in Persian Irak near Kirmîsîn, which has produced a great number of eminent men.

(1) The *Kitâb al-Maârif*, or, as it might be denominated, the *Book of Facts*, is a most useful work. Eichhorn extracted from it the genealogies of the Arabs published in his *Monumenta historiæ Arabum*. It contains besides a great number of short biographical notices on the early Moslims, etc.

(2) The *Adab al-Kâtib*, or *Writer's Guide*, is a short work on orthography, philology, synonyms, and grammar. The preface is remarkable for its length.

(3) See vol. I. page 180.

(4) Abû Ishak az-Ziâdi descended from Ziâd Ibn Abîh by the following line: His father Sofyân was son to Sulaimân Ibn Abi Bakr Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Ziâd Ibn Abîh.

(5) See vol. I. page 603.

(6) The life of Ibn Durustûya comes immediately after this.

(7) The *Oyûn al-Akhbâr* (*sources of information*) forms a large volume in ten books, each of which treats of a different subject. One is on the sultan, another on knowledge, a third on food, a fourth on women, etc.

(8) In this work he points out the mistakes into which Abû Obaida had fallen.

(9) The subject of this work is not specified by Hajji Khalifa.

(10) The *anwâ* are the mansions of the moon in the Zodiac. The ancient Arabs imagined that they had great influence on the weather.

(11) See Pocock's *Specimen*, p. 315.

(12) This signification of the word حرازة is not given in the dictionaries, but it was known to M. de Sacy. See his edition of *Abdallatif*, page 16.

(13) Obaid Allah Ibn Khâkân was vizir to al-Mutawakkil and al-Motamid, in whose reign he died. He possessed great abilities as an administrator of public affairs, and by his generous character he gained the favour of the public and the military. He had refused to accept the vizirat a second time, but the troops insisted so strongly on his returning to office, that he was obliged to consent.—(See Fakhr ad-dîn Ibn Tabâtabâ's *ad-Dûal al-Islâmiya*, MS. No. 895. fol. 221, 232.)

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## IBN DURUSTUYA.

Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Jaafar Ibn Durustûya Ibn al-Marzubân al-Fârisi al-Fasawi (*native of Fasa in the province of Fars*) was a grammarian of great learning and talent. He studied philology at Baghdad under al-Mubarrad, Ibn Kutaiba (him whose life has been just given) and other masters; and a number of eminent men, such as ad-Dârakutni and others, received lessons from him on the same subject. He was born A.H. 258 (A.D. 871-2), and died at Baghdad on Monday, the 20th of Safar,—some say the 23rd,—A.H. 347 (May, A.D. 958). His father was an eminent Traditionist. According to as-Samâni, the word درستويه is pronounced *Durustûya*, but Ibn Mâkûla says in his *Kitâb al-Aâmâl* that *Darastawaih* is the true pronunciation. As for the denominations *Fârisi* and *Fasawi*, we have already explained them in the life of al-Basâsiri (*vol. I. page* 173).—Ibn Durustûya's works are the height of excellence and exactness; they consist in a commentary on al-Jarmi's work (*the Farkh*) (1); the *Irshâd* (*direction*), a treatise on grammar; a treatise on the alphabet; a commentary on the philological work entitled *al-Fasîh* (2); an answer to al-Mufaddal ad-Dubbi's refutation of al-Khalil (*Ibn Ahmad*); the *Hidâya* (*direction*) (3); a treatise on the words which end in a long or a short *elif*; an explanation of the rare expressions occurring in



the Traditions; a treatise on the ideas and allusions usually met with in poetry; the *Kitâb al-Haiyi wa 'l-Maiyit* (4), the *Kitâb at-Tawassut*, or *arbiter* between al-Akhfash and Thaalab relative to their explanations of the Koran; the History of Koss Ibn Saîda (5); a treatise on those nouns which have each opposite significations; the History of the Grammarians; and a refutation of al-Farrâ's doctrines in rhetoric. He commenced also a number of other works, but did not finish them. 354

(1) See vol. I. page 629.

(2) The *Fasîh* or *correct speaker* is, as its title implies, a philological work. It is not exactly known who was the author of it; some attribute it to Ibn as-Sikkît, and others to Abû 'l-Abbâs Thaalab. It has been elucidated by a great number of commentators.

(3) Hajji Khalifa does not specify the subject of this work.

(4) The *Haiy wa 'l-Maiyit* (*living and dead*) is mentioned by Hajji Khalifa, but without any remark.

(5) Koss Ibn Saîda Ibn Amr al-Ibâdi (*the Nestorian Christian*) was bishop of Najrân in Yemen and celebrated for his eloquence. Muhammad met him at Okâz and heard him preach, some time previously to the promulgation of Islamism. Al-Masûdi speaks of him in the *Murûj*; see Dr. Sprenger's translation of that work, vol. I. page 137.

## AL-KAABI.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Mahmûd al-Kaabi al-Balkhi, a man celebrated for his learning, was the author of that sect of the Motazilites, the members of which are called *Kaabites*. He taught some doctrines peculiar to himself; for instance, that Almighty God has not the faculty of intention, and that all his acts happen without his having any intention or will to produce them. He was one of the great masters in scholastic theology, and held some eclectic opinions in this science. His death took place on the first of Shaabân, A. H. 317 (September, A. D. 929).—*Kaabi* means *belonging to the tribe of Kaab*.—*Balkhi* signifies *belonging to Balkh*, one of the great cities of Khorasan.

## AL-KAFFAL AL-MARWAZI.

Abû Bakr Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abd Allah al-Kaffâl al-Marwazi (*native of Marw*), a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, was the paragon of his time for legal knowledge, traditional learning, piety, and self-mortification. The results of his application to the development of the imâm as-Shâfi's system of doctrine far surpassed those of his contemporaries: all his deductions are sound and his arguments decisive. Great numbers studied with profit under his tuition, and among the number were Abû Ali as-Sinji, the kâdi Husain (whose life has been already given) (1), and Abû Muhammad al-Juwaini, the father of the Imâm al-Haramain. All those persons became imâms of great note; they composed most instructive works, propagated as-Shâfi's doctrines in the different countries of the Moslim empire and taught them to others, who, in their turn, became eminent as imâms. Al-Kaffâl was already advanced in years when he began to study the law; he had spent his youth in making locks (*akfâl*), an art in which he attained great skill, and it was for this reason that he was surnamed *al-Kaffâl* (*the locksmith*). It is said by some that he was thirty years of age when he commenced learning jurisprudence. He composed a commentary on Ibn al-Haddâd al-Misri's (2) treatise on the secondary principles of the law, a work which has been commented also by Abû Ali as-Sinji and by Abû Taiyib at-Tabari; it is a small volume and difficult to be understood; some of the questions treated in it are so obscure (3) and so strange, that none but jurisconsults of superior talent can resolve them and understand their purport: we shall speak of the author of this book when giving the lives of those whose name is Muhammad. Al-Kaffâl died in the year 417 (A. D. 1026-7), at the age of ninety, and was buried in Sijistân, where his tomb is still well known and continues to be visited as a place of sanctity.

(1) For as-Sinji's life, see vol. I. p. 419. In page 418 of the same volume will be found the life of Husain.

(2) His life will be found in this work.

(3) In the printed Arabic text read عويصة.

## ABU MUHAMMAD AL-JUWAINI.

Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Muhammad Ibn Haiyûya al-Juwâini, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and the father of the Imâm al-Haramain (whose life shall be given later), was a great master in the interpretation of the Koran, and in law, dogmatic theology, grammar, and general literature. He cultivated this last science at Juwain under his father Abû Yakûb Yûsuf, and then proceeded to Naisâpûr, where he studied jurisprudence under Abû 't-Taiyib Sahl as-Solûki (*see vol. I. p.* 606). From thence he went to Marw and put himself under the tuition of al-Kaffâl al-Marwazi, him whose life has just been given. He followed with great assiduity the lessons of that doctor and derived from them much profit and information; he acquired also under his tuition a solid knowledge of the Shafite doctrines, great skill in controversy, and a perfect acquaintance with the peculiar system followed by him in developing the principles of the law. Having finished his studies under al-Kaffâl, he re- 355 turned to Naisâpûr in the year 407 (A. D. 1016-7), and obtained the place of professor and *mufti*. A great number of persons, and amongst them his own son the Imâm al-Haramain, pursued their studies under him. The deepest respect was always shown to him, and no conversation but the most serious was ever held in his presence. He composed a great commentary on the Koran, containing much varied information, and also a number of works on jurisprudence, such as the *Tabsira* (*elucidator*), the *Tazkira* (*remembrancer*), the *Mukhtasar al-Mukhtasar* (*abridgment of the abridgment*) (1), the *Fark* (2), the *Jamo*, the *Silsila* (*chain*) (3), the *Maukif al-Imâm wa 'l-Mâmûn* (*station of the imâm and those over whom he presides*), etc. He drew up also a number of *Talîkas* (4), and had besides learned a great quantity of the Traditions. His death took place in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A.H. 438 (April-May, A.D. 1047), according to as-Samâni in his *Zail;* but in his *Ansâb* he says that it happened in the year 434 (A.D. 1042-3) at Naisâpûr; God best knoweth the truth! The same author mentions that he died at an advanced age, and he gives the following anecdote as it was related by the *shaikh* Abû Sâlih, the *muwazzin* : "The *shaikh* Abû Muhammad "al-Juwaini's illness lasted seventeen days, and he expressed a desire that the "washing of his body should be done by me, and that I should preside at his

"interment. When he died, I washed him, and on shrouding him I perceived "that his right arm, from the shoulder downwards, was luminous although it "bore no traces of injury; it shone with a lustre like that of the moon, at "which I was filled with admiration, and I said to myself: 'This is a blessing "which his *fatwas* (*legal decisions*) have drawn down upon him.'" — *Juwaini* means *belonging to Juwain*, a large territory near Naisâpûr, crowded with villages.

(1) This is an abridgment of al-Muzani's compendium of the Shafite doctrines.—(*Tabakât as-Shâfiyin*.)

(2) This seems to be a mistake of Ibn Khallikân; the author of the *Tabakât as-Shâfiyin* calls it the *Forûk*, and Hajji Khalifa mentions it under this title in his bibliographical dictionary.

(3) These works all treat of Shafite jurisprudence.

(4) See below, note (1).

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## ABU ZAID AD-DABUSI.

Abû Zaid Abd Allah Ibn Omar Ibn Isa ad-Dabûsi, one of the most eminent jurisconsults of the sect of Abû Hanîfa, and a doctor of proverbial reputation for his learning, was the first who invented the art of (*Moslim*) dialectics and brought that science into existence. A number of *taalîkas* (1) were composed by him; he wrote also other works, such as the *Asrâr* (*mysteries*) (2) and the *Takwîm lil-Adilla* (*system of demonstrations*) (3). It is related that he once had a discussion with another doctor, who only smiled or laughed when pressed by his arguments, on which he pronounced these verses:

> Why does he answer me by a laugh or a grin when I bring forward a decisive proof? If grinning be the result of legal knowledge, how excellent a jurisconsult is the bear of the desert!

He died in the city of Bokhara, A. H. 430 (A. D. 1038-9).—*Dabûsi* is derived from *Dabûsiya*, the name of a town between Bokhâra and Samarkand, which has produced a number of learned men.

(1) *Taalîkas* were of two kinds: the first consisted of notes taken by the student during the lessons of his professor; and the second, of notes composed to clear up obscure passages in an author and supply his omissions; a sort of commentary, in fact. Ad-Dabûsi's were of the latter kind.

(2) This is a treatise on the dogmas and the secondary points of the law.

(3) This work treats of dogmatic theology.

## AL-MURTADA IBN AS-SHAHROZURI.

Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn al-Muzaffar Ibn Ali Ibn al-Kâsim as-Shahrozûri, surnamed al-Murtada (*him in whom God is pleased*), and father of the kâdi Kamâl ad-din, was celebrated for his great merit and his piety. (We shall give the life of his father and that of his son.) This fine preacher, who was equally remarkable for the elegance of his figure and the harmony of his style, was kâdi of Mosul and taught the Traditions in that city; he had passed some time at Baghdad in the study of the latter branch of learning and the pursuit of legal knowledge. He composed some beautiful poetry, and amongst other pieces a *kasîda* of great merit, written in the mystical style peculiar to the Sûfis. We shall give it here (1):

The light of their fire glimmered (*from afar*), and already the night had darkened (*around us*); the weary camel-driver could no longer continue his song, and our guide stood perplexed and bewildered. I looked at that fire, but the glance of my eye was 356 feeble; my mind also had been weakened by my separation (*from the beloved*); my heart was that afflicted heart (*which you have known so long*); and my passion, that inmost passion (*which has so long been my torment*). I then turned towards the flame and said to my companions: "That is Laila's fire; rein over to it." They directed towards it firm glances from their eyes; glances which were repelled and turned aside. Then (*my companions*) began to reproach (*me*): "Was it not a flash of lightning which you saw, or "else a phantom of your imagination?" On this I abandoned them and bent thither my way; desire was the camel which conveyed me, and passion the rider who sat behind me. With me was a companion (*love*) who followed my traces; for it is the nature of love to be importunate. The fire blazed up and we approached nearer, till some timeworn ruins intervened. We went on to them till our progress was stopped by sighs and sadness. "Who dwell in these abodes?" I exclaimed, and voices answered: "A "wounded man, a captive in bondage, and a victim slain! what seekest thou here?"— "I am a guest," was my reply; "I seek hospitality, where is the stranger's meal of wel-"come?"—They pointed towards the court of the dwelling: "Stop there," said they, "and kill thy camel for thy food; from us a guest never departeth more! He who "comes to us must throw away his staff of travel."—"But how," said I, "can I reach "that fire? where is the way?" We then halted at the habitation of some people whom *the* wine had prostrated even before they had tasted of it. Passion had effaced all traces of their former existence, and had itself become the mere traces of a ruin; in this ruin they had fixed their abode. Among them was one abstracted, in whom neither complaints nor tears found any longer place; his sighs alone denoted his existence, and even of these (*his will*) was guiltless; from these his consciousness was far apart. Among them also was one who made signs that we should observe his passion which, less intense (*than that of the others*), had allowed his consciousness to exist. I saw that each of them had reached *stations* the description of which would require a long epistle.

"People of desire," said I, "peace be upon you; I have a heart so preoccupied with "you that it perceived you not! my eyes were required to furnish torrents of tears, so "great was my wish to meet you. The impulse of desire hurried me towards you "through the vicissitudes of events. I should be in fault were I to ask you pardon (*for* "*my boldness*); may I then hope for a kind reception from him who knows what motive "I have for not asking pardon? I have come to warm me at the fire; can I find a road to "your fire, now that the morning draweth near?" To this they replied not, but their external state gave me answer sufficient, as every veil between my intelligence and it was now rent asunder; here was the reply: "Let not the beautiful gardens deceive "thee; between thee and them are hills and pitfalls. How many have tried to "reach that fire by surprise! they strived to attain the object (*of their wishes*), but to "approach it was difficult. They stopped to contemplate; but when they had "every sign of succeeding, the banner of *fulfilment* appeared, borne in the hand of "passion, and the chiefs gave the command to charge. 'Where,' exclaimed they, "'where are they who pretend to resist us in combat? This is the day wherein all false "'pretensions shall fade away!' They charged like heroes; and on the day when foes "meet in arms, it is the heroes alone who fall. They lavished every effort, whilst the "object of their desire avoided their approach and slighted all their endeavours. They "plunged into the abyss and disappeared in its waves; the currents then cast them back "among the ruins which they now stained with their blood (2), shed, alas! in vain. "Such is our fire; it shineth for him who travelleth at night, but it cannot be reached. "The share of it which falls to the sight is the utmost which can be obtained; but those "able to conceive this are few in number. One whom you well know went towards it, "hoping to take from it a brand; he approached with outstretched arms, with wishes "and supplications, but it rose far beyond his reach; it was too exalted to abide his "proximity, and yet he was a prophet. We therefore rest amazed as thou hast seen; "all our efforts to reach it being vain; we pass away the time in (*the delusions of*) hope, "but judge what is the state of that heart whose aliment consists in being tantalised! "Each time it tastes the bitter cup of misfortune, another cup is brought to it, sweet-"ened with hope. Each time fancy sets a project before us, we are turned away from "it and told that patient resignation befits us best. Such is our state; such is all that "our knowledge can attain; but every state must undergo a change."

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I give this *kasîda* on account of its rarity and because it is in high request. It is related by a (*Sûfi*) *shaikh* that he had a dream in which he heard a voice say: "Nothing was ever uttered on Sûfism so good as the Mausiliyan kasida (*the Mo-"sul kasîda*);" and this is the one which was meant.—The following distich was given by Majd al-Arab (*glory of the Arabs*) (3) al-Aâmiri as having been composed by al-Murtada:

O my heart! how long will good advice prove useless? Quit thy sportive humour; how often has thy gaiety brought thee into danger! There is no part of thee without a wound (4); but thou wilt not feel the bad effects of inebriation till thy reason returneth.

The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn gives the following verses as al-Murtada's in the *Kharîda*:

I sought my heart, that I might ask of patience the force to sustain, for a moment, the rigours of my beloved; but I neither found my heart nor patience. The sunshine of our fond intercourse was gone; darkness had overshadowed the paths of love, and I stopped amazed and confounded; but a single instant had scarce elapsed when I saw her again a sovereign mistress, and my heart her captive.

These verses also are by the same person:

Those whom I love departed, and how copious were the tears of blood which they then let loose (*from our eyes*); and how many hearts did they bring back into bondage! Blame me not if grief for their absence make me reject the controul of reason; what I have just said will suffice for my excuse.

For them my heart is in affliction; for them I shed tears of blood; for them I am consumed with flames; for them my heart is broken. At their door we are a crowd of suitors; our hearts melting away with apprehension; they have left us scarcely a breath of life; O that they saw our state. Kindness or aversion, sleep or waking, despair or hope, patience or restlessness,—these exist for us no longer. O that they had remained even after they had broken the ties of friendship and treated me with cruelty! Were the love I bear them to deprive me of existence, the perfume of that love would yet remain! I am like the taper, useful to those around it, but consuming itself away. 358

I never went to meet thee, Laila! without feeling as if the earth were folded up from under me (*so rapid was my pace*); but when my resolution turned me from thy door, I stumbled over the skirts of my garment.

Most of his poetry is in the same style. He was born in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 465 (April-May, A. D. 1073); he died at Mosul in the month of the first Rabi, A. H. 511 (July, A. D. 1117), and was interred in the sepulchral chapel of the Shahrozûri family. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn says in his *Kharîda*, where he gives a notice on al-Murtada: "As-Samâni mentions having heard "that the kâdi Abû Muhammad,"—meaning al-Murtada,—" died some time "later than the year 520."

(1) All the *ideas* of the *kasîda* are borrowed from pastoral life: in the following piece they have a mystic import besides, as shall be here indicated. *The light of their fire:* the presence of the Divinity manifested to the saints. *The night:* moral darkness. *The camel-driver:* the preacher. *The guide:* the divine. *The beloved:* God. *Laila:* the name of the beloved, God. *Desire:* the love of God. *Passion:* The anxious wish to enjoy the divine Presence. *The time-worn ruins:* the world, the seat of desolation in the eyes of the devout, inasmuch as the presence of the Divinity is not always felt in it. *The wounded, the captive, and the victim:* the vanquished by the love of God. *From us a guest never departeth more:* till his soul is released by death. *The people:* the devout, the Sûfi brethren. *Wine:* the delight caused by the perception of God's presence. *Stations:* degrees of exaltation attained by the soul through the means of spiritual exercises and contemplation. *People of desire:* another name for the lovers of the Divinity. *The warmth of the fire:* the



beneficial influence of God's presence. *The morning:* the entrance of the novice into the Sûfi life after abandoning the world, which is the seat of darkness. *The gardens:* paradise. *The banner of fulfilment:* the sign that the novice has become an adept and fulfilled all the necessary duties of spiritual life. *The chiefs*, literally, *the people of the truths:* so called because they have obtained a clear insight into the spiritual world, which is the abode of truth as this earth is the abode of illusion. *To charge:* literally, to canter round and round the field of battle and challenge the enemy; it then signifies, to turn round as the dervishes do. *The enemy:* the world and its passions. *The abyss:* the Divine nature. *Thrown back among the ruins:* recovering from an ecstasy of divine love and finding oneself in the world. *One whom you well know:* the prophet Moses. *The brand:* see Koran, surat 27, verse 7; Exod. III.

(2) In the Arabic text, for دمة read دمه.

(3) The autograph alone has مجد العرب, not مجد الدين as the other MSS.; the first is certainly the right reading. Imâd ad-Dîn has a notice on this person in the *Kharîda*, the sum of which is: The emir Majd al-Arab Muzaffar ad-Dawlat Abû Farâs Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ghâlib al-Aâmiri was the wonder of the age for his poetic talent, and his verses were proverbially said to be as fine as those of his namesake Abû Farâs (see Ibn Khallikân's Biograph. Dict. vol. I. page 366). He was born in the province of Irak and went to Ispahân, A. H. 537 (A. D. 1142-3), where he pronounced his eulogistic kasîdas and acquired great reputation. The *kâtib* saw him for the last time at Mosul, A. H. 570. — (*Kharîda* MS. No 1447, fol 27, where some long extracts from his poetry are given.)

(5) The autograph has فيك علاها; but the sense certainly requires مذك عداها.

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## SHARAF AD-DIN IBN ABI USRUN.

Abû Saad Abd Allah Ibn Abi 's-Sari Muhammad Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Mutahhar Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Usrûn Ibn Abi 's-Sari at-Tamîmi, surnamed first al-Hadithi and then al-Mausili (*native of Mosul*), entitled also Sharaf ad-dîn (*nobleness of religion*), was a doctor of the Shafite sect, and one of the first men of the age by his talents and his learning as a jurisconsult. His reputation spread to distant countries and his influence was most extensive. In his youth he studied the ten *readings* (1) of the koran under Abû 'l-Ghanâim as-Sulami as-Sarûji, al-Bâri Abû Abd Allah Ibn ad-Dabbâs (*see vol. I. page* 459), Abû Bakr al-Mazrafi (2), and other masters. He commenced learning jurisprudence under the kâdi al-Murtada Ibn as-Shahrozûri (*vol. II. p.* 29), and Abû Abd Allah al-Husain, Ibn Khamis al-Mausili (*see vol. I. page* 422); he had afterwards, when in Baghdad, Asaad al-Mîhani (*vol. I. p.* 189) for preceptor in that science. He studied dogmatic theology under Ibn Barhân al-Usûli (*vol. I. p.* 80), and learned there

also dialectics. From Baghdad he proceeded to Wâsit and *read* the Koran under the tuition of Abû Ali 'l-Fâriki (*vol. I. p.* 376), the kâdi of that city, by whom he was instructed also in the *Fawâid al-Muhaddab*. In the year 523 (A.D. 1129) he himself gave public lessons at Mosul, after which he resided for some time at Sinjâr whence he proceeded to Aleppo, A.H. 545: from that he removed to Damascus, when Nûr ad-dîn Mahmûd Ibn Zinki got possession of that city in the month of Safar, A. H. 549 (April-May, A. D. 1154). He then opened a class in the western corner of the great mosque, and was appointed administrator of the endowments (*wakfs*) possessed by the mosques. He then returned to Aleppo, where he settled. A great number of works were composed by him to elucidate the doctrines of the sect to which he belonged; of these may be mentioned the *Safwat al-Mazhab* (*quintessence of the Shafite doctrines*), extracted from the (*Imâm al-Haramain's*) *Nihâyat al-Matlab*, in seven volumes; the *Kitâb al-Intisâr* (*vindication of the Shafites*), in four volumes; the *Kitâb al-Murshid* (*the guide, a work on the secondary points of law*), in two volumes; and the *Kitâb az-Zarîa fi Marafat as-Sharîa* (*means of acquiring a knowledge of the law*). He composed also the *Tafsîr* (*explanation*), a work forming four volumes treating of the points in which his sect differs from the others; the *Mâkhaz an-Nazar* (*point of view*); a short treatise on the dividing of inherited property; and a work entitled *al-Irshâd al-Mughrib fi Nusrati 'l-Mazhab* (*plain directions for the defence of the Shafite sect*); this last however he did not complete, as it was stolen from him with other property at Aleppo. The number of students who followed his lessons and profited by his tuition was very great. His merit having at length rendered him conspicuous, he obtained the esteem and favour of Nûr ad-dîn, lord of Syria, who erected colleges in Aleppo, Emessa, Hamât, 359 Baalbek, and other cities, for the express purpose of having him to teach in these places. (*At different periods*) he filled the post of kâdi at Sinjâr, Nisibîn, Harrân, and elsewhere in Diâr Bakr; he then returned to Damascus, A. H. 570 (A. D. 1174-5), and three years afterwards, he was appointed to fill the same functions in that city when the kâdi Diâ ad-dîn as-Shahrozûri gave in his resignation; an act of which I shall state the motive in the life of Kamâl ad-dîn Muhammad as-Shahrozûri. Ten years before his death he lost his sight, but continued to hold his office, the duties of which were discharged by his son and deputy, Muhi ad-dîn Muhammad. At that time, he composed a short treatise

to prove that the place of kâdi could be lawfully held by a blind man; a point in opposition with the doctrine of as-Shâfi on the subject: I have read, it is true, in the *Kitâb az-Zawâid*, a work composed by Abû 'l-Hasan al-Imrâni (3), the author of the *Kitâb al-Bayân*, that, in one point of view, it is lawful; this is, however, quite an extraordinary opinion, and I never found it advanced in any other work but his. (*Speaking of this subject I must mention that*) a letter fell into my hands, addressed to al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil at Cairo from the sultan Salâh ad-dîn at Damascus; it was wholly in that prince's handwriting and, among other passages, it contained one relative to Sharaf ad-dîn's blindness and his opinion that the post of kâdi could be lawfully filled by a blind man, although all the other jurisconsults declared the contrary—"you will therefore," says the writer, "have an interview with the *shaikh* Abû 't-Tâhir Ibn Aûf al-Iskan-"darâni, and ask him what are the traditions on this subject, and if they au-"thorise it or not."—But after all, there can be no doubt of his eminent merit. The *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir mentions him in the History of Damascus, and the *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn makes his eulogium in the *Kharîda* and pronounces him the last of the *muftis*: he gives also some verses composed by him. The two which follow were recited to me by one of our *shaikhs*, with the remark that he had heard Ibn Abi Usrûn repeat them very often, but that he did not know if they were his own or not; they are given, however, as that doctor's by the *kâtib* in the *Kharîda*:

I hope for a lengthened life; and yet every hour the dead pass by me, as their biers are borne rapidly along. Am I not as they, except that I must pass a few more sad nights to complete the time of my existence?

The following lines also are quoted as his in the same work:

I always hope to meet my beloved, and yet I know full well that I must quit her shortly after. Mounted on the steeds of Mortality, we rush, as if with emulation, towards the goal of death. O that we both might expire together! neither of us then would taste the bitter loss of the other.

O thou who askest me how I have been since thy departure! God preserve thee from what my heart has felt since our separation. Tears of grief swore never to cease flowing from my eyes, and sleep swore never to visit them till I met thee again.

The time which has passed is gone for ever, and that which is to come exists not. Thy life is only the present moment; the days of man form two sums, one increasing, the other diminishing.

Ibn Abi Usrûn was born at Mosul on Monday, the 22nd of the first Rabî, A. H. 492 (February, A. D. 1099); he died at Damascus on the eve of Tuesday, 360 the 11th of Ramadân, A. H. 585 (October, A. D. 1189). He was buried in the *madrasa* which bears his name and which he himself had founded within that city: I have often visited his tomb. On his death (*one of his female relatives*) received a letter of condolence from al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil, in reply to one wherein she announced to him this event: his participation in her grief was expressed in the following terms: "I have received the letter of the honourable lady for whose "welfare may God provide! may He preserve her for the happiness of her "family; may He smooth for her the path leading to spiritual welfare, and "make her words and actions proceed from the wish to gain his favour." It contained also this passage: "I shall only add—and what I mention is a dimi-"nution in the strength of Islamism, and a breach in the frame of human "society, so great as nearly to cause its ruin!—I mean that which God decreed "concerning the death of the imâm Sharâf ad-dîn Ibn Abi Usrûn, may the "divine mercy be upon him!—the loss sustained in him by the world at large; "the affliction of the pious—and the joy of the foes to religion. For he was a "land-mark set up in the tracts of science, and he counted among the last rem-"nants of a holy race now passed away. And God knoweth my grief for his "death, my desolation in the world now deprived of the blessing of his pre-"sence, and my sadness in losing the abundant merits of his charitable pray-"ers."—*Hadîthi* means *belonging to the Hadîtha of Mosul*, a village on the east bank of the Tigris near (*the mouth of*) the Upper Zâb. It must not be confounded with another place of the same name, the *Hadîtha of an-Nûra*, which is a fortress on an island in the Euphrates, at some parasangs' distance from al-Anbâr. The former lies at the most eastern extremity of the territory called the *Sawâd*, and is the one meant by the jurisconsults when they say, in their books: "The land of Sawâd extends in longitude from the Haditha of Mosul to Abbâ-"dân, and in latitude from al-Kâdisiya to Hulwân."

(1) There are seven authorised *readings* of the Koran, named after seven great doctors who first taught them and whose lives are given by Ibn Khallikân; three more *readings* were afterwards admitted, and Yakûb Ibn Ishak al-Hadrami, the author of one of them, is considered as the eighth *reader*. I have not yet been able to discover the names of the two others.



(2) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Husain al-Mazrafi, a teacher of the koranic *readings* and a calculator of the division of inheritances (*al-Faradi*), inhabited Mazrafa, a village lying between Baghdad and Okbara. He was born at Baghdad, A. H. 439 (A. D. 1047-8), and died praying, A. H. 527 (A. D. 1132).—(*Tab. al-Kurrâ*, fol. 145.)

(3) Saad Ibn Yahya Ibn Abi 'l-Khair al-Imrâni, a native of Yemen and the author of the *Bayân*, or *elucidation* of the secondary points of the law, was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, and held a high reputation for his knowledge of the law, dogmatic and scholastic theology, and the science of grammar. None possessed a better acquaintance than he with the works of Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi, and he was surpassed by none in piety and devotion. Students came from all countries to study under him; but it is said that he sometimes combined with the Shafite doctrines certain principles borrowed from the school of Irak, the great imâm of which was Abû Hanîfa. He was born A. H. 489 (A. D. 1096), and died A. H 558 (A. D. 1162-3). The following works were composed by him: the *Bayân*, in ten volumes; the *Zawaîd*, or *additions* to Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi's *Muhaddab*, in two volumes; the *Kitâb as-Sawâl*, questions on the obscure points of the *Muhaddab;* an abridged collection of *fatwas;* an abridgment of al-Ghazzâli's *Ihya olûm ad-dîn;* the *Intisar*, or *aid*, a refutation of the Kadarites. He composed the *Bayân* in somewhat less than four years and the *Zawâîd* in about five.— (*Tab. as-Shâf.*)—In the autograph MS. of Ibn Khallikân, his surname is given as Abû 'l-Husain; in the *Tabakât as-Shâfiyîn*, as Abû 'l-Khair; and in the *Tabakât al-Fokahâ*, as Abû 'l-Hasan, which is also that found in the other manuscripts of Ibn Khallikân's work.

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## IBN ASAAD AL-MAUSILI.

Abû 'l-Faraj Abd Allah Ibn Asaad Ibn Ali Ibn Isa, generally known by the appellation of Ibn ad-Dahhân al-Mausili (*son of the Mosul oil-merchant*), entitled also al-Himsi (*native of Emessà*) and surnamed al-Muhaddab (1), was a jurisconsult of great abilities, a learned scholar and a fine poet. His verses are remarkable for the elegance of their turn and the beauty of their thoughts. Poetry became his ruling passion, and it was to it that he owed his reputation. His poetical works are all of great merit and form a small volume. Mosul was his native place, but poverty forced him to take the resolution of going to Egypt, that he might pay his court to as-Sâlih Ibn Ruzzîk, the lord of that country (*see his life, vol. I. page* 657). Obliged, by the insufficiency of his means, to leave his wife behind him, he addressed the following lines to the *sharîf* Diâ ad-dîn Abû Abd Allah Zaid Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Obaid Allah al-Husaini, the *nakîb* or chief of the *sharîfs* at Mosul:

An afflicted female, bathed in tears for my departure, hoped to detain me by declaring my project the result of folly. Her entreaties were urgent, and when she saw me deaf to her prayers, the tears which fell from her eyes wounded me to the heart. She perceived the camels already loaded,—and the moment of separation had united the lamenters and those for whom they were lamenting,—when she said: "Who will save me from starva-"tion in thy absence?"—"God," I replied, "and thy patron Ibn Obaid Allah. Fear "not for want of sustenance; there is one whose beneficence is ample, like the showers "of the Pleiades; him I have asked to shed abundance upon thy place of dwelling."

When the *sharîf* read these verses, he immediately undertook to provide for the poet's wife, and he furnished her with every thing she required as long as her husband was absent. As for Ibn Asaad, he went to Egypt and recited to as-Sâlih Ibn Ruzzîk the poem composed in his praise, and rhyming in *K*, of which some verses have been already given (*vol. I. page* 658). He afterwards underwent various vicissitudes of fortune and became at length a professor at Hims (*Emessa*), where he fixed his residence. It was for this reason that he re- 361 ceived the surname of *al-Himsi*. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn speaks of him in the *Kharîda*: "When I was in Irak," says he, "my constant desire was to meet him, "for I had read his admired *kasîdas* and was struck with the beauty of his ideas; "his poem rhyming in *K* had already circulated throughout all the literary "world, and was itself a written proof that none of his contemporaries had at-"tained to such a degree of excellence as he." After this eulogium he continues: "A slight lisp only served to display the perfection of his style, and the "very impediment in his speech only showed off better his command of lan-"guage." Farther on he says: "When the sultan Salâh ad-dîn arrived at "Emessa and encamped outside the city, this Abû 'l-Faraj came out to us, and "I presented him to the sultan, saying: 'This is the man who said in his poem "on Ibn Ruzzîk:

'What! shall I praise the Turks in hopes of their bounty? Why! the Turks have 'always left poetry in neglect.'

"On this the sultan made him a present, and observed at the same time that "he did so in order to prevent him at least from saying that he was neglected." The poet then celebrated the praises of the sultan in a *kasîda* of which each verse ends in the letter *aîn*; it is in this poem that we find the following passage:

I shall say to her (2) whom religious scruples prevented from replying to my salutation: "Why then didst thou shed my heart's blood without feeling compunction? Thy pro-

"mise was to meet me in the coming year; but think not that I shall survive till thy "return. Miracle of beauty! thou in whose face alone the Creator employed his utmost "care! it could not have harmed thee hadst thou given me, on the day of our separa- "tion, a sign of recognition with thy eye or with thy hand. Be assured, however, that I "love thee with devotion; so do with me as thou pleasest."

The *kâtib* mentions also that Ibn Asaad recited to him the following lines, and stated that the thought which they contained was perfectly original and had never before been expressed:

His letters are the destruction of squadrons; and when they go forth, I know not which is most effectual,—their lines or an army. The sand adhering to the writing had not been appropriate, did earth not adhere to the soldiers' legs when marching.

These two verses belong to a *kasîda*, and the author has displayed in them great originality. But a certain poet has said, in comparing the pen to an army (3):

A family who, when they seize their pens in anger and dip them in the ink of fate, inflict with them on their enemies greater harm than with their swords.

I may observe that the idea expressed in Ibn Asaad's first verse resembles that which is contained in the following lines, composed by Abû Tammâm, in praise of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik az-Zaiyât, al-Motasim's vizir:

Prince of the faithful! you have roused Muhammad, and in your hand he is a lance and a sword. You no sooner direct his thoughts towards a rebel, than you have directed an army against that foe.

I afterwards discovered an idea similar to that contained in Ibn Asaad's second verse; it is to be found in a *kasîda* composed by at-Tograi (whose life has been given, *vol. I. page* 462), in honour of Nizâm al-Mulk:

When the day is changed to night by the cloud of dust which shrouds the battle-field, those heroes never cease to wield their blood-stained weapons of Indian steel. Lines 362 are traced on their armour by the strokes of the sword; those lines are pointed by the thrusts of lances; thus is formed a page of writing for which the dust of the combat serves as sand.

The following verses by Ibn Asaad are currently cited:

All day she avoids me as she would an enemy; but from evening to morning she bears me company. When she passes by me, she fears discovery and her words are reproaches; but her wanton glance is a salutation.

By the same, on a *girl* whose lip was stung by a bee:

> How dear to me is that maiden stung by the bee! It gave pain to the noblest and most precious of beings. Its sting left a mark on that lip which God had only created to be kissed. It took her mouth for its hive, on finding that the moisture of her lips was like honey.

The apprehension of lengthening this notice too much prevents me from giving more curious passages from his poems. He died at Emessa in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 581 (November, A. D. 1185), but some say, 582: the latter date is that given in the work entitled *as-Sail wa 'z-Zail* (4), but the former is the true one. He was then nearly sixty years of age.—The *sharîf* Ibn Obaid Allah, of whom we have spoken above, died at Mosul in the year 563 (A. D. 1167-8). He was a generous *râis* (5), always ready to do good and possessed of every virtue. He is the author of some poetry, of which we may cite the following lines:

> (*My enemies*) said (*to my beloved*): "He is resigned to his loss." They spoke the truth; I am resigned to the loss of all consolation; not to the loss of her affection. They said: "Why has he ceased to visit her?" I answered: "Through fear of censorious "spies." They said: "How can he live in such a state?" I replied: "That is really "the wonder."

The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn mentions Ibn Obaid Allah in the *Kharîda*, and, after praising him highly, he says: "When at Baghdad I heard a piece of verse sung "there which some Syrians attributed to the *sharîf* Diâ ad-dîn; in it was the "following passage:

> 'O willow of the valley! thou whose glances have shed my heart's blood!—or shall I 'not rather call thee the slender reed of the plain?—It is mine to disclose to thee what I 'suffer from the pains of love, and it is thine not to hearken to me. By what means 'shall I obtain the object of my wishes? my hands are unable to grasp it, and I feel like 'one deprived of them (6)!'"

(1) *Al-Muhaddab* is probably the equivalent of *Muhaddab ad-dîn*.

(2) Literally: *Say to her*; that is, *bear this message from me to her*.

(3) The observations which follow are evidently later additions. They are written in the margin of the autograph MS. and it may be perceived from a close inspection, that they were inserted successively and at three different periods. It may even be remarked that many of the author's later additions, such as these, are of very slight importance.

(4) This is a mistake, but it is found in all the manuscripts, the autograph included. Ibn Khallikân should

have written *as-Sail ala 'z-Zail*, which work is a continuation, by the *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn, of as-Samâni's supplement to the History of Baghdad. See Fluegel's *Hajji Khalifa*, No. 2179.

(5) The author gives Ibn Obaid Allah the title of *râis*, or *chief*, because he was *nakîb* of the *sharîfs*.

(6) This verse is rather enigmatical, but as the poet has just hinted that his mistress resembled a willow or a reed by the thinness of her waist; he most probably means here that her waist was too thin to be clasped; in short, an evanescent quantity.

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## IBN SHAS.

Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Najm Ibn Shâs Ibn Nizâr Ibn Ashâir Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Shâs al-Judâmi as-Saadi, surnamed al-Jalâl (1), was an able jurisconsult of the sect of Mâlik, in the principles of which he was profoundly versed: I met a great number of his former pupils at Cairo, and they all spoke of his merit in the highest terms. He composed on the system of doctrine founded by the imâm Mâlik a valuable work, displaying great originality and entitled *al-Jawâhir ath-Thamîna fi Mazhab Aalimi 'l-Madîna* (*precious jems, being a treatise on the doctrines taught by the* learned man *of Medîna*): it is drawn up on the plan of Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli's *Wajîz*, and furnishes many proofs of the vast abilities possessed by its author; the Malikites of Cairo study it with great assiduity on account of its excellence and the rich store of information which they find in it. Ibn Shâs was a professor in the college near the Great Mosque of Cairo, but when the fortress of Dimyât (*Damietta*) was taken by the misguided 363 enemy (*the crusaders*), he proceeded thither with the design of fighting in the cause of God, and he died there in the month of the latter Jumâda, or in that of Rajab, A. H. 616 (Aug.-Sept. A.D. 1219).—We have already explained the meaning of the words *Judâmi* and *Saadi* (*see vol. I. page* 148).

(1) The autograph has الجلال

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## ABD ALLAH IBN AL-MOTAZZ.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz Ibn al-Mutawakkil Ibn al-Motasim Ibn Harûn ar-Rashid Ibn al-Mahdi Ibn al-Mansûr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbàs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib al-Hâshimi (*a descendant from Hâshim Ibn Abd Manâf*) acquired his knowledge of literature under the tuition of Abû 'l-Abbàs al-Mubarrad, Abû 'l-Abbâs Thaalab, and other eminent masters. He was not only well acquainted with the pure Arabic language, but equally skilled in the arts of eloquence and poetry. In his verses he displayed a natural talent and superior abilities; they were clear in their meaning and easy in their style. These qualities, joined to a fertile genius and a mind prompt in conceiving original ideas of great beauty, inclined him to cultivate the society of learned scholars and literary men, and as such he was himself counted, till the fatal event which befel him in the khalifate of al-Muktadir. Having then entered into a conspiracy with the principal civil and military officers of the empire, they deposed al-Muktadir on Sunday the 20th, or by another account the 23rd, of the first Rabi, A. H. 296 (December, A. D. 908); after which they proclaimed Abd Allah khalif, under the title of al-Murtada billa (*him in whom God is pleased*), or, as it is mentioned in other statements, al-Munsif billah (*the dispenser of justice in God's name*), or al-Ghâlib billah (*the victor with God's assistance*), or ar-Râdi billah (*the pleasing by God's favour*). He remained in authority during one day and one night, when his supporters were attacked and dispersed by the partisans of al-Muktadir, who had united in considerable force; the deposed khalif was restored to the throne, and Ibn al-Motazz fled for concealment to the house of a person named Abû Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Husain, but who was more generally known by the name of Ibn al-Jassàs at-Tàjir al-Jauhari (*the merchant jeweller, son of the gypsum seller*). He was there discovered by al-Muktadir and handed over to the eunuch Mûnis (1), the lord treasurer, by whom he was put to death. His body was then delivered up to his family, enveloped in a cloak. Some persons have mentioned that he died a natural death, but this is not true; for he was certainly strangled by Mûnis on Thursday the 2nd of the latter Rabi, A. H. 296 (December, A. D. 908). He was interred in a ruined building opposite his own house. His birth took place

on the 22nd of Shaabân, A. H. 247 (October, A. D. 861), or according to Sinân Ibn Thâbit (2), in the year 246. The fall of Ibn al-Motazz is an event of which the history is well known; a full narration of it would lead us too far, but the main points of it are what we have just mentioned (3). Ibn al-Jassâs was then arrested by al-Muktadir's orders, and fined to the amount of two millons of dinars, but some time after, seven hundred thousand of them were restored to him. He was an inconsiderate and simple man. His death occurred on Sunday the 13th of Shawwâl, A. H 315 (December, A. D. 927).—Ibn al-Motazz composed the following works: *Kitâb az-Zahr wa 'r-Riâd* (*flowers and gardens*); *Kitâb al-Badî* (*treatise on the beauties of style*); the *Mukâtibat al-Ikhwân* (*poetical correspondence between the Brethren*); the *Jawârih wa 's-Said* (*a treatise on falcons and game*); on Plagiarisms; Poems by royal authors; the *Kitâb al-Adâb* (*on politeness and social duties*); the *Halyu 'l-Akhbâr* (*historical jewels*); the *Tabakât as-Shuarâ* (*a classified biography of the poets*); the *Jâmi* (*a comprehensive treatise on vocal music*), and a collection of *rajaz* verses in dispraise of early drinking. One of his sayings was: "Eloquence is the just expression of ideas in few "words (4)." He observed also that if he was asked what was the finest passage of poetry which he knew of, he would say that it was the following, by al-Abbâs Ibn al-Ahnaf:

The public have cast suspicions on us (5) and spoken of our conduct in various manners. But some were mistaken and suspected a wrong person (*to be my beloved*), and others were right in their conjectures, but knew it not.

Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Bassâm, a poet whose life shall be given in this work, lamented the death of Ibn al-Motazz in these terms:

How eloquent were thy words, thou whom destruction has placed among the dead. It was thou to whom belonged the pre-eminence of learning, of polished manners, and of worth. Never did an *if* or an *unless* diminish the value (*of the favours conferred by thee*); the only *conjunction* which ever occurred to thee was thy *conjunction* with sudden death (6).

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As a specimen of the charming verses composed by Ibn al-Motazz, and of his novel comparisons, we may quote the following:

May an abundant shower water the shady groves of al-Matîra and the convent of Abdûn. How often, at the dawn of day before the lark took wing, I was awoke to take my morning-draught of wine by the voices of convent-monks at their prayers. Clothed

in black robes, they chaunted matins; around their waists were belts, and on their heads, crowns of hair (7). The light of the new moon had nearly betrayed us, when she appeared, thin as a paring of the nail. I shall not say what passed; question me not, but think the best.

Here is another pretty piece not to be found in his collected poetical works, but which all those who first transmitted his poems by oral tradition agree in considering as his:

A nymph arrayed in a short tunic hastened towards the carousers, bearing a cornelian (*red wine*) in a white pearl (*a porcelain cup*). The bright moon in the heavens seemed like a coin of gold thrown on a carpet of azure velvet. How often did this maiden cheer me with her society, in nights untroubled by the dread of jealous spies. Another too was there with a slender waist, and tongue-tied by the effects of wine; she could only converse by nods and signs. I pushed her with my hand and said: "Awake, thou "who art the joy of our friendly and convivial band." And she answered with a voice enfeebled by inebriation, and interrupted like that of one who stammers: "I understand "thy words, but the juice of the purple (*fruit*) has overcome me. Leave me till morn-"ing that I may recover, and then, master, treat thy slave as thou wilt (8)."

By the same on boiled wine (9),—a piece which proves that its author was a Hanefite:

My friends! the purple liquor is now fit for drinking; for it I have renounced my piety, and (*grave divines have said*) "It is praiseworthy to renounce former habits." Give here the wine in its robe of glass, like a ruby set round with brilliants; the water forms on its surface bubbles of silver rising in circlets which break and form again. It has the quality of preserving me from the flames of hell (10), and that is a great merit; deny it who can!

Ibn al-Motazz was of a deep tawny complexion and long-faced, with a beard dyed black. I read in a compilation of anecdotes that he used to say: "There 365 "were four poets whose works bore a character opposite to that of their au-"thors: the poems of Abû 'l-Atâhiya were noted for their spirit of piety, yet "he himself was an atheist; those of Abû Nuwâs were on an infamous sub-"ject, yet he was more passionate for females than a baboon; Abû Hukaima "the *kâtib's* poetry was considered as a proof of his impotence, yet he was "really more salacious than a goat; and the verses of Muhammad Ibn Hâzim "were in praise of contentment, yet he was greedier than a dog." But I was told an anecdote of Ibn Hâzim which proves the contrary of what Ibn al-Motazz said respecting him, and shows that his character accorded with his writings: He was living, it seems, in the neighbourhood of Saîd Ibn Humaid at-Tûsi, the

*kâtib*, and made a satire on him in consequence of some affair that passed between them: Saîd, on learning the contents of this poem, overlooked the affront, though sufficiently powerful to punish the author of it. Some time after, Ibn Hâzim was reduced to poverty and removed from that neighbourhood; this came to the ears of Saîd, who immediately sent to him a present of ten thousand dirhims, some trunks of clothes, a horse with his harness, a male and a female slave, accompanied with a letter worded in these terms: "A man of "instruction can be led by a whim of his imagination to describe a subject "under a false aspect, and his talent may induce him to depict it in other co- "lours than its own; of such a nature must certainly be that satire which, it "is reported, you have composed on me. I have now just heard of the state "to which you are reduced and of the poverty from which you suffer; a mis- "fortune which is by no means a disgrace to one who, like you, is gifted with "a noble spirit and a lofty soul. Let us be now partners in what we both "possess and share equally what we have. So I here offer you something which, "though small, may serve as an opening to greater favours which are to follow." However, Ibn Hâzim sent the whole back with these lines:

> You have treated me as al-Muhallab treated al-Farazdak when he overwhelmed him with his unbounded generosity. You sent riches (11) to tempt me, but you shall not effect your project; I swear by the Lord of *that which is double and that which is single!* (12) I will never accept the favours of a man whom I have covered with everlasting ignominy.

This is a proof that Ibn Hâzim was really contented with his lot, and that he could support poverty with patience and resignation (13).—Abû Othmân Saîd Ibn Humaid was a *kâtib*, a poet, and a writer of epistles; gifted with a sweet style and possessing superior abilities in his profession. He was also a skilful plagiarist; so much so, that a wit said: "If Saîd's prose and verse were ordered "to return to their real authors, he would be left without a line of his own." He claimed to be descended from the kings of Persia, and composed a work called the *Taswiya* (*equalization*), in which he vindicated the Persians from the depreciation in which they were held by the Arabs. His epistles form also a volume, and his poetical works another of small size.—*Matîra* is a village near Sarra-manrâa.—The *Abdûn*, after whom the convent is so called, was brother to the vizir Sâid Ibn Makhlad (14): he frequently visited that establishment, to pass some

time there, and it was by his means that it had been erected; for this reason it was called the Convent of Abdûn (*Dair Abdûn*). It is hard by al-Matira. Another Dair Abdûn is situated near Jazirat Ibn Omar (15), from which it is only separated by the Tigris; it is now in ruins, but was formerly much visited by the inhabitants of that city in their country-parties.—The verse of Ibn al-Motazz, *The light of the moon had nearly betrayed us, etc.* (16), contains an idea borrowed from Amr Ibn Omaiya, who thus describes the new moon:

The daughter of the clouds of night descends towards the horizon, (*in shape*) like the nail-cutting pared off a little finger.

(1) Mûnis was also lord chamberlain to the khalif and possessed immense influence.

(2) Abû Saîd Sinân Ibn Thâbit Ibn Kurra al-Harrâni (*a Sabean by religion and a native of Harrân*) was the chief physician of the khalif al-Muktadir, and he afterwards served al-Kâhir in the same capacity. This prince always consulted him and placed the highest confidence in his talents. He invited him to become a Moslim, and after a long resistance, Sinân was forced to compliance by the threats of the khalif and the apprehension inspired by his violent character. Some time afterwards, perceiving in al-Kâhir's conduct a change which foreboded nothing good, he fled to Khorasân, and after a residence in that country, he returned to Baghdad, where he died in the Moslim religion, A.H. 331 (A.D. 942-3). In the reign of al-Muktadir, he had risen to be the *râis*, or chief of the physicians; and in the year 309, that prince gave orders that none should be allowed to practise without a certificate of capacity from Sinân. In consequence of this decree, upwards of eight hundred and sixty persons, from Baghdad alone, applied to him for certificates; but the other physicians attached to the court, and those whose reputation was already established by extensive practice, were dispensed from that obligation. In the year 306 (A. D. 918-9), al-Muktadir founded an hospital, at Sinân's request, near the Damascus Gate (*Bâb as-Shâm*), and granted to it a monthly sum of two hundred dinars. In the same year the hospital called *Bîmâristân as-Saiyida* was founded also at his desire; six hundred dinars a month were allotted for its support, and the administration of the establishment was confided to the celebrated astronomer Yûsuf Ibn Yahya. Sinân Ibn Thâbit composed a treatise on the history of the old Syrian kings; an explanation of the principles of the Sabean religion; some treatises on mathematics and astronomy; and a number of medical works besides. Fuller details respecting him will be found in the *Târîkh al-Hukamâ* and the work of Ibn Abi Osaibîâ.

(3) The author furnishes more information on this head in the life of the vizir Ali Ibn al-Furât, and the event is noticed by all historians.

(4) Literally: Eloquence is the attaining to the idea without a long journey of words.

(5) Literally: Have swept over us the trains of their suspicions.

(6) I have here rendered the Arabic pun by an English one nearly equivalent. *If* and *unless* are classed by the Arabian grammarians among what they call particles (*harf*), a term by which they designate all the parts of speech which are neither nouns nor verbs. "The only particle which occurred to thee," says Ibn Bassâm, "was the particle of correction حرفة الادب." Ath-Thaalibi employs this expression in his *Yatîma* when speaking of the poet Abû Faras Ibn Hamdân, "who," says he, "received the *lesson of adversity* (literally *the misfortune of correction*) and "was taken prisoner by the Greeks." In this case, the first word



should be pronounced *hirfa*; but Ibn Bassâm pronounced it *harfa*, to effect a verbal quibble. This expression sometimes, as in the verse quoted by Ibn Khallikân, signifies *an untimely death*, which is always a moral *lesson* for others.

(7) Here, in the Arabic, follow four lines, which, for reasons already given, I have not translated.

(8) This last verse is not to be found in some of the MSS., the autograph among the number.

(9) It appears from the treatises on the Hanefite system of jurisprudence, that *must*, or the unfermented juice of the grape, may be lawfully drunk, provided that it be reduced by boiling to *less* than two-thirds of its original volume.

(10) Had this sort of wine not existed, the poet would have drunk wine prepared by fermentation, and have thus committed a mortal sin.

(11) In the printed Arabic text, read بالاموال.

(12) That is: *Of all created things*. See Koran, surat 89, verse 2, with Sale's note.

(13) It is rather a proof of his pride, insolence, and heartlessness.

(14) It is probable that the author meant to say *al-Hasan* Ibn Maklad, who was one of the khalif al-Motamid's vizirs.—(MS. No. 895, fol. 232 v.)

(15) Jazîrat Ibn Omar, or *Djezîreh*, is situated on the west bank of the Tigris, and lies to the north of Mosul, in the province of Nisibîn.

(16) See page 43.

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## ABU MUHAMMAD IBN TABATABA.

Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ibrahîm Tabâtabâ Ibn Ismail Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, a native of Hijâz but an inhabitant of Egypt, in which country he died, 366 was a *sharîf* noted for the purity of his life, the nobleness of his character, his vast possessions in lands and tenements, the brilliant style in which he lived, the number of his slaves, the greatness of his retinue, the ease which he enjoyed, and the comforts with which he was surrounded. There was always a man in the hall of his house occupied from morning till night in pounding almonds for sweetmeats; these his master sent as presents to different persons in the city, such as al-Kâfûr al-Ikhshidi and others of inferior rank; the man himself received two pieces of gold every month for his pains. Those presents were taken to some daily, to others every Friday or every month; but to Kâfûr were brought every second day two vases filled with sweetmeats and a cake besides, all folded up in a handkerchief and carefully sealed. This raised the envy of a great man at court, who observed to Kâfûr that the sweetmeats were

certainly good, but that the cake did not appear to him to be an offering suited to a person of his rank. On this, Kâfûr wrote to the *sharîf*, requesting him to forward the sweetmeats as usual, but to dispense him from accepting the cake. Ibn Tabâtabâ, perceiving from this that some envious person wished his ruin, immediately mounted his horse and rode off to Kâfûr; when they were together, he told him that he had not sent the cake through a feeling of pride or haughtiness, but that it was kneaded and baked by a young maiden of the family of Hasan (1), and that it was she who offered it to him out of purely religious motives; however, if he wished, it should be discontinued. "By no means," replied Kâfûr; "let it be brought to me as usual, and for the future I shall eat of "no other." From that time, the cake and the sweetmeats continued to be sent regularly as before. After the death of Kâfûr, Egypt was reduced under the domination of al-Moizz Abû Tamîm Maad al-Obaidi by his general Jawhar, him of whom we have spoken (*in vol. I. page* 340); and at a later period, al-Moizz came there himself from the province of Ifrîkiya. His pretensions to be a descendant of Ali had been already contested, and on his approach to Old Cairo, the people of the city went forth to meet him, accompanied by a band of *sharîfs*; and Ibn Tabâtabâ, who was one of the number, asked him from whom he drew his descent. To this question al-Moizz replied: "We shall hold a sitting to which "all of you shall be convened, and there we shall expose to you the entire chain "of our genealogy." Being at length established in the castle of Cairo, he gave a public audience as he had promised, and having taken his seat, he asked if any of their chiefs were still alive? "No," replied they, "not one of any "consequence survives." He then drew his sword half way out of the scabbard and exclaimed: "This is my genealogy! and here," said he, scattering a great quantity of gold among them, "here are the proofs of my nobility!" On this they all acknowledged him for their lord and master (2).—Ibn Tabâtabâ treated the intendants of his domains with great attention and kindness; he went on horseback to visit them and his friends, giving them every mark of politeness and sitting with them for a considerable time before retiring. Great numbers owed their wealth to his generosity; indeed the whole tenour of his conduct was most praiseworthy. He was born A. H. 286 (A. D. 899), and he died at Cairo on the 4th of Rajab, A. H. 348 (September, A. D. 959). Funeral prayers were said over his body in the Musalla of the Festival (3), and an innumerable multitude

were present at his interment. He was buried in the Karâfa, and his tomb is in high repute for the fulfilment of prayers offered up at it: it is stated that a man made the pilgrimage to Mekka, but had forgot to visit the tomb of the blessed Prophet at Medina; an omission for which he continued to feel the deepest regret: but he at length saw the Prophet in a dream, and was told by him that when he forgot to visit the tomb at Medina, he should visit that of Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Tabâtabâ. Of all the holy men, it was he principally who appeared to the inhabitants of Cairo in their dreams (4). It is also related that a person indebted to his kindness recited these verses at his tomb:

Since thy death, the existence of mankind is troubled with care; but during thy life, they were secure from misfortune.

He then had a dream in which Ibn Tabâtabâ appeared to him and said: "I "heard thy words, but my answer with the accomplishment of thy desires was "intercepted before it reached thee; go, however, to a mosque (5) and make a "prayer of two *rakas*; then ask, thy request shall be granted."—We have already explained the meaning of the word *Tabâtabâ* (*in vol. I. page* 115).—The anecdote which we have just related, of Ibn Tabâtabâ's interview with al-Moizz on that prince's arrival in Egypt, is taken from the work called *ad-Dual al-Munkatia* (6), but it is in contradiction with dates; for al-Moizz entered Cairo in the month of Ramadân, A.H. 362 (June, A.D. 973), as we shall again mention in his life, and 367 Ibn Tabâtabâ died A. H. 348, as has been already said; how then can we admit that a meeting took place between them? I learned the date of his death from our *shaikh* Zaki 'd-dîn Abd al-Azîm al-Mundiri, whom I consulted also on this anachronism: he replied that the date of Ibn Tabâtabâ's death was perfectly certain, and that it was perhaps his son to whom this circumstance happened with al-Moizz; God knoweth best if this conjecture be right or not! (7) I have since found that the emir al-Mukhtâr al-Musabbihi gives, in his History of Egypt, the same date for Ibn Tabâtabâ's death as that which I received from Zaki 'd-dîn. He adds also: "He died, after long sufferings, of (*an excrescence like*) a mul-"berry which obstructed his throat, and for which every remedy that they tried was useless. It was a strange and unheard-of malady."—Since writing the foregoing observations, I read in Ibn Zûlâk's History of Egypt that the *sharîfs* who went to meet al-Moizz were Abû Jaafar Muslim Ibn Obaid Allah al-Hu-

saini (8) and Abû Ismail Ibrahîm Ibn Ahmad al-Husaini ar-Rassi; it was perhaps one of them to whom the circumstance happened (*with al-Moizz*).

(1) The autograph has حسنية. The girl was apparently the daughter of Ibn Tabâtabâ, who, as his genealogy shows, was descended from Hasan, grandson of Muhammad.

(2) See Ibn Khallikan's observations on this anecdote, towards the end of the article.

(3) See vol. I. page 605.

(4) The opinion of the Moslims on the subject of dreams is stated in the first volume.

(5) The autograph has مسجد.

(6) See vol. I. page 152, note (5).

(7) I am convinced that this anecdote is totally false. Al-Moizz was too prudent to make any declaration of the kind, as it would not only have destroyed his own title and that of his descendants to the khalifate, but have shaken the fidelity of his Berber troops, who only served him from their conviction that he was really descended from the Prophet and the true heir to his authority. I must also observe that, notwithstanding Hajji Khalifa's favourable opinion of the work, the *Dual al-Munkatia* does not seem to be always a sure guide; some of the anecdotes extracted from it by Ibn Khallikân are totally unworthy of belief.

(8) See vol. I. page 322, note (1).

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## ABD ALLAH IBN TAHIR.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir Ibn al-Husain Ibn Musâb Ibn Ruzaik Ibn Mâhân al-Khuzâi, a prince whose father's life we have given (*vol. I. page* 649), was gifted with superior abilities, a lofty soul, and great discernment. Al-Mâmûn placed in him the highest confidence, and treated him with the utmost consideration, on account of his personal merit and the faithful services which his father and his ancestors had rendered to the Abbaside family. He was governor of Dinawar when Babek al-Khurrami invaded Khorasân with his followers and entered al-Hamrâ, a town in the province of Naisâpûr, where they committed great ravages. Al-Mâmûn, on receiving intelligence of this event, wrote to Abd Allah, ordering him to proceed to Khorasân; he set out on the 15th of the first Rabi, A. H. 213 (June, A. D. 828), and waged war with the rebels. In the month of Rajab, A. H. 215 (Aug.-Sept. A. D. 830), he arrived at Naisâpûr, which had suffered much that year from the total want of rain. His entry into the city was accompanied by a heavy shower, on which a cloth-merchant went out to him from his shop and recited these verses:

We were afflicted with drought till thy arrival; but with thee abundance drew near. Two showers came at the same time; so let us welcome the emir (1) and the rain.

Such is the statement set forth in as-Salâmi's History of Khorasân, but at-Tabari says in his Annals: "Abd Allah the son of Tâhir was at Dinawar in the "year 213, at the time of his brother Talha's death." — We have spoken of Talha in the life of his father Tâhir (*vol. I. pp.* 649,654).—"The kâdi Yahya Ibn "Aktham was then sent to him by al-Mâmûn with a message of condolence and "with directions to felicitate him on his elevation to the government of Khora-"sân."—Farther on, however, when giving an account of Talha's administration, he makes a different statement: "At the time of Tâhir's death," says he, "Abd Allah was at Rakka, combatting Nasr Ibn Shabath (2), and al-Mâmûn "conferred upon him the government of all the provinces held by his father, "and granted him that of Syria besides. Abd Allah then sent his brother Talha "to Khorasân." The same author says again, under the year 213: "Al-Mâ-"mûn now appointed his brother al-Motasim to the government of Syria and "Egypt, and he nominated his own son al-Abbâs as ruler over Mesopotamia, "the northern frontiers of that province and those of Syria (*ath-Thughûr wa 'l-"Awâsim*). He gave to each of them five hundred thousand dinars, and to Abd "Allah Ibn Tâhir a similar sum. It is said that he never gave away as much "money in a single day as he had done in that (3)."— The poet Abû Tammâm at-Tâi set out from Irak with the design of paying his court to Abd Allah, and, on reaching Kûmis after a long and fatiguing journey, he pronounced these verses:

368 We arrived at Kûmis, worn away by our journey and the fatiguing pace of our camels, now no longer restive. My companions then said: "Dost thou mean to lead us (*to* "*earth's farthest limits*,) to the place of sunrise?"—"No," I replied; "but to the point "where the sun of generosity riseth over the world."

I may here observe, before going farther, that Abû Tammâm has stolen the idea and the very words of these verses from a piece by Muslim Ibn al-Walid al-Ansâri (4), in which he says:

My companions hastened forward on their journey, and the horses lent heavily on the bit: "Dost thou intend," said they, "to lead us to the place of sunset?"—"No," I replied, "but to the spot where liberality riseth over the world."

When Abû Tammâm arrived at his journey's end, he waited on Abd Allah and recited to him his splendid *kasîda* rhyming in *B*, wherein he says:

These riders, worn away with fatigue and thin as the points of spears, toiled through the darkness which invaded the earth; and the beasts that bore them were emaciated like them. They came on a business which it was theirs to commence, and another's to finish (5).

The following verse also is contained in the same magnificent *kasîda*:

But Abd Allah struck (6) terror into the night, and, through dread of his vengeance, it ceased to assail us; the very scorpions (7) which crawl forth at night did not dare to stir.

It was in this journey that Abû Tammâm composed the *Hamâsa*; for, on arriving at Hamadân, the winter had set in, and, as the cold is excessively severe in that country, the snow blocked up the road, and obliged him to stop and await the thaw. During his stay, he resided with one of the most eminent men of the place, who possessed a library in which were some collections of poems composed by the Arabs of the desert and other authors. Having then sufficient leisure, he perused those works and selected from them the passages out of which he formed his *Hamâsa*. — Abd Allah was versed in the belles-lettres and possessed an elegant taste; he was also a good musician and composed the airs of a great number of songs, inserted as his in the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*; they are very beautiful and have been transmitted down unaltered by the persons who make music their profession. Some fine verses and charming letters of his are still preserved. One of his pieces is as follows:

We are a people who yield to the force of large and brilliant eyes, and yet (*armour of*) iron yields to our (*blows in war*). Submissive to these gazelles, we are vanquished by their glances; we who with our spears vanquish lions. We subdue the beasts of chace, but are ourselves subdued by fair maidens with modest eyes and cheeks unprofaned by public gaze. The lions dread our anger, but we dread the anger of a fawn(*-like nymph*), when she seems displeased. Behold us freemen in the day of battle, but in peace slaves to the fair.

These verses have been attributed to Asram Ibn Humaid, a person in whose honour al-Mutanabbi composed some of his poems; but God best knows who was their author.— One of Abd Allah's most remarkable pieces is the following:

Forgive my fault and merit my deepest gratitude; the recompense of my thanks shall not be withheld from thee. Oblige me not to find an excuse for my conduct; I may perhaps be unsuccessful.

One of his sayings was, that a well-filled purse and a glorious reputation are never found together (8). A paper was one day put into his hands, in which it 369 was represented to him that a number of persons went out of the city on a party of pleasure, and that they had taken with them a young boy. On reading the complaint, he wrote above it these words: "What mode of legal proceedings "can be taken against young men who go out to amuse themselves, and satisfy "their inclinations as far as lies in their power? And the boy may be a son to "one of them or a relation of some of them (9)." Abd Allah held for some time, but at different periods, the governments of Syria and of Egypt. When in the latter country, he was spoken of in these terms by a poet:

People say that Egypt is a distant land, but for me it is not distant since the son of Tâhir is there. Farther from us than Egypt are some men that you see here present, but whose favours you never see. They are dead to every virtue, and a visit to them in hopes of a generous gift is as a visit made to those whose dwelling is the tomb.

These verses are also attributed, but I do not know on what grounds, to Aûf Ibn Muhallim as-Shaibâni (10). Abd Allah entered Old Cairo A. H. 211 (A. D. 826), but left it towards the end of the same year, and in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada he arrived at Baghdad. During his absence, he confided the government of the province to his lieutenants. In A.H. 213, he was replaced by Abû Ishak the son of Harûn ar-Rashîd, who was afterwards khalif under the title of al-Motasim. Al-Farghâni says in his History that Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir succeeded in the government of Egypt to Obaid Allah Ibn as-Sari Ibn al-Hakam (11); the latter left the country in the month of Safar, A. H. 211, and Abd Allah on the 25th of Rajab, 212, when he proceeded to Irak, after leaving the government of the country to his lieutenants; they remained in authority till the appointment of al-Motâsim. The vizir Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Maghribi (12) says in his *Adab al-Khawâss* that the Abdalâwi (*or Abdallian*) melon which grows in Egypt was so called after Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir. This species of melon is not found in any other country, and it was perhaps named after him because he was fond of it or was the first who cultivated it there. Abd Allah and his family belonged to the tribe of Khuzâa by right of adoption; their grandfather Ruzaik having been

a *mawla* to Abû Muhammad Talha Ibn Abd Allah (13) Ibn Khalaf al-Khuzâi, who is generally known by the name of Talhat at-Talhât. Talha acted as governor of Sijistân, under the orders of Abû Harb Muslim Ibn Ziâd Ibn Abîh, the governor of Khorasân. He died there whilst Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair was in revolt against the khalif. The poet Obaid Allah Ibn Kais ar-Rukaiyât (14) said on this subject:

May the mercy of God be shown to the bones which were interred in Sijistân—to Talhat at-Talhât.

Talhat at-Talhât was so called because his mother's name was Talha, daughter of Abû Talha. This observation is furnished by Abû 'l-Husain Ali Ibn Ahmad as-Salâmi in his history of the governors of Khorasân (15).—*Kûmas* or *Kûmis*, the country of which Abû Tamîm speaks in the verses given above, is situated in Persian Irak; its limit on the Khorasân side extends to Bastâm, and on the Irak side to Simnân, and includes both of these cities.—Abd Allah died at Marw in the month of the first Rabî, A. H. 228, or 230 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 844), which is more exact. [At-Tabari says that he died at Naisâpûr on Monday, the 11th of the first Rabî, 230, seven days after the death of Ashnâs at-Turki.] He lived to the same age as his father, namely forty-eight years. We shall give the life of his son Obaid Allah.

(1) The comparison of a generous man to a shower is very common. Like the drops of rain which water a parched soil, his gifts spread abundance around.

(2) The revolt of Nasr Ibn Shabath is not noticed by Abû 'l-Fedâ, although mentioned by Ibn al-Athîr in his *Kâmil*. This historian relates that in the year 198 (A. D. 813-4), Nasr Ibn Shabath al-Akili, who was then inhabiting Kaisûm كيسوم, a place to the north of Aleppo, revolted against al-Mâmûn. He was devotedly attached to al-Amîn and had taken the oath of allegiance to him; wherefore, on that prince's death, his anger was excited, and declaring himself the vindicator of the Arabic race, whose rights the Abbasides had contemned by introducing foreigners into the service of the empire, he seized on all the neighbouring towns, and Somaisât among the rest. Being then joined by a great number of the desert Arabs and needy adventurers, he crossed the Euphrates with the intention of subduing Mesopotamia. In the year 199, he laid siege to Harrân, and Tâhir, who was sent against him, did not gain over him any signal advantage. He persevered in his revolt till A. H. 209, when he was besieged in Kaisûm by Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir, and forced to surrender. The conqueror levelled that place to the ground, and sent his prisoner to al-Mâmûn, who, it would appear, pardoned him. The author of the *Khulâsat al-Akhbâr* and Ibn Khallikân place the defeat of Nasr Ibn Shabath at Rakka, which however was the head-quarters of Abd Allah. I must observe that in



the Arabic edition of this work, I have printed the word *Shabath* as here transcribed, although written otherwise in my MSS. My correction has been confirmed by the reading of the autograph and by the text of Ibn al-Athîr, where the orthography of the name is given letter by letter.

(3) The avarice of al-Mâmûn was proverbial.

(4) See vol. I. page 25, note (3). Muslim Ibn al-Walîd died A. H. 208 (A. D. 823-4).

(5) They set out in hopes of obtaining money, and that depended on the will of the patron to whom they intended to apply.

(6) In the printed Arabic text read بث.

(7) In Arabic the word عقارب means both *scorpions* and *secret foes*.

(8) The reason is clear: generous men never hoard up money.

(9) I suspect that in the original Arabic, this note bears throughout a double meaning. The more obvious is that given here; the other is of such a nature as cannot be even alluded to.

(10) The autograph has the words *Aûf Ibn* inserted before *al-Muhallim*. This is probably the same poet whose death Ibn Shâkir places in the year 220, and of whom he gives rather a long notice. According to him, Abû 'l-Manhâl Aûf Ibn Muhallim (I read محلم, not محكم,) al-Khuzâi was one of the learned men of that age, and equally remarkable for his convivial talents and his wit. He became the inseparable companion of Tâhir Ibn al-Husain and enjoyed his favour to such a degree, that even in travelling, he rode behind him on the same camel or was borne in the same litter عديلة. His first acquaintance with that emir was formed by accident: He saw him in a pleasure-barge on the Tigris and addressed him in the lines already mentioned by Ibn Khallikân, vol. I. page 651, and which begin thus: *I wonder how the bark, etc.* (It may be observed that the latter writer attributes them to another poet.) Tâhir then made him get into the boat, and from that moment the patron and the poet were inseparable. Aûf frequently asked leave of absence from Tâhir that he might go and see his own family, but his master was so much attached to him, that the permission was constantly refused. When Tâhir died, Aûf naturally hoped that he might then visit the relations whom he had not seen for so long a time, but Abd Allah the son of Tâhir conceived for him the same fondness as his father had done, and would not allow him to depart. He thenceforward treated the poet with great kindness and raised him to opulence by the abundance of his gifts. Aûf having at length obtained the long-desired permission, set out to see his family, but died on the way.—(*Oyûn at-Tawârîkh,* vol. VIII. fol. 10.—Other anecdotes respecting him are to be found in the next pages of that work.)

(11) In the month of Shabân, A. H. 206 (January, A. D. 822), Obaid Allah Ibn as-Sari was proclaimed governor of Egypt by the troops, on the death of his brother Muhammad. By the double right then conferred upon him of presiding at public prayers and of administering the revenues of the state, he possessed the greatest privileges which a provincial governor could obtain. But his ambition was not satisfied, and some time afterwards he revolted against his sovereign al-Mâmûn. Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir was immediately recalled from Khorasân and sent with an army against the rebel. After an obstinate conflict outside the walls of Cairo, Obaid Allah was forced to take refuge in the citadel and propose terms of surrender. He sent also to Ibn Tâhir a present of one thousand male and one thousand female slaves; each of the latter bearing a silken purse in which was contained one thousand pieces of gold. The argument was irresistible, and Obaid Allah obtained an honourable capitulation. He had been in the exercise of power four years seven months and eight days.—(Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *Nujûm.*)

(12) His life is given in vol. I. page 450.

(13) In page 510 of the preceding volume I have written this name Obaid Allah, although it is printed Abd Allah in the text. The same manuscript which induced me to think that the reading of the text was erroneous, led

me to write Obaid Allah in the Arabic text corresponding to the present passage: but Abd Allah is the true reading in both places, not Obaid Allah.

(14) Obaid Allah Ibn Kais Ibn Shuraih Ibn Mâlik Ibn Rabîa al-Aâmiri, a native of Hijâz and a celebrated poet, composed verses in honour of Musâb Ibn az-Zubair and Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân. He was surnamed *ar-Rukaiyât*, because he sung in some of his pieces the charms of three females, each of whom bore the name of *Rukaiya*.—(See Suyûti's *Sharh Shawâhid al-Moghni*, MSS. No. 1238, fol. 33.)

(15) We read however as follows in Ibn Shâkir's *Oyûn at-Tawârîkh*, vol. III. fol. 4: "A. H. 80 (A. D. "699-700). In this year died Talha Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Khalaf, one of the persons renowned for their gene- "rosity, and the most liberal man of all the inhabitants of Basra. Al-Asmâi says: 'Those noted for their "'beneficence were Talha Ibn Obaid Allah at-Tamîmi, surnamed *al-Khair* (*the good*); Talha Ibn Amr Ibn "'Abd Allah Ibn Mâmar, surnamed *al-Jûd* (*liberality*); Talha Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Aûf Ibn Akhî Abd ir- "'Rahmân Ibn Aûf, surnamed *an-Nida* (*abundant gifts*); Talha Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali, surnamed *al-Faiyâd* "'(*overflowing with generosity*), and Talha Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Khalaf, surnamed Talhat at-Talhât (*the* "'*Talha of the Talhas*), who, in generosity, surpassed them all.'"

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## ABU 'L-AMAITHAL.

The *kâtib* Abû 'l-Amaithal Abd Allah Ibn Khulaid was a *mawla* to Jaafar Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib, and came, it is said, of a family which inhabited Rai (*in Persian Irak*). In his style he affected pompous expressions and the use of uncommon terms (1). He was employed as a secretary by Tâhir (*Ibn al-Husain al-Khuzâi*), and was afterwards at- **370** tached in the same capacity, and in that of a poet, to the service of Abd Allah, Tâhir's son. The pure Arabic language was well known to him, and he made frequent use of the idioms peculiar to it. In the art of poetry he displayed considerable abilities, and the following lines on Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir are of his composing:

> O you who desire to possess qualities such as those of Abd Allah, be silent and listen! I swear by Him to whose temple the pilgrims resort, that I shall give you a sincere advice; hearken then, or renounce your project: Be true, be modest, be charitable; endure with patience and indulgence; pardon, oblige; be mild, be gentle and be brave; act with kindness and lenity, with longanimity, courtesy, and forbearance; be firm and resolute; protect the feeble, maintain the right and repel injustice. Such is my counsel, if you choose to accept it, and are disposed to follow a straight and open way.

This is really a piece of extraordinary beauty, and he composed some others, equally fine. It is related that he one day went to the palace of Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir, but was refused admittance, on which he said:

> Never shall I return to this door whilst admittance is so difficult as I find it now; I shall wait till access be more easy. And on the day in which I did not find a means to enter, I at least found means of not favouring the master with my presence.

These verses were repeated to Abd Allah, who blamed the door-keeper's conduct, and gave orders that the poet should be admitted. Abû 'l-Amaithal observed that the word *nomân* was one of the terms used to designate *blood*, and that the flowers called *shakâik an-Nomân*, or *Nomân poppies* (2), had received this name on account of their red colour, the opinion that they were so called after an-Nomân Ibn al-Mundir being totally unfounded. "I made this observation," continued he, "to al-Asmâi, who repeated it, adding: 'Such are the words of " 'Abû Amaithal.' " This opinion however is in contradiction with that held by all eminent philologers; thus Ibn Kutaiba says, in his *Kitâb al-Maârif*: "An-" Nomân Ibn al-Mundir"—the last Lakhmide king of Hîra—"went out of " Kûfa into the open country at a time in which it was all yellow, red, and " green, from the quantity of herbage and flowers, among which were poppies " in great abundance. On seeing them, he declared that their beauty pleased " him and that he forbade them to be gathered. This prohibition none dared " to transgress, and they were therefore called *an-Nomân's poppies*." Al-Jawhari also mentions in his *Sahâh* that they were so denominated after this an-Nomân, and other writers have made a similar statement: which opinion may be right, God best knows! It is related that when Abû Tammâm recited to Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir his poem rhyming in *B*, of which we have spoken in his life (3), Abû 'l-Amaithal, who was present, said to him: "Abû Tammâm! why do you " not say something which may be understood?" To this the other retorted: " Abû Amaithal! why do you not understand what people say?"—Abû Amaithal one day kissed the hand of Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir, and as the prince complained of the roughness of his mustachioes, he immediately observed that the spines of the hedgehog could not hurt the wrist of the lion. Abd Allah was so highly pleased with this compliment, that he ordered a valuable present to be given to the poet.—The following works, amongst others, were composed by

thal: a treatise on the terms which bear different meanings; a work entitled *Kitâb at-Tashâbuh* (4) (*mutual resemblance*); a notice on those verses which are current and well known, and a treatise on the ideas usually expressed in poetry. He died A. H. 240 (A.D. 854-5).—The word *Amaithal* serves to designate a number of things, and, amongst the rest, the lion; that such is its meaning in the present case is perfectly evident.

(1) In the Arabic text, read يغربه.

(2) The *Shakâik an-Nomân*, here translated *an-Nomân's poppies*, is considered by Ibn Baithâr as the same plant which Dioscorides describes under the name of the *anemony*. This writer notices two species of it, the wild and the cultivated, and a genus called by him *argemoné*, resembling the wild poppy. The flower of this plant has furnished the Arabian poets with a great number of comparisons, from which it would appear that its petals were red or vermilion-coloured, and its stamens black or brown. According to the author of the *Kâmûs*, these flowers were called *shakâik*, because their colour was red, like that of the lightning-flash; he gives also the same reason as Ibn Kutaiba for the origin of the name *shakâik an-Nomân*. It cannot, however, escape observation that a great resemblance subsists between the word *an-Nomân* and the old Greek name of *anemoné*, from which it may be inferred that the former is a mere alteration from the latter.

(3) See vol. I. page 350, the lines which begin thus: "At the sight of dwellings," etc.

(4) Such is the orthography of Hajji Khalifa and of Ibn Khallikân himself: all the later manuscripts of his work are wrong here.

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## ABU 'L-ABBAS AN-NASHI IBN SHIRSHIR.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad an-Nâshi al-Anbâri, generally known by the name of Ibn Shîrshîr, was a poet of great talent and a contemporary of Ibn ar-Rûmi and al-Bohtori. It is he who is denominated *an-Nâshi 'l-Akbar* (*the elder Nâshi*), to distinguish him from an-Nâshi *al-Asghar*, or *the younger*, whose life is to be found in this volume. He was also a grammarian, a prosodist, and 371 a scholastic theologian. The city of Anbâr was the native place of his family, but he himself resided during a long period at Baghdad, and then proceeded to Old Cairo where he passed the remainder of his life. He was deeply versed in a number of sciences, and his skill as a logician was so great, that he could overturn any proofs alleged by grammarians in favour of their doctrines. His penetration and sagacity enabled him also to bring into doubt the established

principles of prosody, and to lay down forms of versification entirely different from those admitted by al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad. He wrote a *kasîda* of four thousand verses, all terminating in the same rhyme, and in this poem he treated of various sciences. A number of fine works were written by him, and he composed a great quantity of verses on the animals used for hunting, on the different sorts of game, on the implements and every other subject connected with the chase. In these poems he displayed knowledge worthy of a professional sportsman, and many passages are quoted from them by Koshâjim, in his work called *al-Masâid wa 'l-Matârid.* Some of his poems are *kasîdas,* and some, *tardiyas* or hunting-pieces, in the style of those made by Abû Nuwâs; the rest are detached passages, but in all of them his talent is equally conspicuous. One of his *tardiyas,* containing the description of a falcon, runs as follows:

When the veil of darkness was rent off the face of the heavens, and the light of the morning rejoiced in shedding its brightness, I went forth on the track of the game, with a cream-coloured (*bird*), from its birth, of singular beauty. It was clothed by the Creator in raiment of the softest tissue, and when it darted forward or circled around, the eye could not follow its motions. From its cheeks to its eyes extends an ornament which serves it as a diadem (1). Its active spirit is denoted by its beak, and by its claws is shown the art wherein lies its skill. Were a traveller journeying in darkness, the eye of that animal might serve him as a taper to light him on his way.

In describing a singing girl of great beauty, he expresses himself in the following terms:

O thou for whose welfare I should sacrifice my life! (*The spies who surround me*) do not appreciate thy charms, or else they had not allowed me to fix my eyes on thine. They forbid me to look on any other females; did they think it possible that the eyes of men could be turned towards any but thee? They placed thee to watch my conduct; whom then have they placed as a watch over thine? Fools that they were! did they not read in thy cheeks the written revelation of thy beauty?

His poetical works are very numerous, but we shall confine ourselves to the foregoing extracts. He died at Old Cairo, A. H. 293 (A. D. 905-6).—*Nâshi* was a surname given to him (2).—*Anbâri* means *belonging to al-Anbâr,* which is a town on the Euphrates, ten parasangs (*to the west*) of Baghdâd; it has produced a number of learned men. *Anbâr* is the plural of *nibr,* and signifies *magazines of provisions;* this place was so called because the ancient kings of Persia used to keep provisions stored in it (*for the use of their troops*).

(1) He must mean the dusky bars which mark the plumage of the gyrfalcon, or else its hood.

(2) The word *nâshi* has a number of meanings; it is therefore not easy to determine what is the signification it bears here.



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## IBN SARA AS-SHANTARINI.

Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sâra as-Shantarîni, a native of Spain and a member of the tribe of Bakr, was celebrated as a poet, but he possessed also superior abilities as a prose-writer. Notwithstanding his talents, his lot through life was little else than adversity and disappointment: he lived without finding a place of abode to suit him or a prince to protect him. He is noticed by (*Ibn Khâkân*) the author of the *Kalâid al-Ikiyân*, and is praised by Ibn **372** Bassâm in the *Dakhîra*. This writer says: "After endeavouring to obtain (1) " even the meanest employments and undergoing great sufferings, he rose at " length to fill the place of secretary to a provincial governor; but at the period " in which (*Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn*) dispossessed the Spanish sovereigns of their " dominions, he retired to Seville in a state more dismal than night itself and " more solitary than the star Canopus (2). He then supported his existence " by binding books, an art with which he was well acquainted and in which " he displayed great skill. This profession he followed, although it had then " greatly fallen off and was almost totally neglected. To this he alludes in the " following lines:

> 'The trade of a bookbinder is the worst of all; its leaves and its fruits are nought but 'disappointment. I may compare him that follows it to a needle, which clothes others, 'but is naked itself!' " (3)

These verses also are by the same poet:

> That maid with the flowing ringlets is encircled by a host of tender charms, and for her a tender passion fills our hearts. It is not dark curls which shade her cheeks, but rather a tint cast upon them by the black pupils of her eyes.

He said also of a girl with blue eyes:

I see, within the circle of necklaces which adorn that slender-waisted nymph, a moon (*handsome face*) which receives its lustre from the gems of beauty. She is formed like a lance that she may pierce us to the heart, and on this lance gleams a point of blue (*steel*).

A similar thought is thus expressed by as-Salâmi:

In embracing her waist, I have clasped a pliant spear; and you will recognise its deadly point in the glances of her eyes.

It was from this verse that Ibn an-Nabih al-Misri (4) borrowed the idea which he has thus expressed:

The complexion of this brunette is like the colour of the lance (5), and her eyes might be taken for its point, were they not painted with antimony.

The following verses of Ibn Sâra's inculcate the renunciation of the world and its pleasures:

O thou who hearkenest to the call of the cupbearer, though warned of thy approaching end by gray hairs and age! If thou wilt not listen to my admonitions, why hast thou hearing to receive men's words, and memory to retain them? He alone is blind and deaf who followeth not the lessons offered by the present and the past. Time shall not endure for ever, nor the world, nor the lofty spheres, nor the two great lights, the sun and the moon. The inhabitants of the world, both those who dwell in tents and those who live in towns, must leave it, though unwilling.

It was he who composed these verses:

I have for a companion one who, like an inward disorder, cannot be shaken off, and who loves me as the wolf does the shepherd. He extols me—may God requite him for his good intentions!—with praise such as Hind bestowed upon Rauh Ibn Zinbâ.

This Hind was daughter to an-Nomân Ibn Bashir al-Ansâri, and wife to Rauh Ibn Zinbâ 'l-Judâmi (6), the favourite officer of the khalif Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân. She detested her husband and made on him these lines:

Hind, a filly of pure Arabian breed and sprung from noble steeds, has she not been 373 covered by an ass? If she bear a foal of good points, she had a right to do so; but if it be only a half-blood (*ikrâf*), wonder not! it had a worthless sire.

These verses are attributed also to her sister Humaida, the daughter of an-Nomân. The word *ikrâf* indicates that the dam was of Arabian breed and that the sire was not; another word, *hujnat*, is employed to mark that the sire was of Arabian blood and that the dam was not.—Ibn Sâra composed a great number of poeti-

cal pieces, most of them very good, and they have been collected into a volume. He died A. H. 517 (A.D. 1123) at Almeria in Spain, a city already mentioned (*in vol. I. pages* 43 *and* 151).—*Sâra*, his grandfather's name, is written either with a *sîn* or a *sâd* (*a hard or a soft* s).—*Shantarîni* means *belonging to Shantarîn* (*Santarem*), a town in the Spanish peninsula.

(1) The true reading is نشيع.

(2) The Arabs consider Canopus as the brightest of the fixed stars; it has consequently no *fellow* or *companion*. Ibn Bassâm is here led away, as usual, by the temptation of a mere quibble.

(3) These verses fix the meaning in which the word *wirâka* وراقة must be taken here. It signifies also the profession of a *stationer* and that of a *copyist of books*.

(4) "Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn an-Nabih, one of the most eminent poets of his time in Egypt, died A.H. 621 "(A.D. 1224)."—(As-Soyûti's *Husn al-Muhâdira*, MS. No. 652, fol. 150 verso.)

(5) Lances were generally made of a species of bamboo.

(6) Abû Zarâa Rauh (or Rûh) Ibn Zinbâ, the head of the tribe of Judâm, was possessed of such great influence, that the khalif Moawia resolved on putting him to death, but was induced at length to change his mind. When Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân came to the throne, Rauh received the government of Palestine and became the intimate and inseparable companion of his master. In the service of Abd al-Malik he filled all the duties of a vizir and proved himself not only prudent and intelligent, but also learned and religious. He died A.H. 84 (A. D. 703).—(*Nujûm*. Al-Yâfi.)

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## IBN AS-SID AL-BATALYAUSI.

Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn as-Sid al-Batalyausi was an able grammarian, eminent also in philology and general literature, of which sciences he possessed a profound and exact knowledge. He inhabited the city of Valencia, where his lessons drew crowds of pupils, anxious to study under his tuition and to profit by his learned observations. His mode of instructing and the talent with which he rendered the most difficult points intelligible to his auditors were very superior, and the passages which he cited from memory illustrative of the pure Arabic language were not only copious, but correct. He composed a number of instructive works, such as a *Muthallath* (1) in two volumes, containing many novel observations and denoting vast erudition in the author. This can be better appreciated when we mention that the (*cele-*

*brated*) treatise of Kutrub, which bears the same title, fills only one quire (*or about twenty pages*), and yet it gives as current certain examples which were only poetical licenses, and contains besides some words which do not exist, and others to which a wrong signification is attributed. He wrote also the *Iktidâb* (*extemporizing*), a work designed as a commentary on the *Adab al-Kâtib*, and of which we have already spoken in the life of Ibn Kutaiba (*page* 23). He drew up also a commentary on Abû Alâ's work, the *Sikt az-Zand*, in which he fully develops the thoughts and allusions contained in the text of that poet; it is even superior to the treatise on the same subject composed by Abû 'l-Alâ himself and entitled *Dâw as-Sikt*. In a treatise on (*the right use of*) the letters س, ص, ض, ظ, and ذ (*in the orthography of words*), he has assembled a great quantity of curious observations. He composed also the *Hulul* (*elucidations*) (2), which is a commentary on the verses cited as examples in (*az-Zajjâji's grammatical compendium*) the *Jumal*; the mistakes committed in the same work were pointed out by him in a treatise entitled *al-Khalal* (*the faults*) (3). His *Tanbîh*, or *indication*, is a treatise on the causes of the dissensions which have prevailed among the (*Moslim*) people. He composed also a commentary on the (*imâm Malik's*) *Muwatta*, and another, as I have been informed, on the *Diwân* of al-Mutanabbi's poems. This last work I have never seen, and it is even said that no copies of it ever reached the East. We may conclude this list by observing that every subject which he undertook was treated in the most masterly manner. He composed also some good poetry, from which we may quote the following passages:

> The man of learning lives after his death, though his bones be buried and crumbling into dust. But the ignorant man is dead, though he yet walk upon the earth; he is thought to be of the living, but he is not.

On the length of a night (*passed in suffering*):

> Behold! the dark locks of our night are turned hoary with age. She has become gray like myself; or rather, a meadow, white with flowers, is spread over the heavens. The seven nights of the week seem to have come together in the sky without a day's interval between them.

From the beginning of a *kasîda* in praise of al-Mustâin Ibn Hûd (4):

> My patience under affliction was born away from me by the people of that tribe, when they set out with moons encircled with necklaces and which rose from over a willow branch (5). They have left me here, in the valley amongst the sands of the desert, but

wherever they go, my heart journeys with their caravan. May the spot where I last saw them on the border of the valley be watered with grateful showers, copious, but yet nearly equalled by the torrent of my tears. O my friends! will those days ever re- 374 turn? till the end of time can I ever receive consolation for your absence? My eyes are bathed in tears; and in my bosom is a heart always yearning to meet you. Fortune was cruel to me after your departure, and misfortunes of every kind have alighted at my dwelling.

In the eulogistic part of the poem he says:

We saddled the camels of eulogium and abandoned that spot; its fountain was not like that of Sudda, neither did it produce the *saadân* (6). And we went to a prince on whom Joseph had bestowed his beauty, and whose lofty palace had been reared by Solomon (7); one of those high-minded men whose hands are torrents (*of generosity*) and whose minds are all fire.

This *kasîda* is of great length, but we shall confine our citations to those just given. Ibn as-Sid was born at Batalyaus (*Badajos*), A. H. 444 (A. D. 1052-3); he died at Valencia on the 15th of Rajab, in the year 521 (July, A. D. 1127). —*Sîd* is one of the names by which the wolf is known, but it is also used as the proper name of a man.—*Batalyausi* means *belonging to Batalyaus* (*or Badajos*); this city and Valencia are situated in the Spanish peninsula and have produced a number of learned men.

(1) The works called by the generic title of *Muthallath*, or *Ternary*, treat of those words which bear three different significations accordingly as the first syllable is pronounced with an *a*, an *i*, or an *u*.

(2) The word حلل is the plural حالّ and signifies travellers who halt after their journey and *untie* the cords which hold their baggage on the camels. It must therefore mean here: Observations which *untie* or *unravel* knotty difficulties.

(3) In the Arabic text, this title is incorrectly printed الحلل.

(4) Abû Aiyûb Sulaiman Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hûd, surnamed al-Mustaîn billah came to the throne of Saragossa A.H. 431 (A.D. 1039.) He died A.H. 438 (A.D. 1046-7), after a reign of seven or eight years.

(5) The *moons* are the faces of fair maidens, and the *willow branch* is the *pliant waist* over which the poet supposes each of these *moons* to culminate.

(6) *Sudda* is the name of a well, the water of which was celebrated for its purity. *Saadân* is the name of a plant which furnishes excellent food for camels.— See Freytag's *Maidani*, tom. II. pp. 617, 620, and De Sacy's *Harîri*, p. 39.

(7) The poet means Ibn Hûd himself, whose name was Sulaimân (*Solomon*), but he plays upon the word and makes an allusion to the edifices raised by the ruler of the Jews.

## IBN NAKIYA.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd Allah (some say Abd al-Bâki) Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Dâwûd Ibn Nakiya, was a native of al-Harîm az-Zâhiri, a quarter in the city of Baghdad. His talents as a poet and a philologer, his acquaintance with the belles-lettres, and his abilities as a writer of epistles obtained for him a high reputation. He composed some works remarkable not only for their beauty, but for the instruction which they conveyed; such were his *Mulah al-Mumâliha* (*elegancies of polished intercourse*), and the *Kitâb al-Jumân* (*book of pearls*), in which he treats of the similes employed in the Koran. He is also the author of a well-known collection of *makâmas*, in which he displays a great command of pure Arabic. Besides these works, he made an abridgement in one volume of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, and a commentary on the *Fasîh* (1). His poetry forms a large book, and his epistles have also been collected into a separate volume. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni mentions him with commendation in the *Kharîda*, and after giving a sketch of his life, he cites the two following verses addressed by him to a certain emir who had got himself bled:

> May He who possesses all perfections grant to you, from thy blood-letting, recovery and health. Say now to thy right hand: "May thy bounties never cease! Pour "forth thy showers, for thou art a cloud (*of beneficence*) overshadowing the world!"

These verses are certainly very well turned.—In another of his pieces he says:

> Since your departure, my dearest friends! I have never been familiar with the sweets of life, and sorrowful remembrance has never forsaken my bosom. The taste of sleep I have not enjoyed, neither have my eyes perceived an object grateful to their sight. My fingers have never since wantoned with the wine-cup when the bearer passed it round, neither have they touched the strings of the dulcimer.

Ibn Nâkiya bore the reputation of an atheist and a follower of the doctrines held by the ancient (*Greek philosophers*); he even composed a treatise on the subject, and he was noted also for his disorderly life. It is related on good au-375 thority that, when he died, the person who washed his body previously to its interment perceived that his left hand was closely shut, and having opened it

with some difficulty, he found in it a writing, the words of which were intricately combined one with another. After some time he succeeded in reading the contents, which were these:

> I am gone to seek hospitality from one who never disappoints the expectations of his guest; and I hope for salvation from the pains of hell. Though in dread of God, I confide in his bounty; for God is generous and bountiful.

This poet was born on the 15th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A.H. 410 (March, A.D. 1020), and he died on the eve of Sunday, the 4th of Muharram, A. H. 485 (February, A. D. 1092), at Baghdad. He was interred at the Damascus Gate (*Bâb as-Shâm*).—We have already given, in the life of Abû Ishâk as-Shirâzi (*vol. I. p.*10), a fragment of an elegy composed by Ibn Nâkiya.

(1) This work is attributed to the philologer Abû 'l-Abbâs Thalab; see vol. I. page 84.

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## ABU 'L-BAKA AL-OKBARI.

Abû 'l-Baka Abd Allah Ibn Abi Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Abi 'l-Baka Abd Allah Ibn al-Husain al-Okbari, surnamed Muhabb ad-dîn (*beloved for his religion*), was a jurisconsult of the Hanbalite sect, a skilful arithmetician, a calculator of inheritance shares and a grammarian. Baghdad was the place of his birth and residence, but his family belonged to Okbara. This doctor was totally deprived of sight. He learned grammar at Baghdad from Abû Muhammad Ibn al-Khashshâb (see the next article) and other teachers of that time, and was instructed in the Traditions by Abû 'l-Fath Muhammad Ibn al-Batti (1), Abû Zurâa Tâhir Ibn Muhammad Ibn Tâhir al-Makdisi, and some others. In the last period of his life he was without a rival in the various sciences which he professed; but his attention was chiefly engrossed by grammar, and on that subject he composed some instructive works. He made a commentary on Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi's treatise, the *Idâh*, and another on the poems of al-Mutanabbi; to which must be added a grammatical analysis of the text of the Koran in two volumes, a small volume containing a grammatical analysis of the Tra-

ditions, a commentary on Ibn Jinni's work the *Lumâ*, the *Kitâb al-Lubâb* (*essence*), treating of the examples given in proof of the rules of grammar, a grammatical analysis of the verses contained in the Hamâsa, a full commentary on az-Zamakhshari's *Mufassal*, a commentary on the *khotbâs* of Ibn Nubâta (2), and another on al-Hariri's *Makâmas*. He composed also some original treatises on grammar and arithmetic. Numerous pupils studied under him with great profit to themselves, and his reputation extended, even in his lifetime, to distant countries. His birth took place A.H. 538 (A.D. 1143-4); he died at Baghdad on the eve of Sunday, the 8th of the latter Rabi, A.H. 616 (June, A.D. 1219), and was interred in the cemetery outside the Gate of Harb.—*Okbari* means *belonging to Okbara*, which is a village on the Tigris, ten parasangs higher up than Baghdad. This spot has produced a number of men remarkable for learning or for other acquirements.

(1) Abû Fath Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Bâki Ibn al-Batti, the *hâjib*, was the chief traditionist of Irak in that age. He died A.H. 564 (A.D. 1169), aged eighty-seven years.—(*Nujûm*.)

(2) I have given the text and translation of one of these *Khotbas* in the *Journal Asiatique* for Jan. 1840.

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## IBN AL-KHASHSHAB.

Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ahmad, surnamed Ibn al-Khashshâb, was a native of Baghdad celebrated for his abilities in philology, grammar, the koranic exegesis, Traditions, genealogy, the calculation of inheritance shares, and arithmetic; he knew also the Koran by heart, so as to repeat it according to most of the *readings* (1). His mind was filled with every species of knowledge, and in each branch of science he displayed abilities of the highest order. His penmanship (2) was also extremely beautiful. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn mentions him in the *Kharîda* with the enumeration of his various talents and his excellencies; he then adds: "He composed but little poetry; "this, however, was made by him on a wax-light:



'It is pale, but not from sickness; how could it be sick when its mother is the restorer 'of health? (3) It is naked, but its interior (*the wick*) is clothed; how strange that it 'should be at once both clothed and naked!'"

The *kâtib* quotes also an enigma by Ibn al-Khashshâb, of which the word is *book;* it runs as follows:

> It has many faces, yet it does not betray your secrets as a double-faced man would do. The lines (*asrâr*) on its face reveal secrets (*asrâr*) to you and make them audible to the eye whilst you look upon them.

This thought is taken from al-Mutanabbi's poem on the vizir Ibn al-Amîd, where he says:

> Thy enemies called thee the *râis* (4) without any addition, but thy Creator entitled thee *ar-Râis al-Akbar* (*the greatest of the chiefs*). Thy qualities have rendered these words of His as a writing for our eyes, so that they fill the ears of him who uses his sight.

He composed a commentary entitled *al-Martajal* (*extempore dissertation*) on Abd al-Kâhir al-Jurjâni's (*grammatical treatise the*) *Jumal*, but he left some chapters towards the middle of the book without any elucidation; he wrote also a commentary on Ibn Jinni's work the *Luma*, but did not finish it. He was dirty in his person and paid hardly the slightest attention to what he ate or wore. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-din mentions that Ibn al-Khashshâb was an acquaintance of his, and that he had kept up a written correspondence with him. "When he "died," says the same writer, "I was in Syria, and I saw him one night in a "dream, and said to him: 'How has God treated thee?'—'Well,' he replied. "—'Does God show mercy to literary men?'—'Yes.'—'And if they have been "remiss?'—'A severe reprimand will be given and then will come eternal hap- "piness.'"—Ibn al-Khashshâb was born A. H. 492 (A. D. 1098-9); he died on the Friday evening, the 3rd of Ramadân, A.H. 567 (May, A. D. 1172), in the house of Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Farrâ, situated near the gate of al-Azaj, at Baghdad. He was buried in the cemetery of Ahmad, at the gate of Harb, on the Saturday which followed his death. The funeral prayers were said over him in the Jâmi 's-Sultân (*the sultan's great mosque.*)

(1) For the readings of the Koran, see vol. I. page 152.

(2) The autograph has خطه, not حفظه.

(3) In the Traditions it is mentioned that Muhammad praised the great medical virtues of honey, saying that in it was a cure for man. See Matthew's *Mishkât*, vol. II. p. 374.

(4) *Râis* or *chief* was a title given to vizirs and chief officers in the administration.

## IBN AL-FARADI.

Abû 'l-Walid Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Nasr al-Azdi, surnamed Ibn al-Faradi, a native of Cordova in Spain, was a jurisconsult deeply versed in the sciences connected with the Traditions, and well acquainted with the history and character of the persons by whom the Traditions were handed down; he possessed also immense information in general literature and other branches of knowledge. Amongst the number of his compositions, we must notice his History of the Learned Men of Spain; this is the work in continuation of which Ibn Bashkuwâl wrote his *Silat*. Another good production of Ibn al-Faradi is a treatise on homonymous terms (*al-Mukhtalif wa 'l-Mûtalif*), and on those relative adjectives the derivation of which might be mistaken (*Mushtabih an-Nisba*); he composed also a history of the Spanish poets. In the year 382 (A.H. 992-3), he travelled from his native country to the East; in this visit he made the pilgrimage and frequented the company of the learned, communicating to them information, listening to their instructions, and writing down their observations (*amâli*). He composed a great deal of poetry, specimens of which we here give:

> A prisoner enslaved by his sins stands at Thy door, his heart filled with dread for reasons which Thou knowest well. He trembles for crimes the horridness of which cannot be concealed from Thee, and thou alone art the sole object of his hopes and fears. In whom should hopes be placed,—whom should man fear but Thee? nought can prevent the fulfilment of Thy judgments. Lord! let not the book in which my actions are written bring me to shame, on the great day of reckoning, when the registers of men's deeds shall be opened to view. Be my consoler in the darkness of the tomb when my family abandon me and my friends know me no longer. In Thy abundant mercies I hope to find pardon for my transgressions; if Thy mercies fail me, I am lost for ever!

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By the same:

> If she who leads me a willing captive be not equal to the full moon in beauty, she is yet hardly surpassed by it. My submission as a lover proceeds from the power of her charms, and my languishing sickness is caused by the languor of her eyes.

He was born in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 351 (December, A. D. 962). During some time he officiated as a kâdi in the city of Valencia, and on Monday the 7th of Shawwâl, A. H. 403 (April, A. D. 1013), he was slain in Cordova

at the storming of that city by the Berbers (1). His body lay in his house during three days, and was at length buried in a state of putrefaction, without being washed, or shrouded, or prayed over. Speaking of this subject we may cite here a circumstance which was related by himself: "When performing the "pilgrimage, I clung to the veil of the Kaaba and asked of Almighty God the "grace of dying a martyr; but on withdrawing, I reflected on the terrors of a "violent death and repented of my wish; I even thought of returning and "praying God to consider it as null, but shame withheld me." It is related also that a person saw him lying amongst the slain, and on going over to him, heard him utter these words with a feeble voice: "No one shall be wounded in "the cause of God, (and God well knoweth him who is wounded in that cause!) "but will come at the day of resurrection with his wound dropping blood; its "colour will be that of blood, but its smell that of musk (2);" thus repeating to himself the Tradition relative to those who die martyrs. The same person said that he expired immediately after. This Tradition was first given by Muslim in his *Hadîth*, or collection of the Prophet's sayings.

(1) This occurred in the reign of Hishâm al-Muwaiyad, who disappeared in the catastrophe and was never heard of after. Sulaimân Ibn al-Hakam, surnamed al-Mustaîn billah, then ascended the throne for the second time. On taking the city, his African troops passed three days in the perpetration of every excess.

(2) This is one of the sayings pronounced by Muhammad.—See Matthew's *Mishkât al-Masâbîh*, vol. II. page 237.

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## AR-RUSHATI.

Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Khalaf Ibn Ahmad Ibn Omar ar-Rushâti, a member of the tribe of Lakhm and a native of Almeria in Spain, was assiduously devoted to the study of the Traditions, the Traditionists, the transmitters of oral information and the historians. He is the author of a good work on the genealogy of Muhammad's companions and of the persons by whom the history of (*his*) deeds was handed down; it is entitled *Iktibâs al-Anwâr w'Iltimâs al-Azhâr* (*acquisition of lights and search for flowers*). This

compilation, which is drawn up with no inferior talent, was explained by ar-Rushâti himself to his pupils: it is arranged on the same plan as the *Ansâb*, a genealogical treatise composed by Abû Saad as-Samâni. Ar-Rushâti was born at Oriuwâla (*Orihuela*), a town in the dependencies of Murcia, on Saturday morning, the 8th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 466 (February, A. D. 1074): he died a martyr at Almeria when that city was taken by the enemy on Friday morning, the 20th of the first Jumâda, A.H. 542 (17th October, A.D. 1147) (1). —*Rushâti*; this relative adjective is derived neither from the name of a tribe nor from that of a place, but originated, as he himself states in his work, from the following circumstance: One of his ancestors had a mole on his body, and when a child he was nursed by a Persian (*or a foreign*) slave, who when playing with him used to call him *Rushtâla* (2), whence he became known by the name of *Rushâti*.

(1) Almeria was then one of the most important sea-ports of the Spanish Moslims and the centre of a vast system of piracy which desolated the shores of the Mediterranean. It was taken by the Christians after a long siege, during which Alfonzo Raimond, king of Arragon and Catalonia, aided by his Moslim ally Ibn Ghânia and by the king of Arragon, blockaded it by land, whilst the count of Barcelona, with the combined fleet of the Genoese and Pisans, attacked it by sea. We find here, for the first time, the precise date of that event.

(2) I here follow the reading of the autograph MS., but *Rushâta*, as given in the printed text, seems preferable, as the relative adjective *Rushâti* is regularly derived from it, which is not the case with *Rushtâla*, where the relative adjective would take the form of *Rushtâli*. The meaning of this word is unknown to me, but the Portuguese *roxo* (*red*) or the French *rousse* appears to form a part of it.

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## IBN BARI.

Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Abi 'l-Wahsh Bari Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Bari was a native of Egypt, but his family belonged to Jerusalem. His talents as a grammarian and philologer, the abundance and exactness of the oral information which he transmitted, and his general instruction obtained for him the reputation of the most learned man of the time, the greatest *hafiz* of the age, 378 and the phenix of the epoch. He studied grammar under Abû Bakr Muham-

mad Ibn Abd al-Malik as-Shantarîni (1), Abû Tâlib Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Muham- 378
mad Ibn Ali al-Maâfiri al-Kortubi (2), and other masters in that art; he was taught Traditions by Abû Sâdik al-Madîni, Abû Abd Allah ar-Râzi, and others. The greater part of the language spoken by the Arabs of the Desert was familiar to him, and he composed a book of excellent notes on al-Jawhari's lexicon, the *Sahâh*, in which he brought forward many curious examples and pointed out numerous mistakes committed by that author; this work is a proof of his extensive information, his great abilities, and his profound learning. Amongst the crowd of pupils who studied under him and profited by his tuition, one of the most conspicuous was Abû Mûsa (*Isa*) al-Jazûli, the author of the *Mukaddama*, or *introduction* to the science of grammar, of whom further notice shall be taken (*in this volume*). Al-Juzûli speaks of his master in the *Mukaddama*, and towards the end of it he gives some traditional information which he had learned from him. Ibn Bari was well acquainted with Sîbawaih's *Kitâb* and with the examples adduced by that grammarian in support of his doctrines (3). He was supervisor of the Chancery Office (*of Egypt*), and every letter addressed by the government to foreign princes had to pass through his hands before it could be sent off; his duty being to peruse it and correct the faults which might have escaped notice. Such also was the post held by Ibn Bâbshâd, as we have already stated (*vol. I. page* 648). I met in Egypt a number of persons who had studied under him, and they communicated to me some of the traditional information which they had obtained from him; in testimony of this, I procured from them certificates of license. It is related that Ibn Bari spoke his language very carelessly and that he paid little attention to the final vowels, using whichever came uppermost. This he carried to such an extent, that he said one day to a pupil who was studying grammar under him: "Buy me a small quantity of "*spinage with the roots on* (*hindaba biorûkû*)." The other replied (*in correcting* "*him*): "Yes, *hindabah biorûkih*." Provoked with the observation, he exclaimed: "Do not take it without the roots (*bioruků*);"—(*repeating the fault*)— "if it be without roots, I will not have it." He used many other expressions of a similar kind, being quite indifferent to the manner in which he spoke, and paying no attention to the final vowels. I have seen a collection of notes made by him on al-Harîri's *Durrat al-Ghawâss*; there is also a little book by him in which he points out the mistakes into which jurisconsults have fallen.

Besides these works he composed an able defence of al-Hariri against Ibn al-Khashshâb, who had written a work in order to expose the blunders committed in the *Makamâs*. Ibn Bari was born at Cairo on the 5th of Rajab, A. H. 499 (March, A. D. 1106); he died in the same city on the eve of Sunday, the 27th of Shawwâl, A. H. 582 (January, A. D. 1187).—*Bari* is a proper name, though by its form it resembles a relative adjective.

(1) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik, surnamed Ibn as-Sarrâj, was born at Santarem, but he fixed his residence at Seville. He studied grammar under Ibn Abi 'l-Aâfiya and Ibn al-Akhdar, and received Traditions from Abû 'l-Kâsim an-Nafti النفطى from whom also he learned (*the imâm Mâlik's work*) the *Muwatta*, which he then transmitted orally to his own disciples. In the year 515 (A.D. 1121-2) he travelled to Egypt, where he taught the *reading* of the Koran and the Traditions. He then made a visit to Yemen. His works are the *Tanbih al-Albâb* (*a hint to the wise*), treating of the Desert Arabs and their excellencies; a treatise on prosody; an abridgment of Ibn Rashîk's work the *Omda* (*see vol. I. page* 384), in which he points out the mistakes committed by that writer. He died at Old Cairo, A.H. 545 (A.D. 1150-1).—(Ibn al-Abbâr's *Takmila*.)

(2) Abû Tâlib Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Maâfiri was born at Cordova, but he fixed his residence in Egypt. He learned the *Makâmas* from Abû Muhammad Abd Allah, the son of the celebrated al-Hariri, and he taught them on his authority. In the year 552 (A. D. 1157) Abû Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr al-Judâmi as-Sibti learned them from Abû Tâlib in Egypt.—(*Takmila*.)

(3) Those examples are generally single verses quoted from ancient poems, and to understand them well it is necessary to study the pieces to which they belong.

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## AL-AADID.

Abû Muhammad Abd Allah was the son of Yûsuf Ibn al-Hâfiz Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Mustansir Ibn az-Zâhir Ibn al-Hâkim Ibn al-Aziz Ibn al-Moizz Ibn al-Mansûr Ibn al-Kâim Ibn al-Mahdi. He bore the surname of al-Aâdid and was the last Obaidite (*Fatimite*) sovereigns of Egypt. We have already given notices on some members of his family and shall speak of the others in the ensuing portion of this work. Al-Aâdid was raised to the throne on the death of his cousin al-Faiz (*in the month of Rajab, A. H.* 555). His father Yûsuf was one of the two brothers who were assassinated by Abbâs on the

death of az-Zâfir, an event already noticed (*vol. I. page* 222). Al-Aâdid held merely a nominal authority, all the real power being in the hands of as-Sâlih Ibn Ruzzîk. This prince was a violent *shîite*, most bitter in his execrations on the companions of Muhammad (*who were not partisans of Ali*), and whenever he met a *Sunnite* he ordered him to be put to death. During his reign, the vizir as-Sâlih Ibn Ruzzîk pursued a line of conduct highly reprehensible, forestalling all the provisions in order to raise their price, assassinating the great officers of the empire lest they should turn against him, and weakening all the resources of Egypt. He put the bravest of its officers to death, and left not a man of prudence or resolution in the country, whilst he displayed great ardour in seizing on the property of others and inflicting heavy fines on persons who never had the slightest business with 379 him. In the reign of al-Aâdid, his relation [Abû Abd Allah] al-Husain Ibn Nîzâr Ibn al-Mustansir advanced from Western Africa with a large body of troops, but, on approaching the Egyptian territory, he was betrayed by his followers and delivered up to al-Aâdid, by whose orders he was put to death. This event occurred in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 557; but according to another statement, it happened in the reign of al-Ḥâfiz Abd al-Mujîd (1). Al-Husain had assumed the title of al-Muntasir billah.—In the life of Shâwar and in that of Shîrkûh we have noticed the causes which contributed to the fall of the Fatimite dynasty and placed the Ghozz family on the throne of Egypt; further observations on the same subject shall be presented to the reader in the life of Salâh ad-dîn; it is therefore unnecessary for us to enter into a long exposition of them here.—I have heard a number of Egyptians relate that when these people (*the Fatimites*) commenced their reign, they told one of the learned to write on a leaf of paper a series of surnames fitted to be borne by khalifs, so that they might select one of them for each of their princes when he came to the throne. This person wrote down a great many surnames, and the last on the list was *al-Aâdid*; a singular coincidence with the fact, the last of their sovereigns bore that very title; it was observed also that, as a word employed in the language, *al-aâdid* means *the cutter*, and in fact it might be said that this al-Aâdid *cut short* their dynasty. I was also informed by a learned Egyptian that, towards the end of his reign, al-Aâdid dreamt, when in Old Cairo, that a scorpion came out of a well-known mosque there and stung him. When he awoke, he reflected with

dread on what he had seen, and caused an interpreter of dreams to be brought in, to whom he related the vision. The answer he received was, that he should receive harm from a person sojourning in that mosque. Al-Aâdid immediately sent for the governor of Old Cairo and ordered him to make a perquisition in a certain mosque which he named, and if he found any person sojourning in it, to bring him into his presence. The governor went thither and found a *sûfi*, whom he brought before al-Aâdid. On seeing him, the prince asked where he was from, how long he had been in that country, and what motive had induced him to come there; to these questions he received satisfactory answers. Struck with the (*apparent*) veracity of the *sûfi*, and believing that a person so miserable as he could not possibly do him any harm, he said to him: "O *shaikh!* pray for "us;" and then dismissed him with a present. The *sûfi* returned again to his mosque, but when the sultan Salâh ad-dîn became master of the country and formed the intention of seizing on al-Aâdid and his partisans, he consulted the doctors of the law on the legality of the measure; they declared it lawful, inasmuch as al-Aâdid followed heterodox opinions, to the perversion of the true belief, and frequently insulted the memory of the Prophet's companions in the most public manner. Now the strongest *fatwa* of any was that given by the *sûfi* who lived in the mosque just mentioned, and he was no less than the *shaikh* Najm ad-dîn al-Khubûshâni, the jurisconsult whose life will be found in this volume. In his declaration, he summed up at great length the misdeeds of those people (*the Fatimites*) and declared them infidels. Al-Aâdid's dream was thus fulfilled. This prince was born on Tuesday, the 20th of Muharram, A.H. 546 (May, A. D. 1151); he died on the eve of Monday, the 12th of Muharram, A. H. 567 (September, A.D. 1171). It is reported that, in a paroxysm of rage against Shams ad-Dawlat Tûrân Shâh, he ended his days by poison. According to some accounts, he expired on the night of Aashûra (*the night preceding the tenth day of Muharram*).

(1) This event is not noticed by any of the historians whom I have consulted; in the *Nujûm*, Abû 'l-Mahâsin merely cites Ibn Khallikân's words, when giving the sketch of the life of al-Aâdid; but under the year 557, he takes no notice of such an occurrence. The revolt of Nizâr against al-Mustali in A.H. 487 (see vol. I. page 160), may have been confounded with the death of al-Hasan the son of al-Hâfiz, in 529, and given rise to the discordant statements here brought forward by Ibn Khallikân.





## ABU 'R-RADDAD.

Abû 'r-Raddâd Abd Allah Ibn Abd as-Salâm Ibn Abd Állah Ibn ar-Raddâd, the *muwazzin* and guardian of the Nilometer, was a native of Basra and a man of holy life. In the year 246 of the Hijra (A.D. 860-1) he was appointed keeper of the new Nilometer erected in the island of (*Rawda, near*) Cairo, with the inspection and direction of every thing connected with it. This office continues to be exercised by his descendants to the present time. He died A. H. 279 (A.D. 892-3), or 266 (879-80).—Al-Kudâi speaks of him in his topographical 380 description of Cairo, and also of the young girl whom they used formerly to throw into the Nile (1). These passages are to be found in the chapter on the Nilometer.

(1) See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. II. page 263.

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## OBAID ALLAH IBN ABD ALLAH.

Abû Abd Allah Obaid Allah Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Otba Ibn Masûd Ibn Aâkil Ibn Habîb Ibn Shamakh Ibn Makhzûm Ibn Subh Ibn Kâhil Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Tamîm Ibn Saad Ibn Hudail Ibn Mudrika Ibn al-Yâs Ibn Modar Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maadd Ibn Adnân al-Hudali was one of the seven great jurisconsults of Medîna. (Of these doctors four have been already noticed.) This Obaid Allah was grandson to the brother of Abd Allah Ibn Masûd, one of Muhammad's partisans. He held a high rank amongst the *Tâbîs*, having met and conversed with a great number of the Prophet's companions; besides which he received Traditions from Ibn Abbâs, Abû Huraira, and Aâîsha. Traditions were given on his authority by Abû 'z-Zinâd, az-Zuhri, and others. The last-named *hâfiz* said that he had seen four oceans (*of knowledge*), and that one of them was this Obaid Allah. He said again: "I received a great deal of traditional know-"ledge on the Science (*of the law*), and I thought that I had acquired a suffi-

"ciency; but on meeting Obaid Allah, I felt as if I possessed not the slightest "particle of it." (*The khalif*) Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz was heard to say that for him a conversation with Obaid Allah was more precious than the world and all it contained. He said another time: "By Allah! for the advantage of passing "of an evening with Obaid Allah I would give one thousand pieces of gold out "of the public treasury (1)." On hearing this, the persons present said: "How "can you say so, Commander of the faithful! You who are so strict and scru-"pulous in such matters?" To this he replied: "Whither do your imagina-"tions lead you? By Allah! to obtain his advice and counsel and guidance, I "should have recourse to the public treasury for a thousand, nay for thousands "of dinars: conversation like his gives fecundity to the intelligence and repose "to the heart; it dissipates care and improves social manners." Obaid Allah was as pious as learned; he died at Medina, A. H. 102 (A. D. 720-1), but other statements say 99 or 98. He composed some pieces of poetry, one of which is given in the *Hamâsa* (2); it runs as follows:

> You rent my heart and shed in it love for you; it was then blamed for its weakness and the wound closed up. Love for Athma has entered deeply into my heart, and what my bosom manifests accords with what it conceals. Love for her has penetrated it to a depth which food, or sorrow, or joy, has never reached.

When he first pronounced these verses, he was asked how he (*who was a grave man*) could express himself in such a manner, to which he replied: "The man "whose heart is wounded finds solace in complaining." He was the author of the expression: "The man whose lungs are diseased cannot help spitting."—*Hudali* means *belonging to Hudail;* this is a large tribe, and the majority of those who inhabit Wâdi Nakhla, near Mekka, belong to it. Abd Allah, Obaid Allah's father, died A. H. 86 (A. D. 705). At a time previous to the introduction of Islamism, the chieftainship of this tribe was exercised by his ancestor Subh Ibn Kâhil.

(1) It is necessary to observe here that the public money could only be employed for the public welfare, and that Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz was extremely scrupulous on this point.

(2) See *Hamâsa*, page 594.

## OBAID ALLAH THE MAHDI.

The genealogy of Abû Muhammad Obaid Allah, surnamed al-Mahdi (*the directed by God*), is a subject on which I have met with statements of the most discordant kind; the author of the History of Kairawân (1) says that he was the son of al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Musa Ibn Jaafar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib; another historian calls him Obaid Allah the son of Muhammad Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Jaafar (*Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali, etc.*) as before; a third states that his grandfather Ismaîl was the son of Ali Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib; others again call him the son of at-Taki (*the fearer of God*), who was the son of *al-Wafi* (*the perfect*), who was the son of ar-Rida (*him with whom God is well pleased*), which three persons are designated as the *concealed in the essence of God*; Rida was the son of Muhammad Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Jaafar (this Jaafar is the same person as he mentioned above); the real name of at-Taki was Husain, that of al-Wafi was Ahmad, and that of ar-Rida was Abd Allah; they were called the *concealed*, because they lay hid through dread of being apprehended by the Abbasides who had been informed that one of them aspired to the khalifate, as others of Ali's descendants, whose adventures and enterprises are well known, had done before; the Mahdi was called Obaid Allah to conceal him more effectually.—Such are the statements made by those who consider him to be really descended from al-Husain the son of Ali, and it may be observed how much their accounts are at variance: moreover, among the persons learned in genealogies, the most exact investigators reject Obaid Allah's pretensions to such an origin, and we have already related in the life of Abd Allah Ibn Tabâtabâ (*see page* 47) what passed between that *sharîf* and al-Moizz on the arrival of the latter in Egypt, with the answer which al-Moizz made to him when questioned on the subject: the words of that prince are in themselves a proof that he did not spring from al-Husain, otherwise he would have set forth his genealogy without having had recourse to the meeting of which we have there spoken (2). They say also that his true name was Saîd, and Obaid Allah his surname; according to them, his mother was the wife of al-Husain Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd

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Allah Ibn Maimûn; this Maimûn was surnamed al-Kaddâh (*the piercer*), because he was an oculist and *lanced* eyes in which humours had settled. It is said also that when al-Mahdi arrived at Sijilmâsa, al-Yasâ, the sovereign of that city and the last prince of the Midrâr dynasty (3), was informed that the stranger was the person whose rights Abû Abd Allah the Shiite was then proclaiming in the province of Africa; (of these proceedings we have already spoken, *vol. I. p.* 465). In consequence of this, al-Yasâ imprisoned Obaid Allah; but the Shiite, on learning the circumstance, collected a large body of troops from different tribes, and especially from that of Kitâma, and marched against Sijilmâsa with the intention of delivering the captive. Al-Yasâ, being informed of his design, put al-Mahdi to death in the prison, and then fled the city on the approach of the hostile army. Abû Abd Allah immediately entered the place in which al-Mahdi was confined, and found a servant of his, a devoted follower, staying by the corpse of his murdered master. Apprehending that all his plans, hitherto so successful, would come to ruin if the troops learned what had happened, he brought the servant out to them and said: "This is the Mahdi (4)." The rest of his history is so well known that it is needless to repeat it (5). He was the first of that family who established his authority in Maghrib and maintained with success his pretensions to the khalifate. When he got the power into his own hands, he put his *missionary* (6) Abû Abd Allah the Shiite and that person's brother to death, as we have already mentioned. In the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 303 (May, A. D. 916), he laid the foundations of the city of al-Mahdiya in the province of Africa, and he finished its construction in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 308 (February-March, A. D. 921). He also fortified Tunis with a wall of great strength and repaired a number of its buildings. *Al-Mahdiya* was so called after him. He was succeeded by his son al-Kâim, on whose death al-Mansûr, the son of al-Kâim, ascended the throne. Of al-Mansûr we have already spoken (*vol. I. page* 218). After him came his son al-Moizz, he who sent his general Jawhar to the conquest of Egypt; where he founded Cairo. Their dynasty continued to reign in that country till overturned by Salâh ad-dîn. We have already given the lives of some of the princes descended from Obaid Allah, and shall notice the remainder in the sequel of this work: they were denominated *Obaidites* on account of their descent from him. His birth took place in the town of Salamiya, A. H. 259 (A. D. 872-3), or by other

accounts in the year 260 or 266; but some say that he was born at Kûfa. 382 Prayers were first offered up for him as khalîf from the pulpits of ar-Rakkâda and Kairawân, on Friday the 20th of the latter Rabi, A. H. 297 (January, A. D. 910); this was subsequently to his return from Sijilmâsa and after his adventure there. He made his appearance at Sijilmâsa on Sunday the 7th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A.H. 296 (August, A.D. 909).—The province of Maghrib was thus withdrawn from the domination of the Abbasides. Obaid Allah died on the eve of Tuesday, the 15th of the first Rabi, A. H. 322 (March, A. D. 934), at al-Mahdiya.—*Salamiya* is a town of Syria, situated in the government of Emessa.—*Rakkâda* is a town in the province of Africa.

(1) Hajji Khalifa notices five authors who have composed works on the history of Kairawân.—(See Fluegel's edition of the Bibliographical Dictionary, tom. II. page 142.)

(2) This last argument is not well founded; Ibn Khallikân himself admits that the *sharîf* Ibn Tabâtabâ was dead many years before the arrival of al-Moizz in Egypt. The opinion expressed by our author and the genealogists who like him lived under the authority of the Abbaside khalifs, cannot be of any weight, as they could not have dared to enounce any other. M. de Sacy's *Exposé des doctrines des Druzes* gives the best information on the history of the Mahdi and the origin of the Fatimites.

(3) He was *not* the last prince of the Midrar dynasty; the last of them was al-Motazz Ibn as-Shâkir, who was slain A. H. 366, seventy years after the death of al-Yasâ.

(4) It must be observed that Ibn Khallikân gives this story as mere report, as the word قيل, or *it is said*, always implies.

(5) See it in M. de Sacy's *Druzes*.

(6) That is, his precursor and agent.

## OBAID ALLAH IBN ABD ALLAH IBN TAHIR.

Abû Ahmad Obaid Allah al-Khuzâi was the son of Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir Ibn al-Husain Ibn Musâb Ibn Ruzaik Ibn Mâhân. We have already spoken of his father and grandfather, and mentioned the high favour and esteem in which they were held by al-Mâmûn; we have also related how he appointed them to the government of Khorâsan and other provinces. Obaid Allah held a military command under the khalif, and acted for some time as lieutenant for his brother Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah, who was chief of the police-guards (*Shurta*) at Bagh-

dad; on the death of his brother, he was promoted to the vacant place. He ranked amongst the most eminent of the tribe of Kudâa, and succeeded to the chieftainship over them; he was the last of the family who died in possession of that post. A number of works were composed by him, such as the *Ishâra* (*indication*), containing a history of the poets; an epistolary treatise on government; a collection of letters addressed by him to Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz; the *Kitab al-Barâat wa 'l-Fasâhat* (*on the excellence of style and perspicuity*), etc. He transmitted also some oral information on the authority of az-Zubair Ibn Bakkâr and others. As an epistolary writer and a poet, he displayed an elegant imagination, a delicate taste, and a talent for conceiving and expressing with propriety the finest thoughts. In one of his pieces he says:

Does pride make you fly a youth who has disclosed your name (*as hers whom he adores*)? (1) The supplications of a lover are entitled to an answer! From a distant land he sends you his salutation; return one yet kinder, or else return it simply.—They bridled their camels on the morn of separation and departed with their loaded caravan, leaving me behind to weep over their abandoned dwellings. But I followed in their steps, and, to remove the suspicions (*of the jealous guardians who surrounded my beloved*), I said that I had been sent to drive the camels and cheer them with my song. "And what means," said they, "that sigh so deeply drawn? wherefore droop those eyelids?"—"That sigh," said I, "comes from this long and weary journey, and those tears are caused by some "grains of dust which have fallen into my eyes." But when they entered the land of Najd, and night had spread its deepest shades around, I raised my voice in the darkness to call on my beloved: "O thou who hast disordered my reason and enslaved my heart! "shall I hope for the happiness of a fortunate meeting?"

Since writing these verses, I find them attributed to Abû 't-Târif, the favourite poet of al-Motamid, the Abbaside khalif.—Another of his pieces is as follows:

O what deadly pangs were ours on the loss of those friends who were lights to guide, and forts to protect us! (*In battle they were*) lions, (*in beneficence*) gushing showers, (*in danger*) firm as mountains, (*and for us*) a safeguard and (*sources of*) ease and tranquillity. Fortune was never unkind to us till death removed them to another world. But now each burning fire is (*an emblem of*) our hearts, and each spring of water (*the likeness of*) our eyes.

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The true prince is he who, though deprived of authority, is still a prince (*at heart*). Worldly power he may lose, but the power which his virtues give him can never cease.

By the same:

Render service as much as thou art able, and be ever ready to dispel the affliction of thy brother. The best days of a man's life are those in which he renders service.

Obaid Allah having fallen sick, was visited by the vizir, to whom, when he withdrew, he addressed a note containing these words: "I know of none "but myself who ever felt gratitude to sickness; I feel obliged and grateful "to it for its kindness, since it procured me the pleasure of seeing you. It is "with me as with the Arab of the Desert, who blessed the day on which his "beloved and her tribe departed for a distant land: 'Blessings,' said he:

'Blessings be on the day of separation despite the pains it causes! it was such a 'day which gave me a sight of (*my beloved*) Omm Thâbit. It allowed me to see maidens 'brought up in the inmost recesses of the tents, and whom I could never have seen but 'in the descriptions of those kind females who spoke to me of their beauty (2).'"

A note similar to this was written by al-Bohtori to Abû Ghânim (3), who had fallen sick and was visited by the vizir:

'You have been a gainer, O Abû Ghânim! and may genial showers never cease to 'shed abundance on your land! I should willingly consent to suffer as you have done, 'were I to receive the visit of him who went to you. The honour which the vizir thus 'conferred upon you has caused joy to your friends and vexation to your enemies.'

The poetical works of Obaid Allah have been collected and form a *diwân*. He was born A.H. 223 (A.D. 837-8); he died at Baghdad on the eve of Saturday the 12th of the month of Shawwâl, A.H. 300 (May, A.D. 913), and was interred in the Cemetery of the Koraish tribe. He once visited the grave of his brother Sulaimân Ibn Abd Allah, who died A.H. 265, and there, leaning on his bow, he contemplated the family-tomb, and gave utterance to his feelings in the following lines:

Sighs of sadness mount from my bosom, and tears flow from the orbits of my eyes, on beholding a spot so small inhabited by those for whom my affection was so great!

(1) The autograph has أتهجرون افتى أعرى بكم تيها *do you proudly avoid a youth impelled to love you?* This reading is given in the autograph and in one of the manuscripts which I made use of, but the measure of the verse does not permit it. The reading adopted in the printed text is authorised by other manuscripts.

(2) Here the printed text and all the manuscripts, except the autograph, give a reading which is rhythmically wrong. The true reading is بانتعات النواعت.

(3) Abû Ghânim as-Shâh Ibn Mikâl was governor of Fars; his praises were celebrated not only by al-Bohtori, but by Ibn Duraid.

## ABU 'L-HAKAM AL-MAGHRIBI.

Abû 'l-Hakam Obaid Allah Ibn al-Muzaffar Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad al-Bâhili, surnamed al-Maghribi, a physician and an elegant scholar, was born in Yemen, but he drew his descent from a family which inhabited Almeria in Spain. In an historical work compiled by Abû Shujâ Muhammad Ibn ad-Dahhân al-Faradi (see his life in this work), it is stated that Abû 'l-Hakam went to Baghdad, where he kept a boy's school for some time, and that he had a knowledge of the belles-lettres, medicine, and geometry; then follow the dates of his birth and death. Another writer says of him: "He was a man of the highest "accomplishments, and cultivated with equal success the belles-lettres and phi- "losophy. There exists an edition of his poetical works, which are very good, "but their tone is in general licentious." The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dìn mentions in 384 the *Kharîda* that this Abû 'l-Hakam was attached as a physician to the camp-hospital which always followed the army of the Seljûk sultan Mahmûd, and for the transporting of which forty camels were allotted. He says also that as-Sadid Abû 'l-Wafa Yahya Ibn Saîd Ibn Yahya Ibn al-Muzaffar, who was afterwards chief kâdi of Baghdad in the reign of the khalif al-Muktafi (*liamr illah*), and is better known by the surname of Ibn al-Murakhkhim, was a phlebotomist and a physician in the same hospital. The *kâtib* then mentions Abû 'l-Hakam's talents and conduct with high approbation and notices a work composed by him under the title of *Nahj al-Wadâa* (1) *li Oûli 'l-Khalâa* (*path of humility marked out for the dissolute*). He proceeds to state that Abû 'l-Hakam removed to Syria and settled at Damascus, where he had many amusing adventures indicative of his light-hearted disposition. I read the following anecdote respecting him in his *Diwan*: "Abû 'l-Husain Ibn Munîr at-Tarâbolusi"—the same of whom we have spoken (*in vol. I. page* 138)—"was stopping at the castle of Shaizar with the "emirs of the Munkid family, by whom he was treated with great attention, "when a poet of Damascus, named Abû 'l-Wahsh, whose facetious disposition "rendered him the intimate friend and companion of Abû 'l-Hakam, resolved "on visiting Shaizar, that he might recite laudatory poems to the Munkid princes "and obtain gifts in return. He therefore asked Abû 'l-Hakam for a letter of "recommendation to Ibn Munîr, and obtained one written in these terms:

'Hearken, Abû 'l-Husain! to the words of a man who, obliged to speak unprepared, 'utters his thoughts off-hand. Here is Abû 'l-Wahsh, who goes to praise the family '(*with whom you are residing*); vaunt then his merit when he arrives, and repeat to them 'in your own excellent language, what I now relate to you respecting him. Tell them 'that he is a man the like of whom was never seen before: the qualities which they will 'find in him render unnecessary any description of mine; any other information than 'this no sensible man need require.—Notwithstanding his continual levity (*of conduct*) 'he acknowledges that he is a heavy fellow (2). He is allied to silliness, stupidity, 'and folly; for other connexions, he has none. If you essay to open him with the 'intention of discovering what he contains, you will open a vacuity. If he sojourn 'with you, treat him with indignity and contempt, but when he intends to set off, be 'officious in helping him. Give him poison to drink if you find the opportunity, and 'mix it for him with the honey of your tongue (*flattering language*).' "

One of his most admired pieces is a humorous *maksûra* (*poem rhyming in a short* a), written in imitation of Ibn Duraid's, and which contains this verse:

Things joined in close union must one day separate, even were they stuck together with glue.

He composed also an elegy on the death of Imâd ad-dîn Zinki, the son of Ak Sunkur (*see vol. I. pages* 539 *and* 225); in this piece he has combined the opposite extremes of gravity and humour. The greater part of his poetry is characterised by the natural simplicity of its ideas and style. He was born in Yemen, A. H. 486 (A. D. 1093-4), according to Ibn ad-Dubaithi, in his supplement (*to the History of Baghdad*); he died at Damascus on the eve of Wednesday, the 4th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 549 (January, A. D. 1155); but Ibn ad-Dubaithi says that his death took place after the second hour of the night which preceded the sixth day of Zû 'l-Kaada, which day was a Wednesday. He was interred at the Gate of al-Farâdis.—The kâdi Ibn al-Murakhkhim, mentioned in this article, is the same person on whom the following lines were made by Hibat Allah Ibn al-Kattân, a poet of whom we shall give an account in this work:

Ibn al-Murakhkhim, you have now become a kâdi amongst us! say if it be fortune which has gone mad (*to bring about so absurd an event*), or is it a prank of the stars? Were your judicial practice confined to judicial astrology, your decisions might be sometimes right, but how did you come to know the laws of Muhammad? 385

(1) This is the reading of the autograph, but all the other manuscripts which I have consulted and the Bibliographical Dictionary of Hajji Khalîfa have *ar-Radda*.

(2) The autograph has التقلاء, but no such word exists in Arabic; the true reading is الثقلاء, as I have printed it.



## ABD AR-RAHMAN IBN ABI LAILA.

Abû Isa Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abi Laila Yasâr Ibn Bilâl Ibn Ohaiha Ibn al-Jullâh al-Ansâri was one of the principal *Tâbîs* who settled at Kûfa. Different opinions are held respecting the true name of his father Abû Laila, who was one of the *Ansârs;* some say it was Yasâr, others Dâwûd, etc. Ibn Abi Laila learned Traditions from Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, Othmân Ibn Affân, Abû Aiyûb al-Ansâri (1), and others; it is mentioned also that he received some Traditions from Omar, but this is a fact which no *hâfiz* considers as well established. His father Abû Laila handed down a saying which he had heard uttered by the Prophet himself, and it was he who bore the standard of Ali at the battle of the Camel. Ibn Abi Laila received also Traditions from Abd ar-Rahmân as-Shâbi, Mujâhid (2), Abd al-Malik Ibn Omair, and a great number of others. He was born (A. H. 21, A. D. 642) two years before the death of Omar, and was slain at the river Dujail, or drowned in the river of Basra; some say however that he was one of the missing after the battle with Ibn al-Ashâth at Dair al-Jamâjim in A.H. 83 (A. D. 702). Other accounts place his death in the years 81 and 82 of the Hijra.

(1) Abû Aiyûb Khâlid Ibn Zaid al-Ansâri, a member of the tribe of Khazraj, was the person at whose house Muhammad stopped on his arrival at Medîna, when forced to abandon Mekka. He fought under Muhammad at Badr and Ohod, and under Ali at the battle of the Camel, at Siffîn and at Nahrawân. He died A. H. 52 (A. D. 672), under the walls of Constantinople, during the siege of that city by the troops of the khalif Moawia; a highly venerated mosque still marks the place of his interment.

(2) See vol. I. page 568.

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## AL-AUZAI.

Abû Amr Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Amr Ibn Yuhmid al-Auzâi, the chief imâm, or doctor of the law, among the Moslims of Syria, was the most learned man of that country in the science of jurisprudence. It is said that he gave the solution of seventy thousand legal questions. He dwelt at Bairût. It is related that when



Sofyân ath-Thauri heard that al-Auzâi was coming (*to town*), he went out to meet him, as far as Zû Taui (1), and taking the halter off al-Auzâi's camel, he placed it about his own neck, and as he went on, he called out to the different bands of people whom he met: "Make way for the master!" Al-Auzâi learned the Traditions from (*Ibn Shihâb*) az-Zuhri and Ata (*Ibn Abi Rabâh*); he taught them to ath-Thauri, who gave some on his authority, and he had besides a great number of other pupils, amongst whom was Abd Allah Ibn al-Mubârak. He was born at Baalbek, A. H. 88 (A.D. 707), or 93; his childhood was passed at al-Bikâa (2), whence his mother removed him to Bairût. In stature he was above the middle size; his beard was thin, his complexion tawny, and his hair was usually dyed with *hinna*. His death took place on Sunday, the 27th of Safar (some say in the first Rabî), A. H. 157 (January, A. D. 774), at the town of Bairût. His tomb is in a village called Hantûs, situated outside the gate of Bairût and inhabited solely by Moslims. He lies buried in the *kibla* of the mosque, but the people of the place do not know who is interred there; they merely say: "Here "reposes a man upon whom the divine light descends." It is only persons of education who are aware of the real fact. A poet deplored his death in these lines:

> May genial rains descend each evening on the tomb in Syria whose cavity contains al-Auzâi! a tomb which contains a mountain of legal knowledge! blessings on that tomb from Him who knoweth, and who worketh good! The world offered itself to him, but he turned away in pious abnegation; Oh, with what resolution!

It is stated by the *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir, in his History of Damascus, that al-Auzâi went into a bath at Bairût, and the master of the establishment happening to be called away on some business, locked the door. When he returned, he went in and found al-Auzâi dead, with his left hand placed under his cheek and his face turned towards Mekka. Others relate that it was his wife who locked the door undesignedly, and that Saìd Ibn Abd al-Azîz ordered her to set free a slave in expiation of her fault.—*Auzâi* means *belonging to Auzâa*, which is a branch of a tribe in Yemen called Zû Kalâa. Others state that his ancestor Auzâa belonged to the tribe of Hamdân, and that his real name was Marthad Ibn Zaid. Some again say that al-Auzâa is a village near Damascus on the road proceeding from the Gate of al-Farâdìs, and that he drew his surname from thence; it is true, say they, that he was not a native of the place, but he resided there for

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some time, having been one of the captives made by the Moslims when they first subdued Yemen.— *Bairût* is a village on the coast of Syria; the Franks took it from the Moslims on Friday the 10th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 593 (A. D. 1193).

(1) This place seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Basra.

(2) Bikâa or Bikâa 'l-Kalb, an extensive canton situated between Baalbek, Emessa, and Damascus, is well watered and contains a great number of villages.—(*Marâsid.*) See also Abû 'l-Fedâ's Geography, Arabic text, page 40, note, and the translation by M. Reinaud, page 49.

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## IBN AL-KASIM AL-MALIKI.

Abû Abd Allah Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Khâlid Ibn Junâda, surnamed al-Otaki, by right of adoption, was a doctor of the sect of Mâlik, and not less distinguished for his knowledge of the law than for his severe self-mortification. He studied jurisprudence under Mâlik and other teachers of the same epoch, and he continued, during the space of twenty years, to follow Mâlik as a pupil. On the death of that imâm, his disciples studied with great profit under Ibn al-Kasim. He is the author of the *Mudawwana* (*written collection*), containing the doctrines peculiar to the Malikites, and esteemed by them as one of their very best works on the subject. He gave lessons to Suhnûn in jurisprudence. His birth is placed diversely, in the years 132, 133, and 128 (A. D. 745); he died at Old Cairo on the eve of Friday, the 7th of Safar, A. H. 191 (December, A. D. 806), and was interred in the cemetery outside the gate of the Lesser Karâfa, opposite to the tomb of Ashhab, the Malikite doctor. I have visited those two monuments, which are situated near the city wall.— *Otaki* means *belonging to the Otakâ* (*the liberated*); these people were not all of the same tribe; some being descended from Hajar of (*the tribe of*) Himyar; others from Saâd al-Ashîra; others again from the Modarite tribe of Kinâna, etc. The great majority of them resided at Old Cairo, and the Abd ar-Rahmân of whom we are now speaking was a *mawla* to Zubaid Ibn al-Harith al-Otaki, who himself drew his descent from Hajar of Himyar. Abû Abd Allah al-Kudâi says :

" The tribes which settled in the *Zâhir* (*back grounds*) of Cairo were the Otakâ ;
" this body of people consisted of bands belonging to various tribes, which
" waylaid the persons who went to visit the Prophet. In consequence of
" this conduct, he sent an expedition against them and had them all brought
" to him prisoners; he then gave them their liberty, and for this reason
" they were called the *Otakâ* (1)." " When Amr Ibn al-Aâsi conquered Misr,
" an event which took place on Friday, the first of Muharram, A. H. 20
" (December, A. D. 640), the Otakâ were with him and formed a portion of
" *the People of the Standard*. These were so denominated for the following
" reason : The Arabs of each tribe had taken a distinctive standard, but some
" of the tribes were in such small numbers that a standard could not be
" granted to them ; on which Amr Ibn al-Aâsi said : 'I shall establish a
" 'standard bearing the name of no particular tribe, and it shall be your
" 'rallying point.' They consented to his proposal, and the title of the
" People of the Standard became a general denomination for them all, and
" such was the name by which they were designated on the muster-roll. When
" Alexandria was taken, Amr returned to Fostât, and the different tribes marked
" out the grounds where they intended to build their dwellings. The Otakâ
" arrived afterwards, but not finding building-room where the People of the
" Standard had laid out their settlement, they made a complaint to Amr on the
" subject, and Moawia Ibn Hudaij (2), who was director of the works, advised 387
" them to settle outside the other tribes and call the spot where they fixed their
" residence *az-Zâhir* (*the outside*). They adopted his counsel, and they then
" became known by the name of *the People of the Zâhir*." All this is taken
from a *Khitat*, or topographical description of Cairo, by Abû Amr Muhammad
Ibn Yusuf Ibn Yakûb at-Tujibi (3) ; it is a useful piece of information and necessary to be known, for which reason I am induced to give it.

(1) The citation which follows is taken from another work.

(2) This name is generally found written *Khudaij* خديج, but its true orthography is given by Abû'l-Mahâsin in the *Bahr az-Zâkhir* under the year 52.—Abû Noaim Moawia Ibn Hudaij Ibn Jofna, a member of the tribe of Tujîb, a branch of that of Kinda, joined the standard of Muhammad and was present at the taking of Mekka. When Amr Ibn al-Aâsi got possession of Alexandria, it was Ibn Hudaij whom he dispatched with the news to the khalif Omar. He lost an eye in an expedition against the Nubians, undertaken by Ibn Abi 's-Sarh, A. H. 31. He commanded three expeditions into Western Africa in A. H. 31, 34, and 40. He was

one of the chief partisans of Othmân, and, on the death of that khalif, he fought against the troops of Ali and slew Muhammad the son of Abû Bakr. In A.H. 45, the khalif Moawia named him governor of Maghrib. Towards the end of 49, he returned to the East and held other important posts under the same prince. He died A. H. 52 (A. D. 672).—(*Al-Bahr az-Zâkhir; an-Nujûm az-Zâhira; Journal Asiatique* for February, 1841.)

(3) This is the same historian noticed in vol. I. page 389, note (2). I should have there observed that the date of his death as given by Hajji Khalifa is false. Instead of 246, he must have intended to write 346, and the fact is that Abû 'l-Mahâsin notices the death of a *hâfiz* named Muhammad Ibn Yakûb Ibn Yusûf, who died in that year. But this person was a native of Naisapûr, a client to the Omaiyides, and he bore the surname of Abû 'l-Abbâs; here is therefore a double error committed by Hajjî Khalifa. Ad-Dahabi in his Annals is more satisfactory, he says under the year 350: "In the month of Shawwâl of this year died Abû Omar Mu-" hammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Yakûb Ibn Hafs Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Nusair al-Kindi, the author of the history of Egypt; " at the age of 67 years." Ibn Khallikân in this place gives him the surname of *Tujîbi*, not of *Kindi*; but this difficulty is easily got over; the tribe of Tujîb being descended from that of Kinda by the following line: Kinda, Ashras, as-Sokûn, Sabîb, Ashras, Tujîb.—I must observe that in the revised edition of Hajji Khalifa's text, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds Schulz, Abû Omar's death is placed in A. H. 350; the foregoing observations are therefore completely borne out.

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## ABU SULAIMAN AD-DARANI.

Abû Sulaimân Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Ahmad Ibn Atiya al-Ansi ad-Dârâni, a person celebrated for his mortified life and one of the *men of the path* (1), held an eminent rank among the holy ascetics, and was one of those who were the most successful in their efforts to attain the communion with the divinity. A saying of his was: "He who doeth good works by day is protected (*by* " *Providence*) during the night, and he who doeth good works by night is " protected during the day." He said also: "When a man seriously re-" nounces his lusts, Almighty God removes them from his heart; and He " would be too just to punish a heart for the lusts left in it (*by Himself*)." He said again: "The best of works is to resist the passions of one's mind." He related also as follows: "I was saying my daily task of prayer, when " sleep overcame me, and behold! a maiden of paradise stood before me, " and said: 'Thou sleepest, and yet I have been brought up for thee under the " shelter of curtains during five hundred years!'" He pronounced a great number of fine maxims. His death happened in A. H. 205 (A. D. 820-1), or



A. H. 215.—*Ansi* means *belonging to the tribe of Ans,* who was the son of Mâlik Ibn Odod; it is a branch of the tribe of Madhij.—*Dârâni* means *belonging to Dâriya;* Dâriya is a village in the Ghûta or cultivated country around Damascus: this relative adjective is formed irregularly.

(1) See vol. I. page 259.

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## AL-FURANI

Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Fûrân al-Fûrâni was a native of Marw and chief doctor of the Shafites in that city. He was profoundly learned in the dogmas of religion and the developments of the law. His master in jurisprudence was Abû Bakr al-Kaffâl as-Shâshi. He composed works on the dogmas of the faith, on the doctrines of his sect, on the points of controversy subsisting between his sect and the others, on dialectics, and on the different religions and sects. Being then appointed the chief of the Shafite community, he filled the land with disciples. In explaining the doctrines of as-Shâfi, he treated some portions of them in a manner peculiar to himself and denoting great soundness of judgment. On these doctrines he drew up an instructive treatise, entitled *al-Ibâna* (*the elucidation*); and I heard one of the learned say that when the Imâm al-Haramain was a boy, he went to al-Fûrâni's lessons; but, on account of his youth, his remarks and observations did not receive from his master the attention which they deserved: from that time he always preserved a feeling of rancour against al-Fûrâni, and it was he whom he had in view each time he says in his *Nihâyat al-Matlab*: *A certain author says so and so, but is mistaken,* which words he always follows up by an attack. Al-Fûrâni died at Marw, in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 461 (June-July, A. D. 1069) at the age of seventy-three years. The *hâfiz* Abd al-Ghâfir al-Fârisi mentions him in his *Siâk*, or continuation of (*al-Hâkim Ibn al-Baii's*) History of Naisapûr.—"*Furâni* is a relative adjective formed from Fûrân, the name of his "great-grandfather." Such is the observation made by as-Samâni.

## ABU SAAD AL-MUTAWALLI.

388 Abû Saad Abd ar-Rahmân the son of Muhammad (whose real name was Mâmûn), the son of Ali (or of Ibrahim it is said), and surnamed al-Mutawalli, was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and a native of Naisâpûr. To his great learning he united a profound spirit of piety; the rectitude of his conduct was not more admired than the scrupulous care with which he investigated legal questions; and in dogmatic theology, jurisprudence, and controversy he displayed abilities of the highest order. On the death of the *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi, he was appointed professor in the Nizâmiya College at Baghdad; but towards the close of the year 476 (A. D. 1084), he was superseded by Abû Nasr Ibn as-Sabbâgh, the author of the *Shâmil*, who thus filled that post a second time (1) but was again removed from it in the following year, when Abû Saad al-Mutawalli was reinstated and continued to hold it till his death. In the supplement to Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi's *Tabakât*, or Classification of the Jurisconsults, which was written by Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamadâni, this author says: "Ahmad Ibn Salâma the *muhtasib* (2) related to me as follows: When "Abû Saad al-Mutawalli took his seat as professor, on the death of our *shaikh* "(meaning Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi), the jurisconsults disapproved of his sitting "in the place which had been occupied by their former doctor, and wished "that he had given a mark of deference to his predecessor by sitting lower. "Their feelings on the subject did not escape the penetration of Abû Saad, and "he said to them: 'Know that, during the course of my life, two events only "'gave me pleasure; the first, that I came from beyond the Oxus and entered "'Sarakhs in garments much used and not such as are worn by persons of "'learning: I then went to the conference held by Abû 'l-Hârith Ibn Abi "''l-Fadl as-Sarakhsi and sat down behind his pupils: they then discussed "'a question, and I spoke upon it and made objections; when it came to my "'turn to speak again, Abû 'l-Hârith bid me come forward and I obeyed; I "'again spoke in my turn, and he told me to draw nearer, till at last he called "'me to him and seated me by his side; he then stood up with me and admitted me into the number of his disciples. On this occasion I was overpowered with joy. The second circumstance which gave me pleasure was,

" 'to be judged worthy of succeeding our *shaikh* Abû Ishak, which is the great-
" 'est delight and favour I could ever hope to enjoy.' " A number of eminent jurisconsults finished their studies under him; he himself had studied the law at Marw under Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd ar-Rahmân al-Fûrâni (*see page* 89), at Marw ar-Rûd under the Kâdi Husain, and at Bokhâra under Abû Sahl Ahmad Ibn Ali 'l-Abîwardi (3). He learned also the Traditions, and composed a work on jurisprudence, entitled *Tatimmat al-Ibâna*, intended to form the completion of his master al-Fûrâni's treatise, the *Ibâna*, but he did not live to finish it. It only went as far as the chapter on punishments, but was terminated afterwards by the joint labours of some doctors, one of whom, Abû 'l-Futûh Asaad al-Ijli has been already noticed (*vol. I. page* 191). They did not, however, follow the plan nor attain the object of the original author, who had collected into that treatise legal questions of the rarest occurrence, and extraordinary cases, scarcely ever to be found in any other book. Al-Mutawalli composed also a short but very instructive treatise on the division of inheritances, and he drew up a system of controversy containing the indication of the different manners in which questions may be discussed. Another of his works is a short treatise on the dogmas of the Moslim faith. All his writings are highly instructive. He was born at Naisapûr, A.H. 426 (A.D. 1034-5), some say A.H. 427; he died at Baghdad on the eve of Friday, the 18th of Shawwâl, A. H. 478 (February, A. D. 1086), and was interred in the cemetery at the Abrez Gate.—I do not know for what reason he received the surname of *al-Mutawalli*, neither does as-Samâni mention it.

(1) See vol. I. page 11, and the life of Ibn as-Sabbâgh in this volume.

(2) See vol. I. page 375.

(3) Abû Sahl Ahmad Ibn Ali 'l-Abîwardi was a doctor of the Shafite sect, but little else is known of him than what is here indicated by Ibn Khallikân. The author of the *Tabakât as-Shâfiyin* places his death, by conjecture, between A.H. 460 and 480.

## FAKHR AD-DIN IBN ASAKIR THE JURISCONSULT.

Abû Mansûr Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Husain ad-Dimishki (*native of Damascus*), surnamed Fakhr 389 ad-dîn (*glory of the faith*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn Asâkir al-Fakîh (*the jurisconsult*), was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, and the most eminent person of that age for his learning and piety. He studied jurisprudence under Kutb ad-dîn Abû 'l-Maâli Masûd an-Naisapûri (a *shaikh* whose life will be found in this work), and derived great profit from his tuition during the period in which he lived with him as a pupil. He then married the daughter of his master, and, confiding in his own abilities, he professed for some time at Jerusalem and Damascus. Many of those who attended his lessons and completed their studies under him rose to distinction as imâms of great talent. The legal opinions which he gave as a *mûfti* were held in high esteem for their correctness. He was brother's son to the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Asâkir, author of the history of Damascus. This family produced a number of men eminent for their learning and for the exalted posts which they filled. Fakhr ad-dîn was born, to the best of my opinion, A. H. 550 (A. D. 1155-6), and a note in his own handwriting states that his birth took place in that year (1). He died at Damascus on Wednesday, the 10th of Rajab, A. H. 620 (August, A. D. 1123). I have visited his tomb, which is situated in the Cemetery of the Sûfis, outside Damascus.

(1) It may be perceived that this last passage was added subsequently. In the autograph, it is written in the margin.

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## ABU 'L-KASIM AZ-ZAJJAJI.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Ishak az-Zajjâji was an inhabitant of Baghdad from his early youth, but by his birth he belonged to Nahâwend, which was also the native place of his family. He was a master of the highest au-



thority in the science of grammar, on which subject he wrote his *Kitâb al-Jumal al-Kubra* (*the greater collection*), which is an instructive work, but extended to too great a length by the number of examples. He learned grammar from Muhammad Ibn al-Abbâs al-Yazîdi, Abû Bakr Ibn Duraid, and Abû Bakr Ibn al-Anbâri; he had been also the private pupil of Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn as-Sari az-Zajjâj (*see his life, vol. I. page* 28), and from this circumstance he obtained the surname of *az-Zajjâji*. Great numbers profited by his tuition and finished their studies under him at Damascus, where he had fixed his residence. His death took place in that city, in the month of Rajab, A. H. 337 (January, A.D. 949); some say, but erroneously, in A.H. 339, or in Ramadân, A.H. 340. It has been stated also that he died at Tiberias. (*I have since discovered that*) he left Damascus in company with Ibn al-Harith, the administrator of the estates belonging to the Ikhshîde family (1), and (*that*) he died at Tiberias. His work, the *Jumal*, is most instructive, and none ever studied it without deriving great profit from the information it conveys. It is said that he composed it at Mekka, and that on finishing each chapter, he went seven times round the Kaaba, praying the Almighty to pardon his sins and render his book useful to those who read it.

(1) The Ikhshîde prince Anûjûr was then reigning in Egypt under the tutorship of the celebrated Kâfûr. He held his authority over that country and Syria by right of an act of confirmation issued by the khalif of Baghdad, ar-Râdi.—(See the life of Kâfûr.)



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## IBN YUNUS THE HISTORIAN.

Abû Said Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ahmad Ibn Abi Mûsa Yûnus Ibn Abd al-Aala Ibn Mûsa Ibn Maisara Ibn Hafs Ibn Haiyân as-Sadafi was a native of Egypt, a traditionist and an historian. The information which he had acquired respecting eminent men, his acquaintance with the works in which their history was set forth, and the correctness of the facts which he adduces from personal knowledge, entitle him to the highest confidence. He composed two

Egyptian histories,—the greater, containing the lives of natives of that country; and the less, giving an account of the most remarkable foreigners by whom it was visited. These works display no inferior talent, and have been continued, on the same plan, by Abû 'l-Kâsim Yahya Ibn Ali al-Hadrami (1). Abû Saâd was a grandson of Yûnus Ibn Abd al-Aala, one of as-Shâfi's most distinguished disciples and a transmitter of that imâm's *modern sayings* (2); we shall give his life in this work. Ibn Yûnus died on Sunday, the 26th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 347 (September, A. D. 958); the funeral prayers were said over him the next day by Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn Hajjâj, and the following elegy was com-390 posed on his death by the grammarian and prosodist Abû Isa Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Sulaimân al-Khaulâni al-Khashshâb, who was a native of Egypt:

> By thy books and thy lessons thou hast spread learning throughout the world (3), and after a happy life thou art become one of the lamented. And we, Abû Saîd! shall not relax our dutiful efforts, till thy works, confirming and correcting (*the statements of historians*), have obtained a wide renown. In writing history, thy ardour did not cease, till thy name appeared to us, enregistered in its annals. I have inscribed this fatal date on my mind and written it in my pages, that he may know it who records my death, if it happen that I leave a friend to regret me (4). Thou hast displayed a standard to make known the fame of those who dwell in Egypt, and hast set it up on the basis of their merit (5). Thou hast revealed their glory, (*to subsist*) among mankind as long as the voice of the turtle-dove is heard (6) resounding in the groves. Thou hast pointed out their brilliant genius; thou hast selected the eminent (7); men whose talents attract investigation. Thou hast spread the fame of the illustrious dead, and they still live in the notices wherein thou tracest their descent; mentioned thus, they seem not to have died. Noble qualities oblige to noble deeds; and in thee, O Abd ar-Rahmân! these qualities were firmly implanted. Thou art now hidden from our eyes; and let the world produce the greatest man it may, he too must disappear. Such are death's doings; he never spares him who is cherished by his friends.

*Sadafi* means *belonging to the tribe of as-Sadif*, the son of Sahl, a great branch of the tribe of Himyar, which settled in Egypt. This relative adjective is pronounced with an *a* in the second syllable, although the word from which it is derived has that syllable with an *i*; it is thus also with *Namari*, derived from *Namira*, and such is indeed the general rule (when the primitive has an *i* in the second syllable). [It must however be remarked that *as-Sadif* is sometimes pronounced *as-Sadaf*.]—Abû Isa Abd ar-Rahmân, author of the verses just given, died in the month of Sâfar, A. H. 366 (October, A. D. 976).

(1) According to Hajji Khalifa, Fluegel's edition, vol. II. page 148, Abû 'l-Kâsim Yahya Ibn Ali al-Hadrami, surnamed at-Tahhân, died A.H. 416 (A.D. 1025-6). In the same page, line 7, is a double error, as instead of *Ibn Yusuf Abd-el-rahman Ben Ahmed Sufi* we must read *Ibn Yunus Abd-el-rahman Ben Ahmed Sadifi;* it being, in fact, the same person whose life is here given by Ibn Khallikân.

(2) See vol. I. page 374, note (5).

(3) In the autograph manuscript, two different readings are given of this first hemistich; that of the text runs thus: بثثت علمك تشريقا وتغريبا. "Thou hast spread thy learning abroad, east and west;" the other, inserted in the margin, runs as follows: بينت علمك تصنيفا وتقريبا "Thou hast made thy "knowledge clear to others by thy written works and rendered it accessible by thy explanations." The reading which I followed is given by al-Yâfi in his Annals.

(4) For محبوبا the autograph has محسوبا; if the latter reading be adopted, the translation of the verse should run thus: "That he may know it who records my death, if indeed I be deemed worthy of notice."

(5) In this verse Ibn Khallikân writes لجمال; the verse then signifies: "Thou hast displayed a standard to "honour the merit of those who dwell in Egypt, (*a standard*) firmly set up."

(6) For سجعت the autograph has سجعت. The meaning is then: "As long as the cooing of the turtle-"dove resounds in the groves."

(7) Here the autograph has نجب for نخب; the sense is the same.

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## IBN AL-ANBARI THE GRAMMARIAN.

Abû 'l-Barakât Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abi 'l-Wafâ Muhammad Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Abi Saîd al-Anbâri the grammarian, surnamed Kamâl ad-din (*perfection of religion*), was one of the most distinguished masters in the science he professed. From his early youth till the time of his death he resided at Baghdad, where he studied, at the *Nizâmiya* college, the system of jurisprudence peculiar to the Shafite sect, and gave lessons in grammar. He learned philology from Abû Mansûr (*Mauhûb*) Ibn al-Jawâlîki and had lived as a private pupil with the *sharîf* Abû 'l-Saâdât Hibat Allah Ibn as-Shajari (1), under whose tuition he made great progress and attained a profound knowledge of philology. His own lessons were attended by great numbers who afterwards became conspicuous for their learning, and with some of whom I was acquainted. He is the author of a grammatical work, easy to be understood and highly instructive, entitled *Asrâr al-Arabiya* (*secrets of the Arabic language*); he composed also another treatise on the same subject, bearing the title of *al-Mîzân* (*the balance*). In a third work,

which, though short, is comprehensive, he gives a chronological list (*Tabakât*) of the literary men, both ancient and modern. All his productions are replete with information, and his personal instructions were, by divine favour, so highly successful that none ever received them without rising to distinction. Towards the close of his life, he renounced the world and worldly society, and shut himself up in his chamber that he might pass his time in study and prayer; thus holding to the last a most praiseworthy conduct. His birth took place in the month of the latter Rabi, A. H. 513 (July-August, A. D. 1119), and his death on the eve of Friday, the 9th of Shâbân, A.H. 577 (December, A.D. 1181), at Baghdad. He was interred at the Abrez Gate, in the mausoleum erected over the grave of Abû Ishâk as-Shirâzi.—*Anbâri* means *belonging to al-Anbâr*, which is a town of great antiquity situated on the Euphrates, at the distance of ten parasangs from Baghdad. It was so called because the Kisra (or Persian king) had established granaries (*anâbîr*) there. *Anâbîr* is the plural of *anbâr*, which is itself the plural of *Nibr*.

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(1) The life of Ibn al-Jawâlîki and Ibn as-Shajari are given in this work.

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## ABU 'L-FARAJ IBN AL-JAUZI.

The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi, surnamed Jamâl ad-dîn (*the beauty of religion*), a celebrated preacher, a doctor of the sect of Ibn Hanbal and a native of Baghdad, was a member of the tribe of Taim, a branch of that of Koraish, and a descendant of the khalif Abû Bakr; he therefore bore the appellations of al-Korashi, at-Taimi, and al-Bakri. His genealogy is traced up as follows: Abû 'l-Faraj Abd ar-Rahman Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Hummâda Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Jaafar al-Jauzi Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn an-Nadr Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr as-Siddik: the rest of the ancestry is well known (1). Ibn al-Jauzi was the most learned man of his time, the ablest traditionist and the first preacher of that

epoch. He composed works on a variety of subjects, and one of them, the *Zâd al-Masîr fi Ilm it-Tafsîr* (*provisions for the journey, being a treatise on the science of koranic interpretation*), forms four volumes and contains many novel facts and observations. He wrote also numerous treatises on the Traditions, and a great historical work, entitled *al-Muntazim* (*the regularly arranged*). Another of his productions, the *Maudûât* (*forgeries*), in four volumes, contains all the false traditions relative to Muhammad. He composed also the *Talkîh Fuhûm* (*Ahl*) *il-Athar* (*fructification of the intellect, for the use of those who are engaged in historical researches*) (2), which is drawn up on the plan of Ibn Kutaiba's *Kitâb al-Maârif*. We shall close this list by merely stating that his works are too numerous to be counted. The quantity of sheets which he wrote with his own hand was very great, but people exaggerate when they say that on summing up the number of *kurrâsas* (3) written by him and taking into account the length of his life, if the former be divided by the latter, it will give nine *kurrâsas* a-day; but this is a result so extraordinary, that it can hardly be admitted by any reasonable man. It is related also that the parings of the reed-pens with which he wrote the Traditions were gathered up and formed a large heap; these, in pursuance to his last orders, were employed to heat the water for washing his corpse, and there was even more than enough for the purpose. He composed some pretty verses, and the following, in which he addresses the people of Baghdad, were repeated to me by a person of talent:

> There are people in Irak for whom I feel no friendship, but my excuse is this: their hearts are formed of churlishness. They listen with admiration to the words of a stranger, but those of their own townsmen attract no attention. If a neighbour profited by the water which flowed from the roofs of their houses, they would turn the spout in another direction. And when reproached, their excuse is: That the voice of the songstress has no charms for the tribe to which she belongs (4).

The quantity of verses which he composed is very great. At the assemblies which met to hear him preach, he had occasionally to answer questions addressed to him, and this he did with great readiness of wit. It is related that on a dispute between the Sunnites and Shiites of Baghdad about the relative merits of Abû Bakr and Ali, both parties agreed to abide by the opinion of the *shaikh* Abû 'l-Faraj: they in consequence deputed a person who questioned him on the subject when he was seated in the preacher's chair. The reply which

he made bears in Arabic two different meanings; the first, that the best of them was he whose daughter was married to the other man; and the second, that the best of them was he who had married the daughter of the other man (5). He then withdrew promptly lest he should be questioned farther, and the Sunnites said: "He means Abû Bakr, because his daughter Aâisha was married to the "Prophet."—"Nay," said the Shiites, "he means Ali, because Fâtima the "Prophet's daughter, was married to him." The answer was certainly very 392 clever; had it even been the result of long reflexion and deep consideration, it would have been admirable, but coming as it did, without any previous preparation, it was still more so. It would be too long to enumerate the particular circumstances in which his character and talents appeared to great advantage. His birth is placed by approximation in A.H. 508 (A.D. 1114-5); but some accounts refer it to the year 510; he died at Baghdad on the eve of Friday, the 12th of Ramadân, A.H. 597 (June, A.D. 1201), and was interred at the gate of Harb. His father's death took place in 514 (A.D. 1120-1).—*Jauzi* means *belonging to the port of al-Jauz*, which is a well-known place (6).

(1) The khalif Abû Bakr Abd Allah was the son of Abû Kuhâfa Othmân Ibn Aâmir Ibn Amr Ibn Kaab Ibn Saad Ibn Taim Ibn Murra Ibn Kaab Ibn Luwâi Ibn Ghâlib Ibn Fihr Koraish.—(See Kosegarten's *Tabari*, tom. II. page 145.)

(2) Copies of the first volume of this work are not rare. It contains a short account of Muhammad and his principal companions, lists of the other companions, of the Tâbis, and of the early traditionists, etc.

(3) The *kurrâsa* generally contains twenty pages. Arabic, Persian, and Turkish books are composed of *kurrâsas* in the same manner as European books are composed of sheets.

(4) Consequently a stranger would amuse them better. In the printed text are two typographical faults, الغريب for القريب and ميازينهم for ميازيبهم.

(5) It is impossible to turn an English phrase so as to convey the double meaning which the original Arabic here involves.

(6) The author of the *Marâsid* notices a region called the river of al-Jauz, situated between Aleppo and al-Bîra, and containing a great number of villages and gardens; but the port of al-Jauz was probably the name of a wharf on the banks of the Tigris, in or near Baghdad.

## AS-SUHAILI.

Abû 'l-Kâsim, surnamed also Abû Zaid, Abd ar-Rahmân al-Khathami as-Suhaili was the son of the *khatîb*, or preacher, Abû Muhammad Abd Allah, the son of the *khatîb* Abû Omar Ahmad, the son of Abû 'l-Hasan Asbagh, the son of Husain, the sun of Saadûn, the son of Ridwân, the son of Futûh, who was the first of the family who came into Spain: "Such," says Ibn Dihya, "is his "genealogy as I took it down from his own lips." This is the celebrated imâm who composed the commentary on (*Ibn Hishâm's*) *Sîrat ar-Rasûl*, or *Life of the Prophet*, entitled *ar-Raud al-Onuf* (*the gardens of delight*) (1). In another work, the *Kitâb at-Taarîf wa 'l-Ilâm* (*book of information and indications*), he has elucidated the proper names of doubtful pronunciation (*or derivation*) contained in the Koran. He wrote also the *Natâij al-Fikr* (*offspring of reflexion*) (2); a treatise on the appearance of the Divinity or of the Prophet in dreams; another, entitled *as-Sirr* (*the mystery*), in which he examines why ad-Dajjâl (or Antichrist) is to be blind of one eye, with many other instructive disquisitions. The following piece of verse is given by Ibn Dihya, to whom as-Suhaili recited it with this remark: "I and every person who repeated it, when asking a favour from "Almighty God, obtained the fulfilment of their desire:"

> O Thou who knowest the secret thoughts of man! Thou art his ready support when misfortune befals him. O Thou in whom the afflicted place their hopes of deliverance! Thou to whom they address their complaints and fly for refuge! Thou, the treasures of whose bounty are produced by a sole word of thine—*Be!* grant my prayer, for with Thee is all good. My only mediator with Thee is my poverty, and that is yet more oppressive, joined as it is to the need in which I stand of Thy assistance. My only resource is now to knock at thy door; and if I am repulsed, at what door shall I knock? O Thou whom I implore and whose name I invoke, if Thy bounty be withheld from me, Thy needy creature, yet let not Thy glory plunge a sinner into despair; for Thy grace is abundant and Thy bounties are immense.

He composed a great deal of poetry, and as for his other works, they are replete with information. He continued in his native place, leading a life of purity and subsisting on very slender means, till the sovereign of Morocco (*Yakûb al-Mansûr*) heard of his merit and invited him to that city. On his arrival, he met with a most favourable reception from the prince and was treated with the greatest kindness till his death, which occurred about three years after-

wards. He was born at Malaga, A.H. 508 (A.D. 1114-5), and he died at the city of Morocco on Thursday, the 26th of Shâbân, A.H. 581 (November, A.D. 1185); he was interred the same day at the hour of afternoon prayer. As-Suhaili was deprived of the use of his sight.—*Khathami* means *belonging to Khatham* Ibn Anmâr, a great tribe so called, but other derivations are given of this adjective.—*Suhaili* means *belonging to Suhail*, a village near Malaga, which received this 393 name, because the only spot in all Spain from which the star *Suhail* (*Canopus*) could be seen was on the summit of a mountain at the foot of which this place was situated.—*Mâlaga* is a great city in Spain; as-Samâni pronounces it *Maliga*, but erroneously.

(1) Literally: *The unblemished gardens;* that is: gardens which have never been profaned by the visit of any mortal.

(2) It appears from Hajji Khalifa that this is a treatise on grammar في علل النحو.

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## ABU MUSLIM AL-KHORASANI.

Abû Muslim Abd ar-Rahmân the son of Muslim, some say of Othmân, al-Khorâsâni, was the champion and assertor of the rights of the Abbâsides to the khalifate. According to some accounts, his name was Ibrahîm the son of Othmân Ibn Yasâr Ibn Shadûs (1) Ibn Jûdern, a descendant of Buzûrjmihr Ibn Bakhtigân the Persian (2), but he changed it to Abd ar-Rahmân at the desire of Ibrahîm the *imâm* Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib, who said to him: "Change thy name or else our enterprise will not "succeed."—God knows if this be true.—His father belonged to a village called Sanjird, situated in the canton (*rustâk*) of Faridin (3); but some say that he was a native of Makhwân, a village three parasangs from Marw. This village and some others were his own property, and from time to time he exported cattle to Kûfa. He then contracted to farm the revenue of Farîdîn, but at one period, in consequence of his inability to keep his engagements, the government agent sent a person to bring him before the court of administration. He possessed at that time a slave girl called Washika, whom he had purchased at Kûfa and confided

to the care of Azîn Ibn Bundâd Ibn Wastijân (4); her, then pregnant, he took with him, and, to avoid meeting the officers empowered to make him pay in the amount of his yearly rent, he proceeded towards Adarbijân. On his way, he passed through the canton of Fâtik, when he met Isa Ibn Makil Ibn Omair, the brother of the Idrîs Ibn Makil who was grandfather to Abû Dulaf al-Ijli. He stopped with Isa for some days, and had there a dream in which it seemed to him that a fire proceeded from his loins and then mounted to the sky, whence it illuminated the earth as far as the horizon, after which it fell in an eastern direction. He told his dream to Isa Ibn Makil, who replied: "I have no doubt "but that she will bear a boy." On quitting his host he went to Adarbijân where he died, and his slave brought forth Abû Muslim, who passed his first years at the house of Isa. When grown a boy, Abû Muslim went to the same school with Isa's son, and on finishing his studies there, he attracted general attention by the learning and intelligence which he displayed at so early an age. Soon after, Isa Ibn Makil and his brother Edrîs allowed their arrears with the state to run up so high that they avoided going to the receivers of the revenue at Ispahân, and the *aâmil* (5) of that place made the circumstance known to Khâlid Ibn Abd Allah al-Kasri, the governor of Arabian and Persian Irak. Khâlid, who was then at Kûfa, had them arrested and brought before him, after which he cast them into prison, where they found (*a relation of theirs*) Aâsim Ibn Yûnus al-Ijli, confined for some misdeed. Previously to this, Isâ had sent Abû Muslim to bring him the crops from the territory of a certain village in the canton of Fâtik. On his way back, Abû Muslim received information of his patron's imprisonment, on which he sold all the corn he was bringing with him and took the price thereof to Isa, who immediately sent him to lodge in his own palace, in the quarter of the city inhabited by the people of the Ijlite tribe. He then made frequent visits to Isa and his brother Idrîs in their prison, and it happened that a number of *nakîbs* (*lieutenants*) in the service of Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn al-Muttalib, who had just arrived at Kûfa in company with some natives of Khorasân, devoted partisans of the Abbasides, and who went to the prison with the intention of paying their respects to the Ijlite prisoners, found Abû Muslim with them. His intelligence and knowledge, his elegant language and his learning struck them with admiration, nor were his own feelings less

biassed in their favour. Their intentions then became known to him, and he learned that they were missionaries in the service of the Abbaside family. Towards the same time, Isa and Idrîs effected their escape from prison, and Abû Muslim left the quarter where the Ijlites resided, and joined these *nakîbs*, with whom he some time afterwards proceeded to Mekka. On arriving there, they 394 went to Ibrahîm the son of Muhammad the Abbâside, who had succeeded to the imâmate on the death of his father; and they presented him with twenty thousand pieces of gold and two hundred thousand pieces of silver. (Of this Ibrahîm we shall speak again in the life of his father.) They then introduced Abû Muslim, and Ibrahîm, struck with his language, intelligence, and instruction, said to them: "This youth will be a calamity to crush the foe (6)." From that moment, Abû Muslim remained in Ibrahîm's service, accompanying him in his travels, and staying with him wherever he took up his residence. After some time the *nakîbs* called openly on the people to espouse the cause of the *imâm*, and they asked Ibrahîm for a man capable of directing the proceedings of their party in Khorasan. His reply was: "I have put this Ispahanite to the "test, and know his interior as well as his exterior; he is the whole rock of the "earth (*and will crush all before him*)." He then called him in, and having appointed him to the direction of affairs, he dispatched him to Khorasan. Such was the commencement of Abû Muslim's public career. Previously to this, Ibrahîm had commissioned Sulaimân Ibn Kathîr al-Harrâni to proceed to Khorasan and make an appeal in favour of *the People of the House* (7). On sending Abû Muslim thither, he directed his partisans in that province to obey him as their chief, and at the same time he ordered Abû Muslim to obey Sulaimân Ibn Kathîr; Abû Muslim then became the envoy who kept up the communications between Sulaimân and the imâm Ibrahîm.—The khalif al-Mâmûn once said, on hearing Abû Muslim's name mentioned: "The greatest princes of the earth "were three in number, and each of them caused an empire to pass from one "dynasty to another; I mean Alexander, Ardashîr (8), and Abû Muslim the "Khorasanite." [During (9) a number of years, Abû Muslim continued his appeals to the people in favour of a person belonging to the family of Hâshim (10), and performed in Khorasân and the neighbouring places those deeds which are too well known to require relation here (11). Marwân Ibn Muhammad (*the last of the Omaiyides*) employed every artifice to discover the true nature

of these proceedings and the real person for whom Abû Muslim was making such exertions; and he found at length that this person was Ibrahîm the imâm, who was then residing with his brothers and relatives at al-Humaima, a place of which we shall speak again in the life of Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs. He immediately sent to have him arrested and brought to Harrân; on which Ibrahîm delegated his rights and authority to his own brother Abd Allah as-Saffâh. When he arrived at Harrân he was kept in confinement by Marwân, but after some time the latter had him thrust head foremost into a leather sack containing a quantity of quicklime; the mouth of the sack was then tied up and kept closed till the victim perished. This event took place in the month of Safar, A. H. 132 (Sept.-Oct. 749). It is said by some, that he was put to death in a different manner, but that which we have mentioned is borne out by the general opinion. Ibrahîm was then fifty-one years of age; he was buried somewhere within the walls of Harrân, and Abû Muslim immediately called on the people to support the rights of Abû 'l-Abbâs Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad, surnamed as-Saffâh. It had been a rule with the Omaiyides to prevent the descendants of Hâshim from marrying any woman belonging to the tribe of Hârith, on account of a prediction which declared that this business (*of the Abbaside conspiracy*) would terminate successfully by the accession of a Hârithide female's son (*Ibn al-Hârithiya*) to the supreme power. When Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz was raised to the khalifate, Muhammad Ibn Ali went to him and said: "I wish to marry the daughter "of my maternal uncle, who is of the tribe of Hârith Ibn Kaab; will you give "me your permission?"—"Marry whom you like," replied Omar; on which he took to wife Raita the daughter of Obaid Allah, who was the son of Abd Allah al-Midân, the son of ar-Rakkâb, the son of Katan, the son of Ziâd, the son of al-Harith Ibn Kaab. This woman bore him a son who was the as-Saffâh above-mentioned.] Al-Madâini (12) gives the following description of Abû Muslim's person: "He was low in stature, of a tawny complexion, with hand-"some features and engaging manners; his skin was clear, his eyes large, his "forehead lofty, his beard ample and bushy, his hair long and his back also, "his legs and thighs short, and his voice soft; he spoke Arabic and Persian with "elegance and discoursed agreeably; he could recite many poems, and had great "skill in conducting public affairs. He was never observed to laugh, and he "never condescended to jest except at proper times. The gravest events could

"hardly disturb the serenity of his countenance; he received news of the most "important victories without expressing the least symptom of joy; under the "greatest reverses of fortune he never betrayed the slightest uneasiness; and "when angered, he never lost his self-command. He abstained from inter-"course with females, except once in each year. 'Such an act,' said he, 'is a "sort of folly, and it is quite enough for a man to be mad once a year.' With "all this, he was the most jealous of mortals (13)." Abû Moslim had some brothers, one of whom was Yasâr, the grandfather of Ali Ibn Hamza Ibn Omâra Ibn Hamza Ibn Yasâr al-Ispahâni. The birth of Abû Muslim took place A.H. 100 (A. D. 718-9) in the khalifate of Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz, at a village called Nâwâna (14) in the canton of Fâtik. The natives of Jai, the quarter of Ispahân so called, pretend that he was born in their city. He made his first public appearance in Khorasân at the city of Marw, on Friday the 21st, or according to al-Khatîb (*al-Baghdâdi*), on the 25th of Ramadân, A. H. 129 (June, A. D. 747). Nasr Ibn Saiyâr al-Laithi, who was then governor of Khorasân for Marwân Ibn Muhammad, the last of the Omaiyides (*and who discovered what was passing*), then wrote the following line to the khalif:

> I see here a young horse who will never be broken in, if once he casts his first teeth; hasten then, before he gets his second teeth.

To this, Marwân made no reply, being then engaged in quelling some insurrections which had broken out in Mesopotamia and other provinces [one of which was headed by ad-Dahhâk Ibn Kais al-Harûri] (15). Abû Muslim had at that time only fifty followers. The governor then wrote to Marwân a second letter, containing the following verses [extracted from a long poem composed by a poet whom he had in his service, and who kept a school in Khorasân. This poet, whose name was Abû Maryam Abd Allah Ibn Ismail, was a member of the tribe of Bâjila and a native of Kûfa]:

> I see fire glimmer under the ashes, and it will soon burst out in flames. Fire is produced by the friction of wood, and war has its beginning in discourses. If men of prudence do not extinguish it, human heads and bodies will be its fuel. O that I knew whether the sons of Omaiya be awake or sunk in sleep! If they are sleeping in such times as these, say to them: "Arise, the hour is come!" (16)

395 The answer to this did not arrive, and Abû Muslim's power became so great that Nasr had to abandon Khorâsân, and was retreating to Irak when he died



on the way, near Sawa, a place not far from Hamadân. His death took place in the month of the first Rabî, A.H. 131 (November, A.D. 748). [He had governed Khorasân ten years.] On Tuesday the 28th of Muharram, A. H. 132 (September, A.D. 749), Abû Muslim attacked and imprisoned Ali Ibn Judai Ibn Ali (17) al-Kirmâni at Naisapûr; he then put him to death, and having seated himself in the chair of state, he was saluted governor, after which he officiated at the public prayer and pronounced the *khotba*, imploring the blessing of God on as-Saffâh Abû 'l-Abbâs Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad, the first khalif of the family of al-Abbâs. Khorasân then submitted to him without resistance, and the authority of the Omaiyides having ceased throughout the province, he despatched an army against Marwân Ibn Muhammad. The same year, on the eve of Friday the 13th of the latter Rabî (25th November, A. D. 749), as-Saffâh was proclaimed khalif at Kûfa, where he suddenly made his appearance (18). Other dates are assigned, however, to this event. The Khorasanites and the other troops were then placed under the orders of Abd Allah Ibn Ali, the uncle of as-Saffâh, and they marched against Marwân who had advanced as far as the Zâb [the river between Mosul and Arbela], and in an engagement which took place at Kushâf [a village in that neighbourhood], Marwân's army was defeated. He then retreated to Syria, but being closely pursued by Abd Allah, who followed with all his forces, he retreated to Egypt. [Abd Allah halted at Damascus, but sent a body of troops under the orders of al-Asfar (who is named also Musfar or Aâmir) Ibn Ismaîl al-Jurjâni, in pursuit of the prince.] Marwân then arrived at Bûsir, a village near al-Faiyûm (*in Egypt*), and was slain on the eve of Sunday, the 26th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 132 (5th August, A. D. 750); [or, it is said, in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada. He fell by the hand of the Aâmir abovementioned, who then cut off his head and sent it to as-Saffâh, by whose orders it was carried to Abû Muslim, that it might be exposed to public view in the towns of Khorasân. (*When Marwân was at his last moments*) some person asked him what had reduced him to such a state, and he replied: "The little attention which I paid to Nasr Ibn Saiyâr's letters when he wrote to me from Khorasân for assistance."] The fall of Marwân is an event well known, and the consequence of it was that as-Saffâh took possession of the khalifate without meeting any further resistance. He afterwards treated Abû Muslim with the highest honour for his services and for the talent he displayed in directing this

important enterprise. From that period the following lines were very often repeated aloud by Abû Muslim :

> By resolution and secresy I succeeded in an undertaking which the sons of Marwân had vainly combined their forces to resist. I never ceased my efforts to work their ruin, whilst they slumbered in Syria, heedless of danger. I then struck them with the sword, and roused them from a deeper sleep than any had ever slept before. When a shepherd feeds his flock in a land haunted by beasts of prey, if he yields to sloth and neglects his duty, the lion will undertake the tending of the sheep.

As-Saffâh died at al-Anbâr of the small-pox, in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 136 (May-June, A. D. 754), and his brother Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr, who was then at Mekka, succeeded to the khalifate on Sunday, the 13th of the same month. From that moment the conduct of Abû Muslim was marked by a number of particularities which produced a total change in the khalif's feelings towards him and made him resolve his death. During some time he hesitated whether to take the advice of his counsellors on this matter or follow his own determination, and in this state of mind he said one day to Muslim Ibn Kutaiba (19) : "What do you think of the manner in which Abû Muslim is getting "on?" To this Muslim made answer: "Were any other god but God in the "world, heaven and earth would be destroyed (*by such a man*)."—"It suffices; "O Ibn Kutaiba!" replied the khalif, "you have confided your thought to "safe ears." All the efforts of al-Mansûr being then directed to inspire Abû Muslim with a false security, he at length succeeded in drawing him to the palace. (*Another circumstance contributed to allay Abû Muslim's apprehensions:*) He used to consult books of predictions (20), and he found therein his own history; that he was to destroy a dynasty, create a dynasty, and be slain in the land of *Rûm* (*Asia Minor*). Al-Mansûr was then at *Rûmaiyat al-Madâin* (21), a place founded by one of the Persian kings, and Abû Muslim never suspected that he should meet with his death there, as he fancied that it was the land of the Greeks which was meant by the oracle. On entering into al-Mansûr's presence, he met with a most favourable reception, and was then told to retire to his tent; but the khalif only awaited a favourable opportunity in order to take him unawares. Abû Muslim then rode a number of times to visit al-Mansûr, who commenced reproaching him with some pretended misdeeds. At last he went to the palace one day, and being informed that the khalif was making a general

ablution previously to prayers, he sat down in the antechamber; but in the mean time, al-Mansûr posted some persons behind the sofa on which Abû Muslim was to sit, and ordered them not to appear till he, the khalif, clapped his hands; on this signal, they were to strike off Abû Muslim's head. Al-Mansûr then took his seat on the throne, and Abû Muslim being introduced, he made his salutation, which the khalif returned. Al-Mansûr then permitted him to sit down, and having commenced the conversation, he proceeded to reproaches: "Thou 396 "hast done this," said he, "and thou hast done that!"—"Why say you so to "me," replied Abû Muslim, "after all my efforts and my services?"—"Son of a "prostitute!" exclaimed al-Mansûr, "thou owest thy success to our own good "fortune; had a negress slave been in thy place, she had done as much as thee! "Was it not thou who, in writing to me, didst place thy name before mine? Was "it not thou who wrotest to obtain in marriage my aunt Aâsiya, pretending, in- "deed, that thou wast a descendant from Salît, the son of Abd Allah Ibn Abbâs? "Thou hast undertaken, infamous wretch! to mount where thou canst not "reach!" On this Abû Muslim seized him by the hand, which he kissed and pressed, offering excuses for his conduct; but al-Mansûr's last words to him were: "May God not spare me, if I spare thee!" He then clapped his hands, on which the assassins rushed out upon Abû Muslim and struck him with their swords; al-Mansûr exclaiming all the time: "God cut your hands off, rascals! "strike!" On receiving the first blow, Abû Muslim said: "Commander of the "faithful! spare me, that I may be useful against thy enemies." But the khalif replied: "May God never spare me if I do! where have I a greater enemy than "thee?" The murder of Abû Muslim was perpetrated on Thursday, the 24th of Shaabân, A. H. 137 (February, A. D. 755), or by other statements on the 27th of the month; or on Wednesday the 22nd; others again say that he was put to death in the year 136 or 140. This occurred at Rûmiyat al-Madâin, a village on the east bank of the Tigris and in the neighbourhood of al-Anbâr; it is counted as one of the *Madâins*, or cities built by the Persian King. When Abû Muslim was slain, his body was rolled up in a carpet, and soon after, Jaafar Ibn Hanzala entered (22). "What think you of Abû Muslim?" said the khalif to him. "Commander of the faithful," answered the other, "if you have ever "the misfortune to pull a single hair out of his head, there is no resource for "you but to kill him, and to kill him and to kill him again."—"God has given

"thee understanding;" replied al-Mansûr, "here he is in the carpet." On seeing him dead, Jaafar said: "Commander of the faithful! count this as the first "day of your reign." Al-Mansûr then recited this verse:

She threw away her staff (*of travel*) and found repose after a long journey; she felt as the traveller on his return, when his eyes are delighted (*by the sight of home*) (23).

After this he turned towards the persons present, and recited these lines over the prostrate body:

Thou didst pretend that our debt towards thee could never be paid! receive now thy account in full, O Abû Mujrim (24)! Drink of that draught which thou didst so often serve to others; a draught more bitter to the throat than gall.

Different opinions were held respecting Abû Muslim's origin: some stated that he was of Arabian descent, others of Persian, and others again of Kurdish. It is in allusion to the last opinion that Abû Dulâma (*see vol. I. page* 534) said:

O Abû Mujrim! God never replaces by afflictions the favours which he grants to his creatures, unless his creatures misapply them. Ah! thou wouldst meditate treason against the empire of al-Mansûr! Is it not true that thy own progenitors, the Kurds, were always a race of traitors? Thou didst menace me with death, Abû Mujrim! but that lion with which thou didst threaten me, has turned upon thyself!

*Rûmiya* was built by Alexander Zû 'l-Karnain when he was stopping at al-Madain, after having traversed the earth from west to east, as the Creator informs us in the Koran (25). He chose no other place of residence in the earth than al-Madâin, where he then built Rûmiya; but this God knows best! (26)

(1) The autograph has شذوس.

(2) This was the celebrated vizir of Anushirwân. See D'Herbelot's *Bib. orient.* Buzurge Mihir.

(3) This word is written in the autograph with a point on the ذ.

(4) The autograph has وستجان,

(5) See vol. I. page 444.

(6) Literally: "This is a calamity of the calamities;" a common expression used in speaking of mighty men and heroes.

(7) *The People of the House;* that is, the members of the family of Muhammad. The partisans of Ali naturally supposed that it was his descendants who were meant, and they joined in the conspiracy. But as al-Abbâs was an uncle of Muhammad, the Abbasides pretended that they also were *People of the House*, and they thus usurped the throne. It was precisely the equivocalness of the term which induced the Abbasides to employ it.

(8) Ardashir overthrew the Ashkanian dynasty and founded that of the Sâsânides.

(9) The following long passage is translated from the text of the autograph MS., in which it is written on the margin of the page. It exists also in one of the MSS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, but as I had some doubts of its authenticity, I suppressed it. The original text shall be given with the supplementary notes and corrections which are to accompany the Arabic edition.

(10) He thus deceived the Shîites and drew them over to his party. They imagined that he intended to place a descendant of Muhammad on the throne, whilst his real design was to establish on it a descendant of al-Abbâs, Muhammad's uncle. Abbâs and Muhammad were both descended from Hâshim, who was grandfather of the one and great-grandfather of the other.

(11) The history of Abû Muslim's proceedings will be found in Abû 'l-Fedâ, Price, el-Makîn, etc.

(12) See vol. I. page 438.

(13) Here in the autograph MS. are inserted these words: وقيل له لم بلغت ما بلغت فقال ما اخرت امر يومى الى غد "He was once asked how he attained to such an authority as he then possessed, to "which he replied: 'I never put off till to-morrow the business of to-day.'"—Then follow two passages containing some insignificant anecdotes from az-Zamakhshari's *Rabî al-Abrâr;* they are not in Ibn Khallikân's hand, but in that of the person who inserted in the life of Saif al-Islâm Toghtikîn, a passage from a supposed author, Izz ad-dîn Ibn Asâkir. This person's additions do not seem to merit great confidence.

(14) The autograph has ناوانه and the *Marâsid* ماوانه as in the printed text.

(15) See vol. I. page 100.

(16) Here the author has another passage added in the margin, and which is found also in some of the other copies. As it is in contradiction with what precedes and what follows, I suppressed it in the Arabic text, but shall give it here in English: "This has some similarity with what is related of one of the Alides, Muhammad "Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib (or his brother Ibrahîm Ibn Abd Allah), who, when he "revolted against Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr, recited these lines:

'I see a fire blazing on the heights and lighting up the country round. The sons of al-Abbâs mind it 'not, but pass their night in (*false*) security and enjoyment. They slumber as Omaiya did, and like him 'they will awaken to avert the danger, when it is too late.'

"Let us return to our subject: Ibn Saiyâr awaited Marwân's answer, which at length arrived; it contained "these words: 'We were sleeping when we gave you the government of Khorasân; he that is present sees "'what the absent does not. Cut off the wart which is before you.' On reading these words, Nasr said: "'I told you that he could be of no assistance.' He then wrote to him a second (*third*) time."

(17) The autograph has in the margin: بن جديع بن على.

(18) He had remained in concealment for some time, lest the Omaiyides should put him to death. See Abû 'l-Fedâ.

(19) Abû Abd Allah Muslim Ibn Kutaiba Ibn Muslim Ibn Amr Ibn al-Hasîn الحصين, a member of the tribe of Bâhila, a native of Khorasân, and the father of Saîd Ibn Muslim, was governor of Basra under Yazîd Ibn Omar Ibn Hubaira, in the reign of Marwân al-Himâr (the last of the Omaiyide dynasty in the East). He held again the same post in the reign of Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr. His conduct as an emir was marked by great prudence and justice. His death took place A.H. 149 (A.D. 766).—(*Nujûm.*)

(20) *Kutub al-Malâhim.* See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie,* tom. II. p. 298.

(21) See at the end of this article.

(22) Jaafar Ibn Hanzala, one of al-Mansûr's generals, was a native of Nahrawân. In A.H. 139 (A.D. 756-7) he commanded an expedition to Malatiya.—(*Nujûm.*)

(23) See the observations on this verse in vol. I. pp. 221 and 672.

(24) *Abû Mujrim* means *father of a villain;* it is a sort of pun on the name of *Abû Muslim,*

(25) Koran, XVIII. 82.

(26) Ibn Khallikân seems to have had a vague knowledge of the founding of Seleucia by Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander the Great's generals. It is well known that the conquest of Babylon by Seleucus gave rise to the era of the Seleucidæ, called also by the Arabs the era of Zû 'l-Karnain. — Mirkhaund attributes the foundation of Rûmiya to Anûshirwân, who built it on the precise model of Antioch. See De Sacy's *Mémoire sur les antiquités de la Perse*, p. 336. In a note to the French translation of Abû 'l-Fedâ's Geography, M. Reinaud indicates the seven cities of which al-Madâin was composed.

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## IBN NUBATA THE KHATIB.

The *khatîb*, or preacher, Abû Yahya Abd ar-Rahîm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ismail Ibn Nubâta al-Hudâki al-Fâriki, the author of the celebrated *khotbas*, or sermons, 397 was a perfect master of all the sciences connected with general literature. The divine grace bestowed upon him is conspicuous in his *khotbas*, which are unanimously considered as unrivalled and which remain a proof not only of his extensive learning, but of his fine genius. He was a native of Maiyâfârikîn, and he held the post of *khatîb* at Aleppo. In that city he met Abû 't-Taiyib al-Mutanabbi at the court of Saif ad-Dawlat, and learned from him, it is said, a number of his poems. As Saif ad-Dawlat was frequently warring against the enemies of the faith, a large portion of the *khatîb's* sermons are on the duty of holy warfare, and were intended by him to stimulate the people and encourage them to support that prince. Ibn Nubâta was a man of great holiness, and he once dreamt that he was standing in the cemetery, when the Prophet appeared to him and said, pointing to the tombs: "O khatib! what sayest thou?" "And I replied," said Ibn Nubata: "*They tell not of the state to which they are come; and were they* "*able to speak, they would do so: they have drunk the bitter cup of death, and are* "*now as if they had never rejoiced the eyes of their friends—as if they had never* "*been counted among the living. He who gave them speech has brought them to* "*silence; he who created them has caused them to perish: but as he wore them out,* "*so will he renew them; as he scattered their frame, so will he reunite it* (1)." The Prophet then spat in his mouth, and the *khatîb* awoke with a brightness on his face which had not been there before: he then related his dream and mentioned that the Prophet had honoured him with the title of *khatîb*. For eighteen days

after, he lived without eating or drinking, by the grace of that spittle. The *khotba* from which the foregoing passage is taken continues to be known by the title of *al-khotba al-manâmiya* (*the sermon of the vision*). The only historian in whose works I have been able to discover the date of the *khatîb's* birth and death, is Ibn al-Azrak al-Fâriki, who says in his History of Maiyâfârikîn: "Ibn "Nubâta was born A. H. 335 (A. D. 946-7), and he died A. H. 374 (A. D. "984-5) at Maiyâfârikîn, in which city he was interred." I read the following passage in a collection of anecdotes: "The vizir Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn al-Maghribi "said: 'I saw the *khatîb* Ibn Nubâta in a dream, after his death, and I asked "him how God had treated him; to which he replied: 'A leaf was handed to "me on which these two lines were written in red letters:

> 'Before this, thou wert in safety, but to-day thou art doubly safe. Pardon is not for 'the worker of good; it is only for the transgressor!'

"I then awoke, repeating these verses."—*Hudâki* means *belonging to Hudâka*, a branch of the tribe of Kudâa; but Ibn Kûtaiba says, in his History of the Poets, that Hudâk is a branch of the tribe of Aiyâd; God knows best!

(1) I have given the text and translation of this sermon in the *Journal Asiatique* for January, 1840.

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## AL-KADI 'L-FADIL.

Abû Ali Abd ar-Rahîm al-Lakhmi al-Askalâni (*a member of the tribe of Lakhm and a native of Ascalon*), generally known by the title of al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil (*the talented kâdi*) and surnamed Mujir ad-dîn (*the protector of religion*), was the son of al-Kâdi 'l-Ashraf (*the most noble kâdi*) Bahâ ad-dîn Abû 'l-Majd Ali, who was the son of al-Kâdi 's-Saîd (*the fortunate kâdi*) Abû Muhammad Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Hasan (1) Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Faraj (2) Ibn Ahmad.—Al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil, surnamed also al-Misri because he resided in Misr, or Egypt, was vizir to the sultan al-Malik an-Nâsir Salâh ad-dîn, by whom he was always treated with the very highest favour. As a writer of epistles he reached pre-eminence and surpassed every predecessor; and in his productions, numerous as they were, he constantly

displayed novel beauties of style and thought. I have been informed by a man of talent and veracity, who was well acquainted with every thing respecting the Kâdi, that the books containing the rough draughts of his epistles, and the 398 loose sheets on which his *tâlîkas* (*memoranda*) were written, would certainly form a collection of one hundred volumes, and that the greater part of these documents are masterpieces. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni speaks of him in the *Kharîda* in these terms: "He was the master of the pen and of lucid ex-"pression (3), of eloquence, and of language; his genius was brilliant, his "sagacity penetrating, and his style marked by originality and beauty. His "abilities were so great that we know not of any ancient writers who could "have entered into competition with him or even approached him, had they "lived in the same time. He was like the law of Muhammad, which annulled "every preceding law and became itself the basis of all science; to him be-"longed novelty of thought, originality of ideas, display of brilliancy, and pro-"duction of the fairest flowers; it was he who conducted the empire by his "counsels, and fastened the pearls (*of style*) on the thread (*of discourse*): when "he pleased, he could compose in a day, nay in a single hour, documents "which, were they preserved, would be considered by masters of the epistolary "art as the most precious materials they could possess. How far was Koss (4) "beneath him in eloquence, and Kais (5) in prudence! Compared with him "in generosity, what was Hâtim (6)? and in bravery, what was Amr? (7)." He then continues his eulogium in the highest terms.—We shall give here a letter by al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil, addressed to Salâh ad-dîn and presented to him by the *khatîb* (*preacher*) of Aidâb (8); in it he recommends the bearer as a proper person to fill the place of preacher at al-Karak (9): "May God preserve the sultan al-"Malik an-Nâsir and fortify him; may He grant a favourable acceptance to his "acts and make them fructify; may He crush his enemies unawares, when they "slumber by day or sleep by night! and may He quell their insolence by "means of his servant's sword and cast them prostrate! This letter, bearing "the humble service of thy slave, will be presented by the *khatîb* of Aidâb, "forced to quit that place which was for him an unpleasant and inconvenient "residence. Having heard of those victories, the fame of which has filled the "earth, and which entitle thee to the gratitude of its inhabitants, he abandoned "the burning atmosphere and the salt soil of Aidâb, and travelled forth in a

"night of hope, brilliant as day; judge then what the morning itself must "be! He is anxious to obtain the preachership of al-Karak, for he is a "preacher; and he employs the mediation of thy humble servant to address "this request, which can be easily granted. He removes from Egypt to "Syria, from Aidâb to al-Karak; a change singular enough: but poverty im- "pels with violence; his family being large and his means small. The bounty "of God to mankind in preserving our sovereign master is most gracious. "Adieu."—In one of his epistles he describes, in the following original strain, a castle situated on a lofty hill (10): "This castle is an eagle among precipices; "a star in the clouds; a head turbaned with vapours; a finger which, when "dyed by the rays of the evening, has for its nail the new moon." His compositions abound in originality and beauty; he wrote also some good poetry, such, for instance, as the piece he recited on arriving at the Euphrates in the retinue of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn, and in which he expresses his desire of again seeing the Nile of Egypt:

> Bear from me a message to the Nile; tell it I never could quench my thirst with water from the Euphrates. Ask my heart if I say the truth; it will be a sufficient witness for me, even did my eyes withhold their tears. O my heart! how many *Buthainas* hast thou left there after thee, but God forbid that thou support thy sorrows with patient resignation (*jamil*) (11).

He often recited the following verses:

> When the eyes of Fortune guard you, sleep without fear, for places of danger are then places of safety. Pursue the phœnix, fortune will serve you as a net; take the constellation of Orion for a steed, fortune will be your bridle.

The following lines were composed by him:

> We passed the night in the gratification of our desires; but there are pleasures which it is not possible to describe. The guardian of our door was the night, and we said to her: "Leave us not, or the morning will break in."

I have expressed this idea in a distich which runs as follows: 399

> What a night of pleasure we passed at the mountain-foot! to describe it would far exceed my power. I said to the night: "Thou art the guardian of our door; leave us "not, for we dread the breaking in of the dawn."

Al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil composed a great quantity of poetry. He was born at Ascalon on the 15th of the latter Jumâda, A.H. 529 (April, A.D. 1135); his father





held for some time the post of kâdi at the city of Baisân (12); and for this reason, all the family received the surname of al-Baisâni. In the life of al-Muwaffak Yûsuf Ibn al-Khallâl, we shall relate how al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil began the world, and how he went to Egypt, where he was employed to draw up documents in the chancery-office by al-Khallâl; it is not therefore necessary for us to repeat the same account here. He was then attached to the service of the sultan at Alexandria, where he remained for some time. The jurisconsult Omâra al-Yamani speaks of him in his work on the history of the Egyptian vizirs, entitled *an-Nukat al-Asriya*, where he gives the life of al-Aâdil Ibn as-Sâlih Ibn Ruzzîk: " Among the actions," says he, " which redound to his " *(al-Aâdil's)* honour, and merit to be enregistered in the history of his life— " or rather, I should say, incomparably the best deed he ever performed and a " favour *(to the world)* not to be repaid—was his despatching an order to the " governor of Alexandria, with directions to send al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil to court; " after which he took him in his service and employed him as his secretary " in the army office. He thus planted a tree from which not only the state, but " religion drew profit; a blessed tree of rapid growth and firmly rooted, bearing " its branches to the sky, and furnishing good fruit at all seasons, by the per- " mission of the Lord." We have already mentioned that *(subsequently to this)* he was appointed vizir by Salâh ad-dîn, and gradually mounted in favour till that sultan's death. During the reign of al-Malik al-Azîz, the son and successor of that prince, al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil maintained his rank and influence; al-Malik al-Azîz's son, al-Malik al-Mansûr, then succeeded to the throne in consequence of the measures taken by his uncle al-Malik al-Afdal Nûr ad-dîn; and al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil continued to hold his rank and honours to the last moment of his life. He expired suddenly at Cairo on the eve of Wednesday, the 7th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 596 (January, A.D. 1200), at the time of al-Malik al-Aâdil's entry into that city, when taking possession of Egypt. He was buried the next morning in the mausoleum bearing his name, and situated in the lesser Karâfa Cemetery, at the foot of Mount Mukattam. I visited his tomb more than once, and I saw the date of his death, as it is here given, engraved on the marble enclosure which surrounds the monument. He was one of the ornaments of the age, and time will not readily produce another fit to replace him. He founded a *madrasa* at Cairo in the street called *Darb al-Malûkhiya*, and I

perused a note in his own handwriting, wherein it was stated that on Saturday, the first of Muharram, A. H. 580 (April, A. D. 1184), this establishment was first opened for the instruction of pupils.—As for his surname, his family say that it was Muhî ad-dîn (*reviver of religion*), but in a document addressed to him by Ibn Abi Usrûn (*see page* 32), I find him styled Mujîr ad-dîn.—His son Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad, surnamed al-Kâdi al-Ashraf Bahâ ad-dîn (*the most noble kâdi, the lustre of the faith*) lived in high favour with the princes (*of the family of Salâh ad-dîn*); he was most assiduous in learning Traditions and indefatigable in collecting books. His birth took place at Cairo in the month of Muharram, A.H. 573 (July, A.D. 1177), and he died at the same city on the eve of Monday, the 7th of the latter Jumâda, A.H. 643 (October, A.D. 1245). He was buried at the side of his father's tomb. Al-Kâdi al-Ashraf, having been commissioned by the prince al-Malik al-Kâmil Ibn al-Malik al-Aâdil Ibn Aiyûb to proceed from Cairo on a mission to Baghdad, he addressed to the vizir these lines of his own composing:

> O my lord vizir! you whose favours dissolve the pact which bound me to adverse fortune! How can I thank you for your kindness, feeling that I can hardly sustain the honour conferred upon me. Those favours are light in your hands, but their burden is weighty on the shoulders (13) of those who receive them.

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(1) The autograph has الحسن.

(2) الفرج in the autograph.

(3) We have here in the original a good specimen of Imâd ad-dîn's style, with its beauties and its faults; but the former vanish in translation, and the latter become still more glaring. One or two passages in this extract are so highly figurative that it is impossible to render them literally into any European language.

(4) See vol. I. page 137.

(5) Kais Ibn Zuhair al-Absi is the person meant in the proverbial expression: *shrewder than Kais*. He took an active part in the war of Dâhis and Ghabra. See Rasmussen's *Additamenta*; Abû'l-Fedâ's *Hist. Anteislam.* p. 141.

(6) This is the celebrated Hâtim at-Tai.

(7) Amr the son of Malik, of the tribe of Sâsâ, a contemporary of Muhammad, was surnamed for his bravery *Mulâib al-Asinna* (*he that plays with the spear points*).—(See Rasmussen's *Additamenta ad hist. Ar.*)

(8) The town of Aidâb is situated on the western coast of the Red Sea, in lat. 22° 8′. Berghaus has omitted it in his map of Egypt and Arabia.

(9) Karak or Kerek lies to the east of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea.

(10) Probably *Kalat Kaukab* (*Star Castle*), a fortress situated on a lofty hill overlooking the Jordan. Berghaus places it in lat. 32° 37′.

(11) For the loves of Jamîl and Buthaina, see vol. I. page 331. It may be perceived that the kâdi has attempted a pun in this verse.

(12) Baisân lies about nine miles south of Lake Tiberias, near the right bank of the Jordan.

(13) Literally: *On the necks.* In Arabic they say, *he hung a favour on his neck* قلده نعمة ; an expression equivalent to اولاه نعمة *he conferred a favour on him.*

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## IBN JURAIJ.

Abû Khâlid Abd al-Malik, surnamed also Abû 'l-Walîd, the son of Abd al-Azîz Ibn Juraij, was a native of Mekka, and a member, by adoption, of the tribe of Koraish; Omaiya Ibn Khâlid Ibn Asîd being his patron. According to another statement, (*his grandfather*) Juraij was a slave to Omm Habîb, the daughter of Jubair and the wife of Abd al-Azîz Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Khalid Ibn Asîd Ibn Abi 'l-Eîs Ibn Omaiya; and for this reason he was considered as the *mawla* of the latter. Abd al-Malik was one of the most celebrated men (*of that age*) for his learning; it is said that he was the first who, after the promulgation of Islamism, composed books. He frequently related the following anecdote: "I "was in Yemen with Maan Ibn Zâida (1), and the period of the pilgrimage "came round without my having any intention of making it, till the following "verses of Omar Ibn Abi Rabîa's (2) came suddenly to my recollection:

> 'Say to him, I pray you, but not reproachfully: Why do you make so long a stay 'in Yemen? If you be in search of fortune (3) or if you have obtained her favours, what 'sum have you received for neglecting the pilgrimage?'

"I immediately went to Maan and told him that it was my intention to "make the pilgrimage, on which he asked me what could have induced me to "form such a design, as I never before had spoken to him on the subject. I "then related to him the circumstance and repeated Ibn Abi Rabîa's verses, on "which he provided me with the expenses of my journey and sent me off." Ibn Juraij was born A.H. 80 (A.D. 699-700); he went to Baghdad to see Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr, and died A.H. 149 (A.D. 766); some say, 150 or 151.

(1) His life will be found in this work.

(2) The life of Omar Ibn Abi Rabîa is given in this volume.

(3) Read دنيا in the Arabic text.

## ABD AL-MALIK IBN OMAIR.

Abû Omar, and Abû Amr, Abd al-Malik Ibn Omair Ibn Suwaid, surnamed al-Kibti al-Farsi, was a member of the tribe of Lakhm and one of the principal inhabitants of Kûfa, where he filled the place of kâdi on the death of as-Shâbi. He ranked among the most distinguished of the *Tâbîs* and was also one of the most trustworthy as a transmitter of Traditions. He saw Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib and gave Traditions on the authority of Jâbir Ibn Abd Allah (1). The following circumstance of his life is related by himself: "I was with Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân "at the castle of Kûfa when the head of Musâb Ibn az-Zubair was brought in "and presented to him. On seeing me shudder, he asked me what was the "matter, and I replied: 'May God preserve the Commander of the faithful! I "'was in this castle, and in this very room, with Obaid Allah Ibn Ziâd when "'the head of al-Husain the son of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib was placed before him; "'I was then here with al-Mukhtâr Ibn Abi Obaid ath-Thakafi, when Obaid "'Allah Ibn Ziâd's head was brought to him; I was here again when al-Mukh- "'târ's head was presented to Musâb Ibn az-Zubair, and behold now the head "'of Musâb!' On hearing these words, Abd al-Malik rose from his place and "ordered the pavilion in which we were to be levelled to the ground." Ibn Omair was at one time taken ill, and a person sent his excuses for not going to visit him, on which he answered: "I cannot reproach a person for not visiting "me, whom I myself should not go to visit were he sick." He died on or about A. H. 136 (A. D. 753-4), aged 103 years.—The relative adjective *Kibti* is formed from *Kibt*; he possessed an excellent race-horse so called, and from this circumstance he derived his surname.—*Farsi* is derived from *Fars* (*horse*), and **401** was applied to him for the same reason.

(1) Abû Abd Allah Jâbir Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Amr as-Sulami al-Ansâri was a native of Medina and a Traditionist of great authority, having conversed with the Prophet. He died at his native place, A. H. 78 (A. D. 697-8) aged sixty-four years.—(*Tab. al-Muhaddithîn.*)



## IBN AL-MAJISHUN.

Abû Marwân Abd al-Malik Ibn Abd al-Aziz Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abi Salama al-Mâjishûn, the Malikite doctor, was a native of Medîna and a client to the Munkadirs, a family which drew its origin from Taim, a descendant of Koraish: he was therefore surnamed al-Korashi, at-Taimi, al-Munkadiri; he bore also the appellation of al-Aami (*the blind*), because he did not possess the sense of sight, or because he lost it towards the close of his life. His ancestor Abû Salama was surnamed al-Mâjishûn, but his real name is uncertain; some say that he was called Maimûn, and others, Dînâr. Ibn al-Mâjishûn studied jurisprudence under his father Abd al-Azîz, the imâm Mâlik, and others. He took great pleasure in hearing vocal music, and to this, Ahmad Ibn Hanbal bears testimony: "He came to visit us," said he, "and was accompanied by a "person whose business it was to sing to him." He was also noted for his talent as a narrator of anecdotes and for the purity of his style: relative to this it is related that, when the imâm as-Shâfi conversed with him (*on literature*), the persons present understood very little of what they said; the reason was that as-Shâfi had acquired his knowledge of pure Arabic by living for some time in the desert with the tribe of Hudail, and Ibn al-Mâjishûn had learned it in the same manner from the tribe of Kalb, who were his relations by the mother's side. It was said by Yahya Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Muaddal: "When I reflect that Abd al-Malik's tongue must sooner or later moulder into "dust, the world loses its value in my sight." The same person being asked how great was the difference between his own talent as a correct speaker and that of his master Abd al-Malik, he made this reply: "The tongne of Abd al-"Malik, when embarrassed, was more lively than mine when animated (1)." Ibn al-Mâjishûn died A.H. 213 (A.D. 828-9), but it is mentioned by Abû Omar Ibn Abd al-Barr (2) that his death took place in 212; others again place this event in 214.—*Mâjishûn* signifies *tinged with a rose colour*, or, according to some, *tinged with white and red*; it was the surname of Abû Yûsuf Yâkûb the son of Abû Salama Abd al-Malik's great-grandfather, and the uncle of Abd al-Malik's father. This surname was given him by Sukaina the daughter of al-Husain Ibn Abi Tâlib (3), and it passed to all his children and to those of his bro-



ther. But the origin of this appellation has been explained in another manner: as they were originally from Ispahân, they used to salute one another, when they met, with the words *shûni shûni*; and they were called *Mâjishûn* for that reason (4): this we give on the authority of the *hâfiz* Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Ibrahim al-Jûrjâni. It was said by Abû Dâwûd (5) that Ibn al-Mâjishûn did not understand the Traditions, and Ibn al-Barki (6) relates that a man having requested him to go and see Abd al-Malik, he went and found that he had no conception of what a Tradition was. Muhammad Ibn Saad mentions him in his greater *Tabakât*, and says: "He had a knowledge of jurisprudence and "handed down orally traditional information." — *Munkadiri* means *descended from al-Munkadir* the son of Abd Allah Ibn Hudair, a member of the family of Taim, which is a branch of the tribe of Koraish. He was the father of the Muhammad, Abû Bakr, and Omar, whose history is given in full by Ibn Kutaiba, in the *Kitâb al-Maârif*, under the head of *Muhammad Ibn al-Munkadir* (7).

(1) In this passage all the MSS. except the autograph are wrong: for تغابى we must read تعايى, and for تحابى, تحايا.

(2) This person's life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(3) Her life will be found in vol. I. page 581.

(4) I have not been able to discover what the words *shûni* and *Mâjishûn* may mean in this case; had Ibn Khallikân known it, he would most probably have explained it.

(5) Probably Abû Dâwûd the imâm; see vol. I. page 589.

(6) Abû Ishak Ibrahim Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abi 'l-Kâdi al-Barki al-Misri (*a native of Egypt, but sprung from a family inhabiting Barka in North Africa*) was a doctor of the sect of Mâlik, and esteemed as one of the ablest jurisconsults of Egypt. He studied the law under Asshhab and Ibn Wahb. His death is placed by as-Suyûthi in A.H. 245 (A.D. 859-60).—(*Husn al-Muhâdira*, MS. No. 652, fol. 116 verso.)

(7) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Munkadir Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Hudair at-Taimi, a member of the tribe of Koraish, was an eminent Koran-reader and Traditionist. His masters were Jâbir Ibn Abd Allah, Anas Ibn Malik, Orwa Ibn az-Zubair, etc. He had for pupils the imâm Malik, Shôba, ath-Thauri, Ibn Oyaina, Ibn Juraij, etc. He died A.H. 131 (A.D. 748-9) —(*Tab. al-Muhad.*)

## THE IMAM AL-HARAMAIN.

The Shâfite doctor, Abû 'l-Maàli Abd al-Malik, surnamed Diâ ad-din (*splendour of religion*) and generally known by the title of the imàm al-Haramain, was son to the *shaikh* Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Abi Yâkûb Yûsuf Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Muhammad Ibn Haíyûya al-Jûwaini. He was, without exception, the most learned doctor of the Shafite sect in later times, and is universally considered as a (*mujtahid*) imâm; it is also agreed on by all that he stood pre-eminent by the extent of his information and his skill in many different branches of science, such as dogmatic theology, jurisprudence, philology, etc. (We have spoken of his father *in vol. II. page* 27.) By a favour of the divine grace, he was enabled to carry the practices of devotion to an unexampled pitch of fervour; he repeated also from memory, and without the least hesitation, lessons to his pupils, each of which would have filled a number of 402 leaves. When a youth, he was instructed in jurisprudence by his father Abû Muhammad, who was struck with his capacity, acquirements, excellent disposition, and other prognostics of future eminence. Abd al-Malik having thus gone through all his parent's works and mastered their contents, surpassed him in accuracy of knowledge and subtilness. On his father's death, he replaced him as a teacher, and, having accomplished that duty, he went to the *Madrasa* of al-Baihaki (1) and mastered the science of dogmatic theology under the tuition of the *ustâd* Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Iskâf, a native of Isfaràin (2). From thence he travelled to Baghdad, where he met a number of the learned; he then proceeded to Hijâz, where he made a residence of four years, partly at Mekka and partly at Medina. During this period he filled the duties of a professor and a *mufti*, whilst the rest of his time was devoted to the task of collecting the Shafite doctrines from all the various channels through which they had passed down. It was on account of his residence in these two holy cities that he received the surname of the *Imâm al-Haramain* (*imâm of the two sanctuaries*). Towards the commencement of Alp Arslân's reign, he returned to Naisapûr, and Nizâm al-Mulk, that sultan's vizir, founded there a *Nizâmiya* College for the express purpose of establishing the Imâm in it as a professor. This doctor filled besides the place of *khatîb*, or chief preacher of the city, and held assemblies in which

he gave exhortations and presided at discussions on points of doctrine. The works which he had written became then generally known, and his lectures were attended by doctors of the highest eminence; the presidency of the Shafite sect devolved on him; and the administration of the *wakfs*, or religious endowments, was confided to his care. During a space of nearly thirty years he continued in undisputed possession of these places, and held with general consent the posts of officiating imâm at public prayers, of preacher in the principal mosque, of professor, and of president at the assemblies which met every Friday to hear pious exhortations. He composed works on very many subjects, and Islamism has never produced one equal to his treatise, the *Nihâyat al-Matlab fi Dirâyat al-Mazhab* (*satisfactory results to inquiry, being a guide to the knowledge of the Shafite doctrines*). The *hâfiz* Abû Jaafar (3) relates that he heard Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi say to the Imâm al-Haramain: "O instructor of the people of the East and of the West! thou art to-day the imâm (*chief*) of the imâms."—The Imâm al-Haramain was taught Traditions by a great number of the learned in that branch of knowledge, and he possessed a licence from Abû Noaim al-Ispahâni, the author of the *Hilyat al-Awlia* (*see vol. I. page* 74), authorising him to teach those which he had communicated to him. His other works are the *Shâmil* (*comprehensive*), on the dogmas of religion; the *Burhân* (*proof*), on the fundamentals of jurisprudence; the *Talkhîs at-Takrîb*, an abridgment of (*al-Kâsim Ibn Muhammad as-Shâshi's treatise on jurisprudence*), the *Takrîb*; the *Irshâd* (*direction, on the fundamentals of jurisprudence*); *al-Akîda an-Nizâmiya* (4); the *Madârik al-Okûl* (*results of the utmost efforts of human reason*), which work was left unfinished; an unfinished abridgment of the *Nihâyat al-Matlab*; the *Ghiâth al-Umam* (*help for the nations*), in which he treats of the *imâmat* or presidency over the whole Moslim community; the *Mugîth al-Khalk* (*assister of God's creatures*), leading to the choice of the true way; the *Ghunyat al-Mustarshidîn* (5) (*sufficient help for those who desire guidance*), being a treatise on controversy. He composed also some other works. Whenever he entered into an explanation of the sciences peculiar to the *Sûfis* and of the state of extatic exaltation (6) to which they sometimes reached, he would draw tears from all present. During the entire course of his life he never swerved from a line of conduct most praiseworthy and agreeable to God. I was told by a *shaikh* that he had read a full account of the Imâm al-Haramain's life in a certain treatise,

and that his father Abû Muhammad began the world as a professional book-copyist: having amassed some money by his labours, he bought a slave-girl bearing a high character for piety and virtue, and her he supported with the lawful gains furnished him by his trade. She bore him a son, afterwards known as the Imâm al-Haramain, and he told her not to allow any person but herself to suckle the child; but it happened one day, that on going into her apartment, he found her indisposed, and as the child was crying, a woman who was one of the neighbours, gave it the breast for a short time to quiet it. When the father saw this, he felt much vexed, and taking the child, he held it with its head downwards, stroked its belly, and put his finger into its mouth, till he succeeded in making it throw up what it had swallowed: "I would rather see him die," said he, "than have his natural disposition spoiled by the milk of one who was "not his mother." It is related also of the Imâm himself that a languor of mind sometimes came over him during the conferences at which he presided, and that he attributed it to the effects of that milk, a portion of which had remained in his stomach.—He was born on the 18th of Muharram, A. H. 419 (February, A.D. 1028); in his last illness he was borne to Bashtanikân, a village situated in the province of Naisapûr and noted for the salubrity of its air and water; he died at that place on Wednesday, the 25th of the latter Rabi, A.H. 478 **403** (August, A. D. 1085), just as the evening had closed in. His body was taken to Naisapûr that night, and was buried the next morning in (*the court of*) his house, but, some years later, it was removed to the al-Husain Cemetery and interred beside the grave of his father. The funeral prayers were said over him by his son Abû 'l-Kâsim, and on the day of his death, all the shops were shut, the pulpit in the great mosque from which he preached was broken to pieces, and the whole population mourned for him as for a relation. A great number of elegies were composed on his death, and one of them we shall give here: it is as follows:

> The hearts of mankind were in torture (7) and the days of mortals became dark as nights! Can the tree of science ever again bear fruit, now that the imâm Abû 'l-Maâli is no more?

At the moment of his death, his scholars, who were four hundred and one in number, broke their pens and inkhorns and let a full year pass over before they resumed their studies.

(1) This *madrasa* was called after the doctor Abu Bakr al-Baihaki. See his life, vol. I. p. 57; and Introduction, p. xxviii.

(2) Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad, surnamed *al-Ustâd* (*the master*) and generally known by the denomination of al-Iskâf (*the cobbler*), was a native of Isfarâin and a disciple of the *shaikh* Abû Ishak al-Isfarâini. He composed a number of works on the dogmas of faith, on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, and on dialectics. As a jurisconsult and a scholastic theologian he held a high rank; as a controvertist and a professor he displayed great powers of language, and as a *mufti*, he was esteemed one of the most capable. If we take into consideration besides that he was a strict imitator of the original Moslims in devotion and self-denial, we must allow that he had no equal among his contemporaries. He lived in the knowledge of his duties towards God and in the performance of them. His death occurred in the month of Safar, A.H. 454 (A.D. 1062).—(*Tâb. as-Shâfiyin*).—Ibn Khallikân writes his surname *Iskâfi*, not *Iskâf*, but I prefer the authority of the *Kâmûs* and the *Tabakât as-Shâfiyin*.

(3) The author of the *Tabakât as-Shâfiyin* mentions an Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Abi Ali al-Hamadâni in the life of the Imâm al-Haramain: this was perhaps the same person as the *hâfiz*.

(4) To judge from the title, this should be a profession of faith for the use of the students at the *Nizâmiya* college.

(5) Read المسترشدين in the Arabic text.

(6) Read الاحوال.

(7) Literally: On frying pans!

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## AL-ASMAI.

The celebrated philologer Abû Saîd Abd al-Malik Ibn Kuraib al-Asmâi drew his descent from Adnân, his father Kuraib being the son of Abd al-Malik Ibn Ali Ibn Asmâ Ibn Mutahhir Ibn Riâh Ibn Amr Ibn Abd Shams Ibn Aaya Ibn Saad Ibn Abd Ibn Ghanam (1) Ibn Kutaiba Ibn Maan Ibn Mâlik Ibn Aasar Ibn Saad Ibn Kais Ailân (2) Ibn Modar Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maad Ibn Adnân.—Al-Asmâi bore also the surname of *Bâhili* (*descended from Bâhila*), and yet no such name appears in his genealogy; he was so entitled, however, because his ancestor Mâlik Ibn Aasar was the husband of the female named *Bâhila*; others say that Bahila was the name of a son of Aasar (3).—Al-Asmâi was a complete master of the Arabic language, an able grammarian, and the most eminent of all those persons who transmitted orally historical narrations, singular anecdotes, amusing stories, and rare expressions of the language. He received his information from Shôba Ibn al-Hajjâj (*see vol. I. page* 493, *note* 8), the two Hammâds (4), Misâr

Ibn Kidâm (*vol. I. p.* 580, *n.* 3), and others; his own authority was cited by his brother's son Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abd Allah, Abû Obaid al-Kâsim Ibn Sallâm (5), Abû Hâtim as-Sijistâni (*vol. I. page* 603), Abû 'l-Fadl ar-Riâshi (*v. II. p.* 10), and others. He was a native of Basra, but he removed to Baghdad in the reign of Harûn ar-Rashîd. Some person then said to Abû Nuwâs (*vol. I. p.* 391) that Abû Obaida (6) and al-Asmâi had been just presented to ar-Rashîd, on which he replied: "As for Abû Obaida, he will recite to them, if "allowed, the history of the ancients and the moderns; but as for al-Asmâi, he "is a nightingale to charm them with his melodies." It is related by Omar Ibn Shabba (7), that he heard al-Asmâi say that he knew by heart sixteen thousand pieces of verse composed in the measure called *rajaz* (8); and it was observed by Ishak al-Mausili (*vol. I. page* 183) that he never heard al-Asmâi profess to know a branch of science without discovering that none knew it better than he. Ar-Rabî Ibn Sulaimân (*vol. I. p.* 519) relates that he heard as-Shâfi pronounce these words: "None ever explained better than al-Asmâi the idiom "of the desert Arabs." And it was mentioned by Abû Ahmâd al-Askari (*v. I. page* 382) that when al-Asmâi was at Basra, he received most pressing invitations from al-Mâmûn to go and see him, but refused on the pretext of his feebleness and advanced age; al-Mâmûn then used to draw up collections of questions on doubtful points (*of literature*) and send them to him that he might resolve them. The following anecdote was related by al-Asmâi: "I and Abû Obaida went to "see al-Fadl Ibn Rabî (9), who asked me in how many volumes was my work "on horses, and I replied: 'One only!'. He then made the same question to "Abû Obaida respecting his work on the same subject, and he answered: "'Fifty volumes.' Fadl then said to him: 'Go over to that horse and place "'your hand successively on all the parts of his body, naming them at the "'same time.'—'I am not a farrier,' replied Abû Obaida, 'but all I have com-"'piled on this subject was procured by me from the Arabs of the desert.' Al-"Fadl then told me to do it, on which I went over to the horse, and, taking "hold of his mane, I commenced naming the different parts of his body as I "placed my hand successively upon them; repeating at the same time the "verses in which the Arabs of the desert mentioned them. When I had "finished, he bid me keep the animal, and whenever I wished to annoy Abû "Obaida, I rode on that horse to pay him a visit." Al-Asmâi carefully ab-

stained from explaining any of the obscure expressions occurring in the Koran and the *Sunna*, and when questioned on a point of this kind, he would answer: "The Arabs of the desert say that such and such an expression means so and "so, but I do not know what may be its signification in the Koran and the "*Sunna*." His adventures and the anecdotes related of him are very numerous. His grandfather Ali Ibn Asmâ committed a theft at Safawân (10), for which he was arrested and taken before Ali Ibn Ali Tâlib. "Bring me witnesses," said Ali, "to prove that he purloined the object out of the saddle-bag (11)." The person who tells this story proceeds to say that evidence to that effect was given before Ali, who immediately ordered the fingers of his hand to be cut off. On this some person said to him: "Commander of the faithful! why "not cut it off by the wrist (12)?"—"God forbid!" exclaimed the khalif; "how could he then lean on his staff? How could he pray (13)? How "could he eat (14)?" When al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf arrived at Basra, Ali Ibn Asmâ went to him and said: "O emir! my parents treated me most foully in "naming me Ali; give me another name."—"You come," replied al-Hajjâj, "with an excellent pretext to excite my interest; I appoint you director of the "fisheries at al-Bâraja with a daily salary of two dânaks (15) in copper-money; "but, by Allah! if you go beyond that sum, I shall cut off the portion of your "hand which Ali left on (16)."—Al-Asmâi was born A. H. 122 (A. D. 740) or 123, and he died at Basra in the month of Safar, A. H. 216 (March-April, A. D. 831); some say, 214 or 217; and others mention that his death took place at Marw. The *khatîb* Abû Bakr (*vol. I. p.* 75) says: "I have been informed that al-"Asmâi lived to the age of eighty-eight." Kuraib, al-Asmâi's father, was born A.H. 83 (A. D. 702), but I have not been able to discover in what year he died. *Kuraib* was only a byname, but he was not generally known by any other appellation; according to al-Mazubâni (17) and Abû Said as-Sîrâfi (*vol. I. page* 377), his real name was Aâsim and his surname Abû Bakr.—*Asmâi* is a patronymic derived from the name of his grandfather.—*Safawân* is the name of a place near Basra; [the road from Basra to Bahrain passes successively through Safawân and Kâzima to Hajar, the capital of Bahrain.—*Al-Bârajah* is the name of a place at Basra.] (18).—The following anecdote is related by Abû 'l-Ainâ (19): "I was at al-Asmâi's funeral, and the poet Abû Kilâba Hubaish Ibn Abd ar-

"Rahmân al-Jarmi (20), with whom I was conversing, recited to me these lines "of his own composing:

'God curse the bones which they are now bearing on the bier towards the abode of 'corruption! bones hateful to the Prophet, to the Prophet's family, and to all the saints.'

"I was then accosted by Abû 'l-Aâlya al-Hasan Ibn Mâlik as-Shâmi, who "recited to me the following lines:

'Let (*the rivulets*) the daughters of the earth cease to flow; afflicted as they now are 'by the death of al-Asmâi! They (*still flow on, yet*) do not wash away our grief. Live 'in the world as long as you may, you will never meet a man like him, or with learning 'such as his.'

"I was much struck with the difference of these two persons' feelings to- "wards the deceased."—Al-Asmâi composed treatises on the following subjects: the human frame, the different species of animals, on the *anwâ*, or influence of the stars on the weather, on the letter *hamza*, on the long and the short *elif*, on the difference between the names given to the members of the human body and those given to the same members in animals (21), on epithets, on the doors of tents (22), on games of chance played with arrows, on the frame of the horse, on horses, on camels, on sheep, on tents, on wild beasts, on the first and fourth form of certain verbs, on proverbs, on words bearing each two opposite significations, a vocabulary, on weapons, on dialects, on the springs of water frequented by the nomadic Arabs, a collection of anecdotes, on the principles of discourse, on the heart, on synonymous terms, on the Arabian peninsula, on the formation of derivative words, on the ideas which usually occur in poetry, on nouns of action, on *rajaz* verses, on the palm-tree, on plants, on homonymous terms, on the obscure expressions met with in the Traditions, on the witticisms of the desert Arabs, etc.

(1) The autograph has *Alam* علم, which, by the addition of a point on each of the first two letters, has been changed into غنم.

(2) I follow the autograph in reading *Kais Ailân*, but some of the Arabian genealogists make Ailân or Ghailân the father of Kais, not the same person.

(3) The author makes some farther observations on the surname of *Bâhila* in the life of Kutaiba Ibn Muslim.

(4) My researches have led me to the conclusion that the persons designated as the two Hammâds (*al-Hammâdâni*) were Abû Salamâ Hammâd Ibn Salama Ibn *Dinar* and Abû Ismâil Hammâd Ibn Zaid Ibn *Dirhim*. The former was a native of Basra, a *mawla* to the tribe of Tamîm, and a sister's son to Humaid at-Tawîl, from whom and other eminent teachers he received his traditional knowledge. He bore a high character for exactness as a traditionist and a *hâfiz;* he spoke with great purity, and was considered as an excellent authority in Arabic grammar and philology (*arabiya*). He was noted for his learning, piety, and self-mortification. He died A. H. 167 (A. D. 783-4).—(*Nujûm.* Al-Yâfi's *Mirât.*)

Abû Ismaîl Hammâd Ibn Zaid Ibn Dirhim, surnamed al-Azrak (*the blue-eyed*), was a native of Basra and a *mawla* to the tribe of Tamîm. He received his knowledge from the first doctors of that age, some of whom were the same as those under whom his namesake Hammâd Ibn Salama studied. He held a high reputation as a jurisconsult, a Traditionist, and a *hâfiz*. He died in A. H. 179 (A. D. 795-6).—(*Tab. al-Fokahâ.—Tab. al-Muhaddithîn.*—Al-Yâfi.)

(5) The life of Ibn Sallâm will be found in this work.

(6) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(7) His life will be found in this work.

(8) See vol. I. *Introd.* p. xvi, note (2).

(9) His life is given in this volume.

(10) According to the *Marasid, Safawân* is the name of a place at a day's journey from the *Mirbad*, or halting-place at Basra, where there is a large pool of water.

(11) The autograph has الرحل.

(12) Such was the usual punishment for theft.

(13) Before praying, an ablution was necessary, and this could not well be performed with one hand.

(14) To make use of the left hand in eating is a gross impropriety.

(15) About fourpence; there are six dânaks to a dirhim.

(16) This anecdote is related also by at-Tabrîzi in his commentary on the *Hamâsa*, p. 240.

(17) The life of al-Marzubâni will be found among those of the *Muhammads*.

(18) This passage is one of the author's later additions. It exists in the autograph and in one of the Paris manuscripts.

(19) The life of Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Abû 'l-Ainâ is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(20) Abû Kilâba Hubaish Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân al-Jarmi, a *râwi*, or transmitter of oral information, was a bigoted *shiite*, and for that reason he detested al-Asmâi. The author of the *Oyûn at-Tawârîkh* places his death under the year 220 (A. H. 835-6).

(21) Such is the meaning of the word الفرق as appears by M. de Hammer's manuscript of a portion of al-Asmâi's works.

(22) In the autograph I read الابواب; but the punctuation is very indistinct.



## IBN HISHAM, THE AUTHOR OF THE *SIRAT*.

405 Abû Muhammad Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishâm Ibn Aiyûb al-Himyari al-Maâfiri, the author of the *Sîrat ar-Rasûl*, or *history of the Prophet*, is spoken of in these terms by Abû 'l-Kâsim as-Suhaili (*see page* 99 *of this volume*), in his work entitled *ar-Raud al-Unuf*, which is a commentary on the *Sîrat*: "He was celebrated "for his learning and possessed superior information in genealogy and gram- "mar; his native place was Old Cairo, but his family were of Basra. He com- "posed a genealogical work on the tribe of Himyar and its princes; and I have "been told that he wrote another work in which he explained the obscure pas- "sages of the poetry cited in (*Ibn Ishak's*) *Siar*.—His death occurred at Old Cairo, "A. H. 213 (A. D. 828-9)."—This Ibn Hishâm is the person who extracted and drew up the *History of the Prophet* from Ibn Ishak's (1) work entitled *al-Maghâzi wa 's-Siar;* as-Suhaili explained its difficulties in a commentary, and it is now found in the hands of the public under the title of *Sîrat Ibn Hishâm* (*Ibn Hishâm's Sîrat*, or *History*). Abû Saîd Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Yûnus (*see page* 93), the Egyptian historian, says, in his work on the eminent men who came to Egypt from foreign parts, that this Abd al-Malik died on the 13th of the latter Rabi, A. H. 218 (May, A. D. 833); God knoweth best which is the true date of his death! Ibn Yûnus says also that he belonged to the tribe of Dohl (2).—*Maâfiri* means *descended from Mâafir Ibn Yâfur*, the progenitor of a great tribe (3) to which a great number of persons, principally inhabitants of Egypt, trace their origin.

(1) The life of Muhammad Ibn Ishak al-Muttalibi is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(2) The tribe of Dohl sprung from that of Bakr Ibn Wâil, which last drew its descent from Rabia Ibn Nizâr.

(3) Read قبيل كبير in the Arabic text.

## ATH-THAALIBI AN-NAISAPURI.

Abû Mansûr Abd al-Malik Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ismaîl ath-Thaâlibi an-Naisapûri (*a native of Naisapûr*) is spoken of in these terms by Ibn Bassâm, the author of the *Dakhîra*: "In that age, he was the man who pastured his genius "on the loftiest summits of knowledge; the great compiler of prose and verse; "the chief author of his time, and the ablest also in the opinion of that epoch; "his reputation spread abroad like a proverb which circulates far and wide; "the camels (*which bore travellers to see him were constantly*) arriving, their "breasts panting from the rapidity of their speed; his compilations rose over "the horizon not only in the East but in the West, and they ascended (*to the* "*zenith of fame*) as the stars ascend through the darkness; his works hold a "place of high eminence, shining with refulgence even from their first appear-"ance; the number of persons who learned them by heart or who collected "them can neither be defined nor described, and it would be vain to essay, "even in the finest and most harmonious style, to do full justice to the merits "of his writings." Ibn Bassâm then quotes some passages of ath-Thaâlibi's composition in prose and verse; one of the latter is the following piece addressed to the emir Abû 'l-Fadl al-Mîkâli (*governor of the province of Fars*):

> Your talents are admirable and so numerous that no other mortal ever possessed as many. Two of them are oceans; one, an ocean of eloquence composed of al-Walîd's (*Bohtori's*) poetic spirit and the charming style of al-Asmâi; the other, a skill in epistolary writing equal to that of as-Sâbi (1), and embellished in its superiority by a penmanship which, like Ibn Mokla's, merits the first rank (2). Let us give thee thanks! how many admirable passages have come from you (*to us*), as wealth comes abundantly on the noble-minded man who, but a moment before, was borne down by poverty. When the buds of thy poetry unfold and blossom, their beauty is displayed in an ornamented phrase, forming two hemistiches. You have dismounted the horsemen of eloquence, and broken in the horses of original invention; for you are yourself an illustrious and original genius. You have engraved charming devices on the seal of time; devices which surpass in beauty the meadows of spring.

By the same:

> When I sent (*a message to my beloved*)—and, alas! my representations were fruitless —the fire of passion raged fiercer (*in my bosom*) and, to preserve my life, I kissed those eyes with which my messenger had seen her

406 One of his longest, finest, and most comprehensive works is that entitled *Yatîma-tad-Dahr fi Mahâsin Ahli 'l-Asar* (*the pearl of the age, treating of the merits of our contemporaries*) (3). The following lines were composed on this book by the celebrated Alexandrian poet Abû 'l-Futûh Nasr Allah Ibn Kalâkis, whose life will be given later:

> The verses of the poems in the *Yatima* are virgin daughters of the spirits who lived of old. They are now dead, but their daughters survive, whence the work bears the name of *Yatima* (4).

Ath-Thaâlibi composed also the *Fikh al-Loghat* (*laws of language*), the *Sihr al-Balâgha* (*magic of eloquence*), the *Sirr al-Barâa* (*secret of excellence*), *Kitâb man ghâb anhu 'l-Mutrib* (*book for him who has no one to amuse him*) (5), the *Munîs al-Wahîd* (*companion for the solitary*), and many other works besides, containing anecdotes of eminent men, notices on their lives, and extracts from their poetry and epistles; all these productions are indicative of vast information in the author. He himself composed a great deal of poetry. His birth took place A. H. 350 (A. D. 961), and his death in the year 429 (A. D. 1037-8).—*Thaâlibi* means *one who sews together and dresses foxes' skins*; he was so denominated because he had been a furrier.

(1) See vol. I. page 31.

(2) In place of this verse, which is given in the MSS. of the *Yatîma*, Ibn Khallikân has inserted the following: كالنور او كالسحر او كالبدر او كالوشى فى برد عليه موشع "Like flowers, or like magic, or like the "full moon, or like the colours of a flowered garment, ornamented also with a border." Were this reading to be admitted, we should not know what the *two seas* were, of which ath-Thaâlibi speaks. The reading adopted in the printed text is taken from the copy of the poem which the author has inserted in the *Yatîma*.

(3) This work contains notices on poets and other literary men, with extracts from their writings. It forms one large volume, two copies of which are in the *Bib. du Roi*. For a list of the articles contained in the *Yatîma*, see *Catal. MSS. Or. Bibl. Bod.* tom. II. p. 313 et seq.

(4) *Yatîma* signifies both *orphan* and *precious pearl*.

(5) This is a collection of elegant extracts in prose and verse, classed under different heads. It is drawn up with great taste. Another of ath-Thaâlibi's works, but which is not noticed by Ibn Khallikân, bears the title of *Kitâb al-Ejâz fi 'l-Ijâz*; it is a collection of laconic sayings and maxims. An edition of it has been lately published at Leyden under the direction of M. Weyers.



## SUHNUN.

Abû Saîd Abd as-Salâm Ibn Saîd at-Tanûkhi (*a member of the tribe of Tanûkh*), and surnamed Sukhnûn, was a doctor of the sect of Mâlik. He studied under Ibn al-Kâsim (*see v. II. p.* 86), Ibn Wahb (*v. II. p.* 15), and Ashhab (*v. I. p.* 223), after which he became *the head of the science*, or chief imâm, in Maghrib. He used to say: "God's curse on poverty! I was a contemporary of Mâlik, but "(*having no means of going to see him,*) I was obliged to take lessons from Ibn "al-Kâsim." (1) He held the post of kâdi at Kairawân, and on points of doctrine his opinions are of standard authority in Maghrib. He is the author of the *Mudawwana* (*digest*) containing the doctrines of the imâm Mâlik; this work, the contents of which he had received (*by oral transmission*) from Ibn al-Kâsim, is the main authority relied on by the people of Kairawân. The first who undertook to draw up a *Mudawwana* was the Malikite doctor Asad Ibn al-Furât (2), when he returned from Irak. It originally consisted in questions proposed by him to Ibn al-Kâsim with their solutions by the latter; he then took them with him to Kairawân, and Suhnûn wrote them out under his dictation; it was called the *Asadiya* (*or* Asadian *after Asad Ibn al-Furât*), but as the questions were put down without any order in this first sketch, Suhnûn drew them up under separate heads and augmented their number; besides which, he resolved some by means of the Traditions with which his memory was furnished when he learned by heart Ibn Wahb's edition of the *Muwatta*. Some points remained, however, which Suhnûn left incomplete. Suhnûn had a greater number of pupils than any other of Mâlik's disciples, and it was by his means that the doctrines of that imâm were propagated throughout Maghrib. He was born A. H. 160 (A. D. 776-7), and he died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 240 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 854).—*Sahnûn* or *Suhnûn* is the name of a bird found in Maghrib and remarkable for its sagacity; it was for this reason that Abû Saîd was so surnamed. The pronunciation of this word with an *a* or with an *u* involves a question of grammatical forms peculiar to the Arabic language, but it would be too long to expose it here, neither is this the proper place for such a disquisition; it has besides been fully and properly treated by Ibn as-Sîd al-Batalyausi, who has always executed in the best manner whatever task he undertook.

(1) The author of the *Tarîkh al-Kairawân* MS. No.752, gives a long notice on Suhnûn, in which I remark the following passage: "He was originally from Emessa in Syria, but he was taken thither (*to Maghrib most* "*probably*) when his father accompanied the militia (*jund*) of Emessa." This must have been during the government of Yazîd Ibn Hâtim al-Muhallabi; see *Journal Asiatique* for November, 1841, p.481. The *jund* were the troops furnished by the Arabian tribes which had settled in the different military divisions (*junds*) of Syria on the first conquest of that country by the Moslims. They received a fixed pay from the khalif, and a certain number of them were always in actual service. Fuller information on this subject will be found in M. de Reinaud's translation of Abû 'l-Fedâ's Geography, chap. on Syria, and in the account of the first Moslim governors of Maghrib, translated from the universal history of an-Nuwairi and inserted by me in the *Journal Asiatique*.

(2) Abû Abd Allah Asad Ibn Furât Ibn Sinân was a *mawla* to the tribe of Sulaim. Speaking of his own names, he used to say: "I am *Asad (lion)*, and the lion is the noblest of animals; my father was called "*Furât*, and the Furât (*Euphrates*) is the purest of waters; and my grandfather's name was *Sinân* (*spear*), "which is the best of weapons." His family belonged to Khorasân, and he was born at Harrân, A.H. 142 (A. D. 759). According to his own account, he came into the province of Africa with the troops which had been sent thither, A.H 144, by the khalif al-Mamûn, under the orders of Muhammad Ibn al-Ashâth al-Khuzâi (see *Journal Asiatique* for November 1841, page 464). After passing five years at Kairawân, he accompanied his father to Tunis, where he resided nine years. At the age of eighteen he had learned the text of the Koran by heart, and the desire of completing his studies then led him to the East. He met the imâm Mâlik at Medîna and followed his lessons, in the course of which he heard him teach the *Muwatta*. From thence he went to Irak and met some of Abû Hanîfa's principal disciples, such as Abû Yûsuf, Asad Ibn Amr and Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan. When in that province he wrote down the Traditions which he had learned, and pursued his studies in jurisprudence. After the death of Mâlik, he proceeded to Egypt and became the assiduous disciple of Ibn al-Kâsim, under whose instruction he gathered the materials of the *Asadiya*, which he brought to Kairawân. In A. H. 181 (A D. 797) he returned to that city and gave lessons to numerous pupils in the *Asadiya*, the *Muwàtta*, and in other branches of knowledge. From that time his authority as an imâm was fully established. In the year 202, Ziâdat Allah Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn al-Aghlab nominated him kâdi of Kairawân, and he held that post till the year 212, when the same prince gave him the command of the troops which were about to be sent on an expedition against Sicily. In the month of the first Rabî, A.H. 212 (June, A.H 827), he sailed for that island with nine thousand one hundred foot and nine hundred horse; and after achieving there a number of important conquests, he died of his wounds, A. H. 213 (A.D. 828-9), whilst besieging Syracuse.—(*Tarîkh al-Kairawân*, MS. No. 752, fol. 26.—*Al-Hillat as-Siyarâ*, MS. fol. 148 v.)

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## ABU HASHIM AL-JUBBAI.

Abû Hàshim Abd as-Salâm was the son of Abû Ali Muhammad al-Jubbâi Ibn Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Salâm Ibn Khâlid (1) Ibn Humrân Ibn Abân; this last was a *mawla* to the khalif Othmân Ibn Affân. Abû Hâshim al-Jubbâi, a cele-

brated scholastic theologian, a learned doctor and the son of a man of learning, was, like his father, one of the principal heads of the Motazilites: both of them 407 taught doctrines peculiar to that sect, and all the works on scholastic theology are filled with their opinions and systematic views. Abû Hâshim had a son called Abû Ali, who was quite a simpleton and knew nothing; he went one day into the presence of the Sâhib Ibn Abbâd (*see vol. I. page* 212), who, imagining that he should be a person of some learning, received him politely and seated him in the place of honour: he then proposed to him a question, and obtained this reply: "I do not know even the half of all the science."—"True, my "son!" replied the Sâhib, "and your father went away with the other "half." The birth of Abû Hâshim took place A. H. 247 (A. D. 861-2); he died at Baghdad on Wednesday, the 17th of Shaabân, A.H. 321 (August, A.D. 933), and was interred in the cemetery called the *Bustân*, or garden, which lies on the east bank of the river. The celebrated philologer Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Duraid died on the same day. We shall give the life of Muhammad, Abû Hâshim's father.—*Jubbâi* means *native of Jubba*, a village in the dependencies of Basra, which has given birth to a number of learned men (2).

(1) Here and in other places this name is written خلاد in the autograph.

(2) The author of the *Mushtarik* notices four places bearing the name of *Jubba;* one of them, a canton in Khuzestân, was, according to him and to the author of the *Marâsid*, the native place of Abû Hâshim al-Jubbâi and of his father.

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## DIK AL-JINN.

The celebrated poet Abû Muhammad Abd as-Salâm Ibn Raghbân Ibn Abd as-Salâm Ibn Habîb Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Raghbân Ibn Zaid Ibn Tamîm, a member of the tribe of Kalb and surnamed *Dîk al-Jinn* (1), was born at Emessa, but his family belonged to Salamiya. Tamîm was the first of his ancestors who embraced Islamism; he made his profession of faith to Habib Ibn Maslama al-

Fihri (2), when taken prisoner of war; and he then contested the pre-eminence of the Arabs, saying: "They have no advantage over us; we have turned "Moslims as they did."—Dik al-Jinn was one of the poets who flourished under the Abbaside dynasty; he always remained in Syria, and was never induced to derive profit from his poetical talents by travelling to Irak or other countries for the purpose of celebrating the praises of the great. In his religious opinions he was a moderate *Shiite*, and some elegies composed by him on the death of al-Husain are still extant. His conduct was disorderly and licentious, being so strongly addicted to pleasure and amusements, that he wasted all his patrimony. His poetry is the acme of perfection (3). The following anecdote is related by Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik az-Zubaidi: "We "were sitting with Dik al-Jinn when a youth came in and recited to him some "verses of his composition, on which Dik al-Jinn drew from under his praying-"carpet a large roll of papers containing pieces of his own poetry, and gave "it to the young man, saying: 'Make use of this, my boy! and take it as a "help when you compose verses.' The youth then withdrew, and we asked "who he was, to which Dik al-Jinn replied: 'That boy is a native of Jâsim (4) "and he says that he belongs to the tribe of Tai; he is surnamed Abû Tam-"mâm, and his name is Habib Ibn Aùs; he possesses instruction, intelligence, "and great natural abilities.'" Az-Zubaidi says also that Dik al-Jinn outlived Abû Tammâm and composed an elegy on his death. The birth of Dik al-Jinn took place A. H. 161 (A. D. 777-8), and his death in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, A. H. 235 (A. D. 849-50) or 236; he was then aged upwards of seventy years.—When Abû Nuwâs passed through Emessa on his way to Egypt, where he intended reciting to al-Khasib (5) some poems which he had composed in his honour, Dik al-Jinn heard of his arrival and concealed himself through the apprehension of betraying to him his own relative inferiority as a poet. He was at home when Abû Nuwâs knocked at the door and asked admission, but the maid answered that her master was not within. Abû Nuwâs immediately perceived the motive which prevented him from appearing, and said to her: "Tell him to come forth, for he has thrown the people of Irak into ecstasy "with this verse of his:

> 'A rosy liquor, received from the hand of a gazelle-like nymph, who seemed to have 'extracted it from her cheeks and then passed it round.'"

When Dik al-Jinn heard the message, he went forth to meet Abû Nuwâs and received him as his guest.—This verse is taken from the following piece:

Fear no reproach (6), but bring here the wine; let water remove its intoxicating qua- 408 lities, and let our morning draughts be protracted till the hour comes for passing round the evening cup. Dispel every care from one who is burdened with affliction; at the very mention of that wine, the eyes shrink from its brightness. Arise! bear it quickly round in a cup of no puny size! nay, pour it out in all its strength and purity. She rose with a glass, brilliant and sparkling so as nearly to burn her hand; she must have taken the refulgence of her own bright forehead or of the sun to form therewith that dazzling goblet. Throughout that day our hands shed the blood of the wine-cup (7), but the wine revenged itself upon our legs; a rosy liquor, received from the hand of a gazelle-like nymph, who seemed to have extracted it from her cheeks and then passed it round.

It is mentioned by al-Jihshiâri (8) in his History of the Vizirs that the Habib Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Raghbân of the genealogy given above, was a *kâtib* under the khalif al-Mansûr, and the president of the Donation Office (9); he was still living, by that writer's account, in the year 143 (A. D. 760-1). He adds that Dik al-Jinn the poet was one of his descendants, and that the Mosque of Ibn Raghbân at Baghdad was named after him. This Habib, says he again, was a *mawla* to Habib Ibn Maslama al-Fihri. I may here add some remarks: Habib Ibn Maslama al-Fihri (*of the tribe of Koraish*) was one of Moawia's favourite officers, having rendered him signal service at the battle of Siffin. Moawia, when his authority was firmly established, dispatched Habib on a mission of importance, and when the latter was leaving the palace, he was met by al-Hasan, the son of (*the khalif*) Ali, who said to him: "It may be, O Habib! that the journey you are about to undertake is an act of rebellion against God."—"By no means," retorted Habib; "I am not going to join your father."—"Say, rather," replied al-Hasan, "that you conform to Moawia's humours because he enjoys prosperity; but the more he has exalted you in the world, the more he has weakened your religious principles; and though you act foully, you should at least speak fairly; then we might apply to you these words of God's: *And others acknowledge their crimes, who had mixed a good with an evil deed* (10); but, unfortunately, you are as those of whom God said: *Say rather, that their sinful deeds have choked up their hearts!*" (11). This Habib bore the surname of Abû Abd ar-Rahmân; he was appointed governor of Armenia by Moawia, and he died there A. H. 42 (A. D. 662-3), before reaching his fiftieth

year.—Dîk al-Jinn had a slave-girl called Dunya, of whom he was passionately fond, but having suspected her of improper conduct with Wasif, his slave-boy, he put her to death; an act of which he afterwards repented. He then composed numerous poems expressive of the love he bore her, and one of these pieces is as follows:

O bunch of dates! destruction has fallen upon thee (12). With thy blood I have watered the earth, yet how often did my lips absorb from thine the draught of love. I gave my sword power over the circuit of her neck (13), and my tears now flow upon her cheeks. By the merits of her sandals I declare that nothing ever trod on the sands, dearer to me than her sandals. I did not slay her (*through insensibility*), for I could never avoid weeping when the dust fell upon her face (14); but I was unwilling that another should love her, and I could not bear that the boy should cast his eyes on her.

In another of those pieces he says:

She visited my couch after her burial, and I bestowed lengthened kisses on that neck which was adorned by its grace alone. And I said: "Joy of my eyes! thou "hast been sent to me at last! but how was that possible, since the way from the tomb "is ever closed?" She answered: "There my bones are deposited, the sport of "worms and the other offspring of the earth, but this is my spirit come to visit thee; "such are the visits paid by those who are entombed."

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The following verses also were composed by him on her; but some say that she herself made them on the death of her son Raghbân:

O thou for whom I should sacrifice my father's life! I have abandoned thee in the wide desert and shrouded thy face with the dust of the earth! O thou whom, after all my care, I have given over to corruption, and left there, to support my absence either with impatience or indifference! were I able to look on and watch the progress of corruption, I should have left thy face uncovered, not entombed.

His writings abound with fine ideas.—We have spoken of *Salamiya* in the life of al-Mahdi Obaid Allah.

(1) *Dîk al-Jinn* means *the cock of the genii;* he was so called, according to Abû 'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni, because he was very ugly and had green eyes.—(*Mirâat az-Zamân*, No. 640, fol. 222.)

(2) Habîb Ibn Maslima was appointed to the government of Kinnisrîn (near Aleppo) by Abû Obaida the Moslim conqueror of Syria. This was in A. H. 15 (A.D. 636-7).—See Freytag's *Hist. Halebi*, and Price's *Retrospect*, vol. I. page 84.

(3) From the extracts given farther on, it would appear that Ibn Khallikân was not hard to be pleased.

(4) See vol. I. page 352.

(5) See vol. I. page 392.

(6) The right reading is معذول.

(7) Literally: We passed that day with the breath (or life) of the cup panting by our hands.

(8) "Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abdûs al-Jihshiâri; a *katib*, an historian, and a writer of epistles. "He is the author of a history of the vizirs, a work entitled *Mîzân as-Shier* (*the balance for poetry*).' The author of the *Fihrist* from which we extract this short notice (see fol. 174) wrote A. H. 377. Al-Jihshiâri was probably still living when these lines were penned. Hadji Khalifa says that he was a native of Kûfa (see his bibliographical dictionary under the word *Mîzân*), but he appears not to have known the date of his death.

(9) The Moslim troops when in actual service received pay, but under the title of a donation; it was furnished to them, at regular intervals, by the *Donation Office* (*Diwân al-Atâ*).

(10) Koran, surat 9, verse 103.

(11) Koran, surat 83, verse 14.

(12) Literally: O spathe of the date-tree! death has climbed up to thee and gathered for thee with its hands the fruit of destruction.

(13) The autograph has خناقها.

(14) Her face was so delicate that an atom of dust would have hurt her.

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## ABU 'L-KASIM AD-DARIKI.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Azîz Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Azîz ad-Dâraki ranks among the greatest of the Shâfite doctors; and his father was held to be the chief traditionist of Ispahân for the age in which he lived. Abû 'l-Kâsim settled at Naisapûr, A. H. 353 (A. D. 964), and during some years he professed the science of jurisprudence in that city, after which he removed to Baghdad, where he continued to reside till his death. He studied the law under Abû Ishak al-Marwazi (*vol. I. page* 7), and was Abû Hâmid al-Isfâraini's master in that science after the death of Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn al-Marzubân. Most of the *shaikhs* at Baghdad, and a number of persons from other countries, attended his lessons. On his first arrival there, he commenced by teaching in the Mosque of Dalaj Ibn Ahmad (1), situated in the street of Abû Khalaf, in the Grant of ar-Rabî (2); he opened a class also in the great mosque for the discussion of points of law and the instruction of pupils who aspired to the rank of *mufti*. The place of head-professor of the Shafite doctrines at Baghdad then

devolved to him, and great numbers pursued their studies in a most successful manner under his tuition. In developing the principles of Shafite jurisprudence, he followed, in some cases, a system peculiar to himself, and which attested, by its excellence, the soundness of his information. He was suspected, however, of holding Motazilite opinions, (*but*) the *shaikh* Abû Hâmid al-Isfarâini declared that he never saw an abler doctor of the law. Ad-Dâraki learned the Traditions from his maternal grandfather al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad ad-Dâraki. When consulted on a point of law, he always took a long time to reflect before giving an opinion; and it sometimes happened that his decisions were completely opposed to those of the two *imâms*, as-Shâfi and Abû Hanîfa. When observations were made to him on this subject, he used to answer by citing an appropriate Tradition and tracing it up to the Prophet, after which he would observe that it was better to follow the Traditions than the opinions enounced by either of the two *imâms*. He died at Baghdad on Friday, the 13th of Shawwâl, A. H. 375 (Feb. A. D. 986), aged upwards of seventy years. Some say, but erroneously, that his death occurred in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada. His exactitude as a traditionist is universally admitted, and his authority as a doctor is held to be of the highest order.—According to as-Samâni, *Dâraki* means *belonging to Dârak;* this place I believe to be one of the villages in the neighbourhood of Ispahân. The same author calls him Abd al-Azîz Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad ad-Dâraki; whether he be right or not, God best knows!

(1) This mosque was probably founded by Dalaj, who, as has been already noticed, *vol. I. page* 9, was remarkable for his wealth and charity.

(2) See vol. I. page 526.

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## IBN NUBATA THE POET.

The poet Abû Nasr Abd al-Azîz, surnamed Ibn Nubâta, drew his descent from the tribe of Saad, a branch of that of Tamîm; his genealogy, which we give here, will render this evident: his father Omar was the son of Muhammad

Ibn Ahmad Ibn Nubâta Ibn Humaid Ibn Nubâta Ibn al-Hajjâj Ibn Matar Ibn Khâlid Ibn Amr Ibn Razâh Ibn Riâh Ibn Saad Ibn Thujair Ibn Rabîa Ibn Kaab Ibn Saad Ibn Zaid Manât Ibn Tamîm Ibn Murr: the remainder of the genealogy is well known (1). This able poet, whose compositions display the combined excellencies of style and thought, went from country to country for the pur- **410** pose of reciting to princes, vizirs, and other great men, the poems which he had composed in their praise. Some brilliant *kasîdas* and exquisite eulogiums addressed by him to Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân are still preserved, and one of these pieces we shall give here: it was written by him in a letter to that prince, who had just made him a present of a black horse with a white forehead and legs:

> O prince! thou whose generous qualities are the offspring of thy natural disposition, and whose pleasing aspect is the emblem of thy mind; I have received the present which you sent me, a noble steed whose portly neck seems to unite the heavens to the earth on which he treads. Hast thou then conferred a government upon me (2), since thou sendest me a spear to which a flowing mane serves as a banner (3). We take possession of what thou hast conferred and find it to be a horse whose forehead and legs are marked with white, and whose body is so black, that a single drop extracted from that colour would suffice to form night's darkest shades (4). It would seem that the morning had struck him on the forehead (*and thus made it white*), for which reason he took his revenge by wading into the entrails (*regions*) of the morning, (*and thus whitening his legs*). He paces slowly, yet one of his names is Lightning; he wears a veil (*having his face covered with white, as if to conceal it*), and yet beauty itself would be his only rival. Had the sun and the moon a portion only of his ardour, it would be impossible to withstand (5) their heat. The eye cannot follow his movements, unless you (*rein him in and*) restrain his impetuosity. The glances of the eye cannot seize all his perfections, unless the eye be lead away captive by his beauty (*and be thus enabled to follow him*) (6).

In describing thus the whiteness of his horse's forehead and legs, the poet had an inspiration of great originality; and I do not think that a similar train of thought was ever expressed before. He composed also a long *kasîda* rhyming in *L* and containing the praises of Saif ad-Dawlat; from it we extract these verses:

> You have showered down gifts upon me till I felt them irksome, and was almost tempted to extol the passion of avarice (*in a patron*). If you still wish to bestow favours upon me, give me also the desire to obtain them, or else bestow them not. Your generosity has left me nought to wish for; and you are the cause that I live in the world devoid of hope.

In the first verse of this extract, the poet comes near to the idea expressed by al-Bohtori in the following lines:

I left you from a feeling of estrangement which nothing can efface; your generosity put me to the blush, and your favours cast a shade over the sunshine of our friendship. By the abundance of your gifts you repelled me from you, so that I fear we shall never meet again. How strange that presents should cause a rupture of friendship, and that marks of kindness should be felt as an insult.

A similar idea is also expressed in a poem addressed by Dibil Ibn Ali 'l-Khuzâi to al-Muttalib Ibn Abd Allah al-Khuzâi, the emir of Egypt; the verses to which we allude begin thus:

O for the days I passed with al-Muttalib!

Having already given them in the life of Dibil (*vol. I. page* 509), we shall not repeat them here. It is now a hacknied thought, having passed from one poet to another, and being frequently employed by them all; some of them spreading it out, and others expressing it with concision: thus I met with it in a piece of verse composed by Ali Ibn Jabala al-Akawwak (a poet whose life we shall give), and addressed by him in a letter to Abû Dolaf al-Ijli (7); I should give the piece here were it not so long. With what grace has Abû 'l-Alâ 'l-Maarri expressed the same thought in this line:

Did you moderate your kindness, I should visit you; but the sweetest water is repulsive, if its coolness be too great.

Let us return to our subject: Ibn Nubâta's poetry fills a large volume, and the greater part of his verses is good. He at one time went to Rai and recited to 411 Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad Ibn al-Amîd some *kasîdas* which he had composed in his praise; he had also a conversation with him, the particulars of which we shall relate in the life of the latter. He was born A. H. 327 (A. D. 938-9), and he died at Baghdad on Sunday, the 3rd of Shawwâl, A. H. 405 (March, A.D. 1015), shortly after sunrise. His interment took place before the hour of noon, in the Khaizurân cemetery, situated on the east bank of the Tigris.—The following anecdote was related by Abû Ghâlib Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Sahl: "I went "to visit Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Nasr al-Baghdâdi, the author "of the Epistles and of the work called *al-Mufâwida* (*conversation*);"— this Abû 'l-Hasan was the brother of the Malikite kâdi Abd al-Wahhâb, and we shall speak of him again in the life of the latter;—"he was then at Wâsit and in his "last illness. I sat with him for some time, but, as he felt a diarrhea coming

" on, I rose to withdrew, on which he repeated to me this verse, by Abû Nasr " Abd al-Aziz (*Ibn Nubâta*):

'Let your eyes enjoy a parting look at the friend whom you are about to leave; for 'I do not think that I shall ever see you again in the valley (*where we met so often*).'

" He then said: 'I went to see Abû Nasr himself the very day on which he " died, and he recited to me this verse as I was taking leave of him; and on " my way home I was informed of his death.' On the night of that day " Abû 'l-Hasan himself expired." We shall give the date of his death in the life of Abd al-Wahhâb. It is related by Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn Washâh Ibn Abd Allah that he heard Abû Nasr say: "I was one day making the siesta in " the vestibule of my house, when a person knocked at the door. 'Who is " there?' said I.—'A native of the East,' was the answer.—'What is your " business?'— 'Are you not the author of this verse:

'He who dies not by the sword must die some other way; the modes of death are 'various, but that evil still remains the same?'

" To this I answered that I was the author.—'Will you allow me then to repeat " it as having been authorised to do so by yourself?' — 'Certainly.' The " person then went away. Towards the end of the same day, I heard another " knock at the door, and on asking who was there, I received this answer: 'An " inhabitant of Tâhart, in the West country (8).'—'What is your business?'— " 'Are you the author of this verse:

'He who dies not by the sword, etc.?'

" —'I am he.'—'Will you allow me then to repeat it as having been authorised " to do so by yourself?'—'Certainly.' I was thus much astonished to find that " this verse had reached the East and the West."

(1) See Eichhorn's *Monumenta Hist. Arab.* tab. V.

(2) The true reading is ورتنا; all the manuscripts are wrong except the autograph.

(3) It is perhaps necessary to observe that when a prince conferred a military command upon one of his subjects, he gave him a standard formed of a spear with a cravat or flag tied around the head of it. The poet here compares his horse to a spear on account of his erect and lofty stature; the knotted banner is represented by the mane.



(4) I have endeavoured, by a long paraphrase, to express the thought contained in this verse. The word rendered by *we have taken possession* is نحتل, which has been incorrectly given in all the manuscripts, with the exception of the autograph. Its literal meaning is: *we dismount*, or *we stop at our journey's end*.

(5) Here again all the manuscripts are wrong except the autograph. For تمكن we must read يمكن. The copyists did not understand what they were writing.

(6) Such is the meaning of the original verses, which are as difficult to translate as to understand.

(7) The life of Abû Dolaf will be found in the first volume.

(8) See vol. I. page 550.

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## IBN MUGHALLIS AL-ANDALUSI.

Abû Muhammad Abd al-Azîz Ibn Ahmad Ibn as-Sîd Ibn Mughallis al-Kaisi al-Andalusi (*a member of the tribe of Kais and a native of Spain*) was a highly distinguished philologer and grammarian. Having left Spain, he settled in Egypt, where he pursued his literary studies under the tuition of Abû Yakûb Yûsuf Ibn Yakûb an-Najîrmi (1); he took lessons also from Abû 'l-Alâ Sâid ar-Rabâi, the author of the *Fusûs* (*see vol. I. page* 632). At Baghdad, he increased his stock of information and contributed to that of others. There exists some good poetry of his composition, such as the following piece:

> Her eyes are languishing, but not with sickness (2), yet my heart is sick (*of love*) for her. She has accustomed my eyes to sleeplessness by drawing from them a gush of tears which prevents them from closing, She paid me a visit, not through love, but to let me perceive her dislike.

412 He composed a great quantity of verses. Abû 't-Tâhir Ibn Khalaf, the author of the *Onwân* (*see vol. I. page* 218), maintained a contest with him for superiority, and the *kasîdas* in which they strived to surpass each other are still preserved in the volumes containing their poetical works. To avoid prolixity, we shall not give any passages from them. He died at Old Cairo on Wednesday, the 24th of the first Jumâda, A.H. 427 (March, A.D. 1036); the funeral service was said over him, in the Musalla of as-Sadafi, by the *shaikh* Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ibrahim al-Haufi (3), the author of the *Tafsîr*, or commentary on the Koran; he was interred near the Banû Ishak.

(1) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(2) See vol. I. page 28, note (3).

(3) His life will be found farther on.

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## ABD AS-SAMAD IBN ALI AL-HASHIMI.

Abû Muhammad Abd as-Samad al-Hâshimi (*a descendant from Hâshim, Muhammad's great-grandfather*), was the son of Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib. The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi mentions, in his work entitled *Shuzûr al-Okûd*, some strange particularities relative to this person. "He was born," says he, "A.H. 104 (A.D. 722-3), and his brother Muhammad "Ibn Ali, the father of (*the khalifs*) as-Saffâh and al-Mansûr, came into the world "A.H. 60 (A.D. 679-80); there was thus an interval of forty-four years between "the births of each. Abd as-Samad died A. H. 185 (A. D. 801), and Muham- "mad, A. H. 126 (A. D. 743-4); their deaths were thus separated by a period "of fifty-nine years. In the year 50 (A. D. 670-1), Yazid the son of Moawia "made the pilgrimage, and in the year 150 (A. D. 767-8) Abd as-Samad led the "pilgrim caravan to Mekka, yet they were both in the same degree of descent "from Abd Manâf; Yazid being the son of Moawia, the son of Abû Sofyân "Sakhr, the son of Harb, the son of Omaiya, the son of Abd Shams, the son "of Abd Manâf; and Abd as-Samad being the son of Ali, the son of Abd Allah, "the son of al-Abbâs, the son of al-Muttalib, the son of Hâshim, the son of Abd "Manâf: whence it appears that in their respective genealogies five links inter- "vened between each of them and Abd Manâf. Abd as-Samad witnessed the "reigns of as-Saffâh and al-Mansûr, who were both the sons of his brother; "he then lived to see the reign of al-Mahdi, to whose father he was paternal "uncle; then the reign of al-Hâdi, whose grandfather was his nephew; and he "died in the reign of ar-Rashid. He said one day to this last khalif: 'Com- "mander of the faithful! in this assembly there are a commander of the faith- "ful, a commander of the faithful's paternal uncle, the paternal uncle of a "commander of the faithful's paternal uncle, and the paternal uncle of one "was a paternal uncle to a paternal uncle of a commander of the faithful.'

"And this was the fact, for Sulaimân, the son of Abû Jaafar (*al-Mansûr*) was "uncle to ar-Rashid, and al-Abbâs was uncle to Sulaimân and Abd as-Samad "was uncle to al-Abbâs. He died without having cast his first teeth, and "those of the lower jaw were united into one mass."—It is stated by Ibn Jarir at-Tabari, in his History, that Abd as-Samad was born in the month of Rajab, A. H. 106 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 724), and that he died in the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 175 (October, A. D. 791); another historian says that his death took place at Baghdad, and some persons place his birth in A. H. 109, or 105, at al-Humaima (1), a town situated in the country called the Balkà. His mother was the Katîra in whose praise Obaid Allah Ibn Kais ar-Rukaiyât (2) composed his *kasîda*, which begins thus:

> The sight of Kathîra renews his joy (3).

Abd as-Samad became blind towards the end of his life. We shall give the life of his father Ali and his brother Muhammad.

(1) This is probably the *Amaime* of Berghaus's map of Syria; it is placed at about twenty-five miles to the north-east of Akaba, and about forty to the south of Petra.

(2) See page 55 of this volume, note (14).

(3) This hemistich is incorrectly given in all the manuscripts except the autograph. The true reading is: عاد له من كثيرة الطَرَبُ

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## IBN BABAK THE POET.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd as-Samad Ibn Mansûr Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Bâbak was a poet noted for the quantity and the excellence of his productions. I have seen his collected poetical works in three volumes. The cast of his poetry is peculiarly pleasing, and the eulogistic pieces addressed by him to the great men of the numerous countries which he visited were retributed in the most generous manner. The following passages may give an idea of his style:

415 A graceful nymph, gifted by nature with the sweetest charms, came to visit me with trembling steps, whilst the Pleiades were rising and still hesitating in their career. As

she dispelled the shades of night (*with the light of her beauty*), I exclaimed: "Is it the "eye of the morning which openeth, or a sunbeam darting through the cloud?" She drew near, glancing magic from her eyes, and trembling like a gazelle which crops its food in the lonely desert. During the darkness of that night, which spread over us the softest folds of its mantle, we partook of the purple liquor till the constellation of the Eagle began to sink towards the horizon. We shared a wine which bore on its surface bubbles like the drops from a lover's wounded heart, or like the tears from a love-struck suitor's eyes. When we mixed it with water (1), it rose in revolving circlets, which trembled like the eyes of a virgin when the veil which conceals her features is torn away. That liquor is accustomed to take away the reason, and it seems to hold mastery over the thoughts deposited (2) in men's hearts. We passed the night in secret joy; our mutual love stood revealed and our long-hidden passion was disclosed. But towards the hour in which the kata (3) that has outstripped its fellows returns from the spring where it took its morning draught,—at the time in which the plaintive doves take refuge in the branches,—she withdrew, vanquished by wine, and as her faltering tongue refused its office, she bade me adieu with her hand.

My dearest friends! mix for us a cup of wine, and let its brightness dispel the shades of night from around us. Let the bubbles spark on its surface, so that I tremble lest they burn my companion when he intends to drink. And then let none deny that the sun has set in my friend's mouth, for the radiance of his cheeks will give them the lie.

One of his *kasîdas* contains a remarkably tender verse; it is this:

The zephyr swept by me, and sighed so tenderly, that it seemed to have heard me as I complained of my sufferings.

This poet died at Baghdad, A. H. 410 (A. D. 1019-20).

(1) The autograph has شجت, and the other manuscripts سكبت, *when poured out.*

(2) For وصائع read ودائع.

(3) The *kata* is a sort of grouse which frequents the desert. Every night they fly to the nearest source, which is often at a great distance, and fill their crops with water which they bring back early in the morning to their young. In many Arabic proverbs, allusion is made to the habits of this bird; see M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. II. p. 368, and t. III. 416, 507. Dr. Russel gives a description of it in the *History of Aleppo*; it is the *tetrao alchata* of Linnæus.

## ABU 'L-MAHASIN AR-RUYANI.

Abû 'l-Mahâsin Abd al-Wâhid Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad ar-Rûyâni, a Shafite jurisconsult, was one of the most eminent men of his age as a dogmatic theologian, a controvertist, and a teacher of the doctrines peculiar to his sect. He took lessons from Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Bayân [Ibn Muhammad] al-Kâzrûni (*vol. I. page* 377), and from Abû 'l-Husain Abd al-Ghâfir Ibn Muhammad al-Fârisi at Maiyafârikîn; the traditional knowledge which he had received was transmitted through Zâhir Ibn Tâhir as-Shahhâmi (1) and others to the following generation. The highest respect and veneration were shown to him in the country (*where the Seljûks ruled*), and the vizir Nizâm al-Mulk honoured him with special favour on account of his eminent merit. After residing for some time in Bokhara, he proceeded to Ghazna and Naisapûr, where he frequented the society of the learned, and attended the conferences presided by Nâsir al-Marwazi (*see vol. I. p.* 606). He then drew up a *taalîka* (2) composed of the observations made by that doctor, and he learned Traditions also. A college was founded by him at Amul in Tabaristân, and he subsequently proceeded to Rai, where he filled the functions of a professor. From thence he went to Ispahân and made dictations (3) in the principal mosque. Some instructive works were composed by him, such as the *Bahr al-Mazhab* (*ocean of the doctrine*), one of the most voluminous treatises which the Shafites possess on their jurisprudence; the *Mandsîs*, or *opinions pronounced* by the imâm as-Shâfi on points of law; the *Kâfi* (*sufficient*) (4), and the *Hilyat al-Mûmin* (*ornament of the true believer*) (5): he wrote also some treatises on dogmatic theology and on controversy. It is related that he used to say: "Were all as-Shâfi's works burned, I 414 "could dictate them from memory." The kâdi and *hâfiz* Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Yûsuf (6) makes mention of him in his *Tabakât*, or chronological biography, of the Shafite imâms: "Abû 'l-Mahâsin ar-Rûyâni," says he, "the "pearl of the age and the imâm of jurisprudence." Notice is taken of him also by Abû Zakariya Yahya Ibn Manda (7). He taught the Traditions in different countries, and gave them on the authority of an immense number of persons from whom he had received them. His birth took place in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 415 (February, A. D. 1025). The *hâfiz* Abû Tâhir as-Silafi (*vol. I.*

*page* 86) says : " We received intelligence that Abû 'l-Mahâsin ar-Rûyâni was " murdered at Amul in the month of Muharram, A. H. 502 (August-Sept. " A.D.1108), as he had just finished one of his dictations; he fell a victim to the " irritated spirit of sectarian fanaticism." It is mentioned too by Mamar Ibn Abd al-Wâhid Ibn Fâkhir (8), in the list of deaths extracted by him from Abû Saad as-Samâni's (9) work, that ar-Rûyâni was slain by heretics (*malâhid*) at Amul, and in the mosque, on Friday, the 11th of Muharram in the above-mentioned year.—*Rûyâni* means *belonging to Rûyân*, a city in Tabaristân which has produced many learned men.—Amûl is a city in the same region; we have already spoken of it (*vol. I. page* 647).

(1) Such is the true orthography of this name; not *Shahâmi*, as in vol. I. page 192.

(2) See page 28 of this volume.

(3) See vol. I. pages 29 and 212, note (1).

(4) This is a treatise on Shafite jurisprudence.

(5) This is also a work on jurisprudence.

(6) The kâdi Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Yusuf al-Jurjâni was a *hâfiz* and a jurisconsult. He drew up a work on the merits of as-Shâfi, and another on the merits of the imâm Ahmad Ibn Hanbal. He composed also a *Tabakât* of Shafite doctors. Born at Jurjân, A.H. 409 (A.D. 1018-9); died in Zû 'l-Kaada, A.H. 489 (Oct.-Nov. 1096).—(*Tab. as-Shâf.*)

(7) His life is given by our author.

(8) The *hâfiz* Abû Ahmad Mamar Ibn Abd al-Wâhid Ibn Fâkhir drew his descent from the tribe of Koraish and was a native of Ispahân. He was learned in the Traditions, and obtained great distinction as a preacher. His virtuous conduct procured him the utmost respect and consideration. He died at the age of seventy, on a journey to Hijâz, A.H. 564 (A.D. 1168-9).—(*Nujûm.* Al-Yâfi.)—This is certainly the same *hâfiz* who is called *Mamar as-Samâni Abd al-Wâhid*, in the *Tabakât al-Huffâz;* MS. of the Ducal Library at Gotha, of which we possess an edition lithographed by H. F. Wüstenfeld. The extreme incorrectness of this work for the names, the dates, and the facts, reduces its authority to a very low standard.

(9) The true reading is للحافظ ابى.




## AL-BABBAGHA.

Abû 'l-Faraj Abd al-Wâhid Ibn Nasr Ibn Muhammad al-Makhzumi (*a member of the tribe of Makhzûm*) is the poet who is generally known by the surname of

al-Babbagha. Ath-Thaâlibi says in his *Yatîma* that he was a native of Nisibin, and speaks of his talents in the highest terms; he gives also a number of epistles and pieces of verse composed by him, and inserts (*the poetical correspondence*) which passed between him and Abû Ishak as-Sâbi, with other circumstances too long to relate (1). The following are specimens of his poetry:

O you who reign over my heart! my soul (*is departing and*) biddeth you adieu: it found not patience to console it (*for your cruelty*); nay, it (*became insensible and*) ceased to feel the anguish (*of unrequited love*). It was once my hope long to enjoy the breath of life, but now, since you abandon me, that hope subsists no more. May God inflict on me no longer the pains of existence! When you are absent, I can find no happiness in life.

Thy image which I see so often in my dreams knows better than thyself how much I love thee, and feels more compassion for thy afflicted suitor than thou dost. When thy cruelty drove sleep from my eyes, that image would have visited my waking hours, could it possibly have done so.

I remember a graceful maid whose countenance was clothed in a robe of beauty and encircled with a broidery of ringlets. When I called upon my heart for strength to endure the pains her cruelty inflicted, that heart became her ally. So perfect are the charms of her face, that the moon seems to have borrowed all her radiance there. When my heart urges me to fly from her tyranny, love says: "Nought can avail against "her; try and soothe her by submission (2)."

In one of his comparisons he employs the following original idea:

The hoofs of his rapid steeds stamp on the very rock the image of a crescent. The eye of the sun was dazzled (*by their speed*), and the dust which they raised seemed applied to it as a collyrium.

415 Speaking of Saîd ad-Dawlat (3) the (*grand*)son of Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân, he says:

The cloud of his generosity overshadowed mankind; and its lightnings, the foreboders of a grateful shower, never deluded our hopes. His beneficence was no trickling streamlet; he bestowed till nothing more remained for him to give, or for mortals to desire.

In the life of Abû Nasr Ibn Nubâta (*page* 139) we have already given some passages containing a similar thought. The greater part of al-Babbagha's poetry is characterised by the excellence (*of its style*) and the beauty of its ideas. He had been for some time in the service of Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân, but, on that prince's death, he travelled from one country to another, and at length

died on Saturday, the 29th Shaabân, A. H. 398 (May, A. D. 1008). It is stated however by the Khatîb (*see vol. I. p.* 75), in his History, that he died on the eve of Saturday, the 26th of Shaabân, A. H. 398. Ath-Thaâlibi says: "I "heard the emir Abû 'l-Fadl al-Mikâli relate that, on returning from the pil- "grimage in the year 390, he entered Baghdad and met there Abû 'l-Faraj "al-Babbagha, who was then far advanced in age, his body enfeebled by years, "but his mind still possessing its usual vigour and elegance."—He was surnamed *Babbagha* (*parrot*) for the fluency of his language, or, as some say, for an impediment in his speech which made him lisp: I met with a note in the handwriting of Ibn Jinni the grammarian, in which it is stated that this name is to be written *Faffagha*, but God best knoweth which is the right orthography (4).

(1) The life of al-Babbagha, some fragments of his poetry, and a part of his correspondence with Abû Ishak, extracted from the *Yatîma*, were published at Leipsic, 1838, by Ph. Wolff.

(2) The autograph gives the true reading, which is منذ قدارة. In the printed edition and the other manuscripts, the reading is decidedly bad, as it contains a fault against prosody.

(3) The history of Saîd ad-Dawlat, extracted from Kamâl ad-dîn's History of Aleppo, has been published in Arabic by professor Freytag at the end of his edition of Lokmân's Fables. Bonn, 1823.

(4) *Babbagha*, the Arabic name for the green parrot, is evidently the same word as the Spanish and Portuguese *papagayo* (*parrot*), the German *papagey*, the Italian *pappagallo*, the old French *papegai*, and the English *popinjay;* as there is no *p* in the Arabic alphabet, a *b* or an *f* are equally used to replace it. This word is not originally Arabic; it belongs perhaps to some Indian dialect.

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## ABU MANSUR AL-BAGHDADI.

The ustâd (*master*) Abû Mansûr Abd al-Kâhir Ibn Tâhir Ibn Muhammad al-Baghdâdi (*a native of Baghdad*), a dogmatic theologian and a member of the sect of as-Shâfi, was well acquainted with the belles-lettres, and versed in a great number of other sciences, particularly arithmetic; of the last he was a complete master and wrote on it some instructive works, one of which bears the title of *at-Takmila* (*the completion*). He possessed great skill in the art of calculating the shares to which the different heirs of an inheritance are entitled, and he com-

posed also a great quantity of poetry. The *hâfiz* Abd al-Ghâfir al-Fârisi mentions him in the *Siâk*, or continuation of the History of Naisapûr, and says: "He came to Naisapûr with his father, and possessed great riches, which he "spent on the learned (*in the law*) and on the Traditionists: he never made "of his information a source of profit. He composed treatises on different "sciences and surpassed his contemporaries in every branch of learning, seven-"teen of which he taught publicly. He studied jurisprudence under Abû Ishak "as-Shîrâzi, and, on that doctor's death, he filled his place as a professor in "the mosque of Akîl; during some years he gave lessons there, which were assi-"duously attended by doctors of the greatest eminence; amongst his pupils "were Nâsir al-Marwazi and Zain al-Islâm al-Kushairi." He died in the city of Isfarâin, A. H. 429 (A. D. 1037-8), and was interred beside the grave of his master Abû Ishak.

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## ABU 'N-NAJIB AS-SUHRAWARDI.

Abû 'n-Najib Abd al-Kâhir as-Suhrawardi, surnamed Diâ ad-din (*splendour of religion*), was a descendant of the khalif Abû Bakr; his father Abd Allah being the son of Muhammad Ibn Ammûya Abd Allah Ibn Saad Ibn al-Husain Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Alkama Ibn an-Nadr Ibn Muâz Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr as-Siddik. But Ibn an-Najjâr says in his History of Baghdad: "I give here the genealogy of the *shaikh* Abû 'n-Najib as I found it "in his own handwriting: Abd al-Kâhir Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn "Ammûya Abd Allah Ibn Saad Ibn al-Husain Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn an-Nadr Ibn 416 "al-Kâsim Ibn Saad (1) Ibn an-Nadr Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn "Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr as-Siddik." This list must be more correct than the former, since it was written out by Abû 'n-Najib himself.—Abû 'n-Najib, the first teacher of his age in Irak, was born at Suhraward on or about the year 490 (A. D. 1097). He went to Baghdad and studied jurisprudence at the *Nizâmiya* College under Asaad al-Mihani (*see vol. I. page* 189) and other mas-

ters; he then walked in the *path* of Sûfism, and, having conceived a strong passion for retirement and an aversion for worldly concerns, he abstained, for a long period of time, from all intercourse with mankind, and sedulously devoted his efforts to the task of obtaining the divine favour. He afterwards returned to the world and converted great numbers from their evil courses by his exhortations and admonitions. A convent was built by him on the west bank of the Tigris at Baghdad, in which he lodged a number of holy men who were his disciples. He was then induced to give lessons in the *Nizâmiya* College, and, during the period of his professorship, the effects of the divine grace with which he was favoured were manifested in the rapid progress of his pupils. His appointment took place on the 27th of Muharram, A. H. 545 (May, A. D. 1150), and his removal from office in the month of Rajab, 547. The *hâfiz* Abû 's-Saad as-Samâni has handed down some Traditions on his authority, and he mentions him also in his work (*the supplement to the History of Baghdad*). Abû 'n-Najib set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on his arrival at Mosul, A. H. 557 (A. D. 1162), he gave pious exhortations at sittings held by him in the Old Mosque; he then proceeded to Syria, but on reaching Damascus, he was prevented from visiting the holy city by the rupture of the truce which had been concluded between the Moslims and the Franks, whose projects may God frustrate! On his arrival at Damascus, a most honourable reception was granted to him by al-Malik al-Aâdil Nûr ad-dìn Mahmûd, the sovereign of Syria. He there held regular assemblies at which he preached, but, after a short stay, he returned to Baghdad, in which city he died, on Friday, the 17th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 563 (March, A. D. 1168), at the hour of evening prayers. Early the next morning, he was interred in the convent founded by himself. His birth was on or about the year 490 (A. D. 1097), according to the statement of Shihâb ad-dìn, his brother's son. His nephew Shihâb ad-dìn Abû Hafs Omar as-Suhrawardi shall be spoken of in another part of this work.— *Suhrawardi* means *belonging to Suhraward*, which is a village near Zanjân in Persian Irak.

(1) This link of his genealogy is given in the autograph.

## ABU 'L-KASIM AL-KUSHAIRI.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Karîm Ibn Hawâzin Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Talha Ibn Muhammad al-Kushairi, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, was one of the most learned men of the age in the science of jurisprudence, koranic exegesis, the Traditions, dogmatic theology, the belles-lettres, and poetry; he possessed also great skill in penmanship and a profound knowledge of Sufism, to the practices of which he united a perfect acquaintance with the law. He drew his descent from one of the Arabs who settled in Khorasân (*on the first conquest of that country by the Moslims*), and his family inhabited a place there called Ustuwa. At an early age he lost his father, and his youth was devoted to the study of (*Arabic*) literature. He possessed a village in the neighbourhood of Ustuwa, and, as it was oppressed by excessive taxation, he resolved on proceeding to Naisapûr that he might acquire a knowledge of arithmetic sufficient to qualify him as an assessor, and thus enable him to protect his village from the rapacity of the revenue officers. On arriving in that city, he happened to attend an assembly presided by the *shaikh* Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Ali ad-Dakkâk, who was the great master (*of Sûfism*) in that age; the discourse which he heard excited his admiration, and left so deep an impression on his mind, that he abandoned his former project and entered as a candidate on the path of Sûfism. Ad-Dakkâk, remarking in his countenance the indications of a noble character, received him with kindness and admitted him (*into the order*); he then excited his generous ambition and advised him to cultivate the science (*of the law*). Abû Kâsim was thus induced to attend the lessons of Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Bakr at-Tûsi (1), under whom he pursued the study of jurisprudence till he had noted down the whole course as delivered by that teacher. His next master was Abû Bakr Ibn Fûrak (2), under whom he studied with great assiduity till he mastered the science of dogmatic theology. He then went to the course held by Abû Ishak 417 al-Isfarâini, and during the first days he remained seated as a simple auditor, till Abû Ishak at length told him that the science which he taught could not be learned by mere listening, and that it was absolutely necessary to take it down in writing. Upon this, Abû 'l-Kâsim repeated to him the whole of the lectures which he had heard on the preceding days. Abû Ishak was struck with admi-

ration at a circumstance so extraordinary, and fully appreciating his pupil's great abilities, he treated him with marked honour and said: "It is not necessary "that you should attend my lectures; all you have to do is to read my works." Abû 'l-Kâsim then continued his studies at home, and having acquired a complete acquaintance with the systems of doctrine peculiar to the two professors, Ibn Fûrak and Ibn Ishak, he perused the books composed by the kadi Abû Bakr al-Bâkillâni (3). During this time he regularly followed the sittings held by ad-Dakkâk and obtained from him his daughter in marriage, although she had many relations entitled to her hand. On the death of his father-in-law, he advanced in the career of Sûfism by devoting his efforts to the attainment of spiritual perfection, and to the deliverance of his heart from the consciousness of individuality (4). About this time he began to compose his works, and before the year 410 (A. D. 1019) he finished his great commentary on the Koran, entitled *at-Taisîr fi Ilm it-Tafsîr* (*the science of the koranic exegesis made easy*), which is one of the best works on the subject (5); another of his productions is a treatise on *the Men of the Path* (*see vol. I. p.* 259). In making the pilgrimage to Mekka, he met in the caravan, with the *shaikh* Abû Muhammad al-Juwaini, the father of the Imâm al-Haramain (*vol. II. p.*27), Ahmad Ibn al-Husain al-Baihaki (*vol. I. p.* 57), and a number of other eminent men, from whom he learned the Traditions both at Baghdad and in the province of Hijâz. He was an expert horseman and well skilled in the use of arms. By the excellence of his sermons and exhortations, he held the first rank as a preacher, and in the year 437 (A.D. 1045-6) he opened a class wherein he taught the Traditions. Abû 'l-Hasan Ali 'l-Bâkharzi mentions him with high commendation in the *Dumyat al-Kasr*, and says that had he struck a rock with the whip (6) of his admonition, it would have melted; and if Satan had attended at his exhortations, he would have been converted to God. The Khatîb (*vol. I. page* 75) speaks of him in these terms in his History of Baghdad: "He came to us (at Baghdad) in the year 448 and taught the Tra- "ditions, which we wrote down under his dictation. As a traditionist he was a "trustworthy authority. He used also to relate anecdotes (7); he preached with "great elegance and his arguments were most powerful (8). In dogmatic "theology he followed the principles of al-Ashari, and in the developments of "the law he held the doctrines of the Shafites." Abd al-Ghâfir al-Fârisi notices him also in his History, and it is related by Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn al-

Fadl al-Farâwi (9), that he heard Abd al-Karim al-Kushairi recite the following verses of his own composing:

God's blessing on the hour in which we were alone and when I saw your face! A smile then mantled on the mouth of love, in the garden of familiarity. We passed a time of pleasure for our eyes, but the next morning their lids were moist with tears.

It is mentioned by the *shaikh* Abû 'l-Fath Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Farâwi the preacher, that Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Kushairi frequently recited these verses, composed by one of the *brethren:*

Had you been with us at the moment of our separation and witnessed our repeated adieus, you would have learned that there is a discourse in tears, and that tears are a part of discourse.

These lines are by Zû 'l-Karnain Ibn Hamdân, of whom we have already spoken (*vol. I. page* 514).—Abd al-Karîm al-Kushairi was born in the month of the first Rabî, A. H. 376 (July-August, A. D. 986); he died at Naisapûr on the morning of Sunday, the 16th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 465 (December, A. D. 1072), before the hour of sunrise. He was buried in the *Madrasa*, at the foot of the grave in which his master Abû Ali 'd-Dakkâk was interred.—I met in his work entitled *ar-Risâla* (10) with two verses which pleased me so much, that I am induced to give them here:

Some may taste of consolation after having long suffered the pains of love; but in my passion for Laila, I shall never taste of consolation. And yet all that I ever obtained from her intercourse were hopes never fulfilled and transitory as the flash (11) of the thunder-cloud.

His son Abû Nasr Abd ar-Rahîm was an eminent imâm and resembled his father in the sciences which he cultivated and in holding, like him, assemblies at which he preached. He afterwards followed with great assiduity the lessons of the Imâm al-Haramain, till he acquired a perfect knowledge of that jurisconsult's manner of treating the Shafite doctrines and discussing controverted points. He then set out to make the pilgrimage, and, on arriving at Baghdad, he held 418 regular assemblies, at which he gave exhortations with a most impressive effect. The *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi attended at these assemblies, and the learned men of Baghdad unanimously agreed that they had never heard a preacher like him. He pronounced his admonitory discourses in the *Nizâmiya* College and in

the monastery of the chief of the Sûfîs (*shaikh as-Shuyûkh*); but his zealous attachment for the doctrines of al-Ashari led him into a controversy with the Hanbalites on points of faith. This caused a riot, in which a number of lives were lost on both sides, and one of Nizâm al-Mulk's sons was obliged to ride out and allay the tumult. When intelligence of this event reached Nizâm al-Mulk, who was then in Ispahân, he sent for Abû Nasr, and having shown him every mark of respect, he gave him an escort of honour to Naisapûr. On arriving there, Abû Nasr resumed his lessons and exhortations, and continued to fill that duty till nearly the last moment of his life. About a month before he died, he was struck with a weakness in his limbs, and he expired at Naisapûr, on the forenoon of Friday, the 28th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 514 (Sept., A. D. 1120.) He was interred in the funeral chapel which is called the Kushairite Mausoleum.—He knew by heart a great number of poetical pieces and anecdotes, and the following lines, which I met in some composition or other, and afterwards in as-Samâni's work, the *Zail*, were composed by himself:

My heart abandons me to serve you, and time endeavours (, *but in vain, to make me forget*) you. Fate decided that we should separate, and what can control its decrees? God alone knoweth the depth of my affliction when obliged now to quit you for ever!

The *shaikh* Abû Ali 'd-Dakkâk died A. H. 412 (A. D. 1021).—*Kushairi* means *descended from Kushair* Ibn Kaab, the progenitor of a great (*Arabian*) tribe.—*Ustuwa* near Naisapûr, is a district covered with villages, which has produced a number of learned men.

(1) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Bakr—not *Ibn Abi Bakr* as in most of the MSS.—surnamed at-Tûsi an-Naukâni, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, studied jurisprudence in Naisapûr under al-Mâsarjisi. He was pious, learned, modest, and indifferent to worldly honours. He died at Naukân, A. H. 420 (A. D. 1029).—(*Tab. as-Shâf.*)—Tûs, a city in Khorâsân, was composed of two towns, Tâbarân and Naukân.

(2) His life will be found in this volume.

(3) The life of this doctor will be found farther on.

(4) I have here paraphrased the technical expressions *mujâhida* (*effort*) and *tajrîd* (*the stripping off*). According to the Sûfis, the union of the soul with divinity is not possible till the creature has lost the consciousness of his own individuality.

(5) In the life of his grandson Abd al-Ghâfir al-Fârisi, another commentary of his on the Koran is noticed by Ibn Khallikân.

(6) The autograph has بسوط.

(7) The autograph has وكان .يقص وكان ثقة.

(8) Literally: His demonstration was fine.

(9) His life will be found in this volume.

(10) This *Risâla* is a celebrated *epistle* or *treatise* on Sûfism.

(11) Here again all the manuscripts except the autograph are wrong. The right reading is كخطفة.

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## ABU SAAD AS-SAMANI.

The *hâfiz* Abû Saad Abd al-Karîm as-Samâni, surnamed Tâj al-Islâm (*the crown of Islamism*), was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and a native of Marw. He belonged by birth to the tribe of Tamîm and his genealogy (*though incomplete*) is as follows: Abd al-Karîm Ibn Abi Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Muzaffar al-Mansûr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Jaafar Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî Ibn Muslim Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abd al-Mujîb at-Tamîmi.—The *shaikh* Izz ad-dîn Ali Ibn al-Athîr (1) speaks of him in these terms, towards the commencement of his *Mukhtasir* (*or abridgment of as-Samâni's work, the* Ansâb): "Abû Saad was the middle "pearl of the collar of the Samâni family; their vigilant eye and their helping "hand; when he became the head of the family, he rendered its influence com- "plete. To acquire knowledge and learn the Traditions, he journeyed to the "East and to the West, to the North and to the South. He travelled to Trans- "oxiana and visited repeatedly all the cities of Khorasan; he went also to Ku- "mas, Rai, Ispahân, Hamadân, the two Iraks, Hijâz, Mosul, Mesopotamia, "Syria, and other places too numerous to be mentioned and too difficult to be "enumerated; he there met the men of learning, received from them informa- "tion, frequented their society, obtained Traditions from them, and took for "model their virtuous deeds and praiseworthy conduct. The number of his "teachers surpassed four thousand."—During one of his dictations, or extempore lectures (2), he related as follows: "Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn "Muhammad Ibn Ghâlib al-Jîli, a jurisconsult who had settled at al-Anbâr, "recited to me these lines on bidding me adieu:

'When we went forth to bid them adieu, they wept pearls (*tears*) and we wept rubies 410
'(*blood*). They handed round to us the cups of separation, and it will be long before
'we recover from the effects of that draught. They departed, and I sent after them a
'torrent of my tears; on which they exclaimed: "We shall be drowned!" and I cried
'out: "I shall be burned (*with grief*)!"'

He composed some most instructive and excellent works, such as the *Supplement*, in fifteen volumes, to the Khatib's History of Baghdad; the History of the city of Marw, forming upwards of twenty volumes; the *Ansâb* (*explanation of patronymics and other relative adjectives*), in eight volumes. This last is the work which Izz ad-dîn Ibn al-Athîr corrected and reduced to three volumes; the abridgment is in every person's hands, but the original is very scarce.—Abû Saad as-Samâni says in the biographical notice which he gives of his father: "In "the year 497 (A. D. 1103-4) my parent made the pilgrimage, and, on his "return to Baghdad, he learned Traditions from a number of teachers. He "then gave public exhortations in the *Nizâmiya* College, instructed pupils in the "Traditions (3) and collected books. When some time had thus elapsed, he "travelled to Ispahân and received oral information from a great many persons; "he then returned to Khorâsân and continued to reside at Marw till the year "509, when he went to Naisâpûr. He took me and my brother with him, "and we learned Traditions from Abû Bakr Abd al-Ghaffâr Ibn Muhammad as-"Shîruwi (4) and other masters. He subsequently returned to Marw, where he "was overtaken by death at the early age of forty-three years (5)."—Abû Saad was born at Marw on Monday, the 21st of Shâbân, A. H. 506 (February, A. D. 1113), and he died in the same city, on the night preceding the first day of the first month of Rabi, A. H. 562 (December, A. D. 1116). His father Muhammad was an imâm (6), a man of talent, a skilful investigator of the truth, a traditionist, a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, and a *hâfiz*. His *Imlâ* (*dictation*) is a work of an entirely original cast, containing observations on the texts and *isnâds* (7) (*of the Traditions*) with elucidations to clear up the doubtful points. He wrote many other works besides, and composed some pretty poetry, which he destroyed (8) a little before his death. He was born in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 466 (January, A. D. 1074), and he died at the end of public prayers, on Friday, the 2nd of Safar, A. H. 510 (June, A. D. 1116). The next day, Saturday, he was interred near the grave of his father, Abû 'l-Muzaffar, in the Safhawân, which is one of the cemeteries at Marw.—Abû Saad's

grandfather al-Mansûr was incontrovertibly the greatest imâm of the age in which he lived; this is a point on which his supporters and his adversaries both agreed. He followed the doctrines of Abû Hanîfa and was looked up to with deference by the other imâms of that sect; but, in the year 462, when he was making the pilgrimage, a circumstance fell under his observation in the province of Hijâz, which obliged him to pass over to the sect of as-Shâfi. On his return to Marw, he underwent violent persecutions on this account, and had much to suffer from the spirit of party-zeal; but he supported these trials with great firmness and became the chief imâm of the Shafites. In the fulfilment of this office, he acted as a professor and a *mufti*, and drew up a great number of treatises on the doctrines of the imâm as-Shâfi and on other branches of knowledge. Of these works the most remarkable are: the *Minhâj Ahl is-Sunna* (*path of the Sunnites*); the *Intisâr* (*vindication*); a Refutation of the Principles held by the Kadarites (*the partisans of man's free-will*), etc. In another work, the *Kawâti* (*decisive arguments*), he treats of the dogmas of Islamism, and in his *Burhân*, or *proof* (*containing a defence of the Shafite doctrines*) he discusses nearly one thousand points of controversy. His *Awsat*, or *medium*, and his *Istilâm*, or *eradication of errors*, are refutations of Abû Zaid ad-Dabûsi's compilation, entitled *al-Asrâr* (*t. II. p.* 28). He wrote also a valuable commentary on the Korân, and he formed a collection of one thousand Traditions received by him from one hundred masters, and which he illustrated with great ability in discourses affixed to them. He was highly celebrated also for the excellence of his sermons. His birth took place in the month of Zû'l-Hijja, A. H. 426 (October, A. D. 1035), and his death in the month of the first Rabi, A. H. 489 (March, A. D. 1096), at Marw. This family 420 produced a great number of other persons remarkable for learning and the exalted posts which they filled.— *Samâni* means *belonging to Samân*, a branch of the tribe of Tamîm. I have heard some learned men observe that this name may be also pronounced *Simân*.—Abû Saad Abd al-Karim had a son named Abû 'l-Muzaffar Abd ar-Rahim whom, when yet a boy, he took with him to learn Traditions from his father (*Abû Bakr Muhammad*); he then travelled with him through Khorâsân and Transoxiana, for the purpose of letting him hear the Traditions delivered by all the great masters in these countries, and of obtaining (*them in*) written copies. He drew up also, for his son's use, a *Mojam*, or biographical dictionary of his own masters, in eighteen volumes, and an *Awâla*, or col-

lection of Traditions supported by the *highest* authority (9), in two thick volumes. He then made him study jurisprudence, the belles-lettres, and the Traditions, till he acquired considerable information in these branches of learning. Abd ar-Rahim taught the Traditions on the authority of numerous masters (10), and students travelled from all parts to learn them from him. He was highly venerated in his native country. His birth took place at Naisapûr, on the eve of Friday, the 17th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 537 (June, A. D. 1143), and he died at Marw between A. H. 614 (A. D. 1217) and 616 (A. D. 1220) (11).

(1) His life will be found in this volume.

(2) The following observations on the *Amâli* or *dictations* are furnished by Hajji Khalifa; I shall merely copy M. de Sacy's translation of the passage:—"*Amali* est le pluriel d'*imla*. Ce qu'on entend par là, c'est "qu'un savant est assis, ayant autour de lui ses disciples avec des encriers et du papier. Le savant dit ce que "Dieu permet qu'il lui vienne à l'esprit au sujet d'une science, et ses disciples l'écrivent. Il se forme de "cela un livre qu'on nomme *imla* ou *amali*. Voilà comme avaient coutume de faire les anciens, soit juris-"consultes, soit docteurs dans la science des traditions, ou dans la grammaire arabe, ou dans toute autre "science de celles qu'ils cultivaient; mais le discrédit où sont tombés la science et les savants, a fait évanouir "les traces de cet usage. Il faudra un jour retourner vers Dieu. Les savans de l'école des Schaféïtes nomment "cela *taalik*."—(*Anthologie Grammaticale*, p. 137. See Flügel's *Hajji Khalifa*, vol. I. p. 427.)

(3) Literally: "And Traditions were read to him;" that is, his pupils read the Traditions aloud, and he made his observations.

(4) The autograph has الشيروى.

(5) When Ibn Khallikân inserted this extract in the margin of his work, he marked a wrong place for it in the text. This is a fault into which he has fallen very frequently. The passage should have come in lower down.

(6) The word imâm is employed here to denote one whose opinions were held to be of the highest authority.

(7) See Introduction to vol. I. page xxii.

(8) Literally: "Which he washed." That is, he washed off the ink, that the paper might serve again. The writing in oriental manuscripts is easily effaced with water; the paper is generally very thick and glazed over.

(9) It may probably be remarked that I give a different signification to the word *Awâla* عوالى from that adopted, after some hesitation, by M. de Sacy, in his *Abdallatif*. I have followed the indications of Hajji Khalifa in his enumeration of the works which are so denominated; and must add that the title of the book cited by M. de Sacy in support of his opinion seems to me to be incorrectly given; الاسانيد العوالى is a most unusual expression, whereas الاسانيد العوالى is one commonly employed when speaking of Traditions which can be traced up through an unbroken series of trustworthy Traditionists to Muhammad himself.

(10) بالكثير is the right reading.

(11) In the autograph these last words have been cut off by the binder, so that only the vowel points and the tops of the longer letters remain. None of my manuscripts fill up the blank, which, I am convinced from the inspection of the autograph, must be read thus: وست عشرة.

## IBN HAMDIS AS-SAKALLI.

Abû Muhammad Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Ali Bakr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hamdîs al-Azdi (*a member of the tribe of Azd*) as-Sakalli (*a native of Sicily*), and a celebrated poet, is spoken of in these terms by Ibn Bassâm : "He was a poet of consum-" mate abilities, who aimed at originality of ideas and reached his mark; who" expressed them in terms elegant and noble; who had a perfect command of" metaphors the most appropriate, and who dived into the ocean of language for" the pearl of novelty in thought." The original cast of his ideas is fully displayed in the following piece descriptive of a rivulet:

> There is an object whose component parts are in progressive motion, and whose surface is polished by the zephyr, so that it reveals to the eye that which is contained in its bosom. The pebbles wound it with their sharp points, and, as it passes over them, it expresses by its murmurs the pains which they inflict. It might be thought that a despairing lover (1) had put on the form of its waters, and hastened to throw himself into the pond which it supplies.

In one of his *kasîdas* he says:

> I passed the night in asking for another and another kiss; such are the favours for which I shall never cease to sue her; and I quenched the thirst of love at (*her lips*—) a source surpassing in virtues the purest water of the spring.

In another of his *kasîdas* he begins thus:

> Arise! and let the (*maiden*) wearer of the scarf hand here the cup! the harbinger of morning has announced to the night that its last hour (2) has come. Hasten towards the pleasures which await us, and, to reach them, take for coursers the forerunners of enjoyment, so rapid in their speed. Hasten before the morning sun has sipped the dews of the night off the lips of the flowers.

One of his original ideas is thus expressed :

> To increase the blackness of her eyes, she has applied antimony around them; thus adding poison to the dart which was already sufficient to give death.

In another poem he thus expresses his longing desire of seeing Sicily again :

> I thought of Sicily, and sadness renewed in my mind the remembrance of that isle. Though expelled from paradise, I shall always speak of its delights. Were my tears not bitter, I should take them for the (*copious*) streams which flow in that happy region (3).

In the year 471 (A. D. 1078-9) he went to Spain and there celebrated in his verses the praises of al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd, by whom he was most generously recompensed. When Ibn Abbâd was afterwards led into captivity and imprisoned at Aghmât, Ibn Hamdîs heard some verses recited which that prince had composed during his confinement (4), on which he addressed him the following lines in reply:



> Do you despair of seeing a day the evening of which will differ from the morning? Reflect that the brilliant planets themselves must (*undergo vicissitudes and*) pass through the zodiac's various signs.—When you left us, and bore off in your hand generosity itself, whilst the mountains of thy liberality were shaken to their basis (5), I raised my voice and exclaimed: "The hour of judgment has come! behold the firm mountains "pass away!"

The idea contained in the last of these verses is nearly similar to that expressed by Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz in the following lines; they are taken from an elegy composed by him on the death of the vizir Abû 'l-Kâsim Obaid Allah Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Wahb:

> The human race remain unmoved, and yet perfection itself is dead; and the vicissitudes of time exclaim: "Where shall we find more men?" Behold Abû 'l-Kâsim on his bier! arise, and see how mountains are removed from their places!

The poetical works of Ibn Hamdîs have been collected into a *divân*, and the greater portion of his poetry is very good. He died in the isle of Maiyorka (*Majorca*), A. H. 527 (A. D. 1132-3) [and was interred near the tomb of Ibn al-Labbâna (6) the celebrated poet]; some say, however, that he died at Bajâya (*Bugia in North Africa*). In one of his poems, rhyming in the letter *M*, he speaks of his grey hairs and his staff; this indicates that he had then reached his eightieth year (7).—*Sakalli* means *belonging to Sakalliya* (*Sicily*), an island in the sea of Maghrib, near North Africa.

(1) The autograph gives the true reading, which is حُبابًا.

(2) In the printed Arabic text, read اللِّيل not اللّيل.

(3) On the conquest of Sicily by count Roger, a great number of the Moslim inhabitants abandoned the island. Some, like Ibn Hamdîs, went to Spain, and others to North Africa, Egypt, or Syria. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn notices in his *Kharîda* a number of literary men who then left the country.

(4) These verses are still extant, and may be found in Imâd ad-dîn's *Kharîda*, MS. No.1375.

(5) Literally: "Whilst the Radwa and the Thabîr of yours were shaken." These are the names of two celebrated mountains in Hijâz.—(See Abû 'l-Fedâ's Geography, Arabic text, page 81.)

(6) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Isa ad-Dâni (*a native of Denia*), surnamed Ibn Labbâna, was the favourite poet and companion of al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd. Numerous extracts from his compositions are given by the *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn in his *Kharîda* (MS. No. 1375, fol. 181 *et seq.*) and by Ibn Khâkân in his *Kalâid al-Ikiyân*. The date of his death is not mentioned by either author.

(7) This inference of Ibn Khallikân does not appear to be well warranted.

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## ABU TALIB AL-MAAFIRI.

Abû Tâlib Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Maâfiri al-Maghribi (1) was a master of the first authority in the science of philology and in all the branches of the belles-lettres. In his travels he visited Baghdad, where he continued his studies and gave lessons to a number of pupils, who all profited under his tuition. In the year 551 (A.D. 1156-7) he arrived in Egypt, where he had for a disciple the learned *shaikh* Abû Muhammad Ibn Bari (*see his life, page* 70). He wrote a great deal, and his handwriting was very good, but in the Maghrib character; the greater part of these writings is on literature. I have seen a considerable quantity of them, and observed that his orthography was extremely correct (2). I saw the two following lines inscribed by his own hand on the cover of the work entitled *al-Muzîl fi 'l-Loghat* (3):

> I implore whatever person sees my writing to address a sincere prayer for me to the merciful God, that he may be turned towards me with indulgence and grant me forgiveness.

He taught the contents of the work called *al-Musalsil* with the authorisation of the author, Abû 't-Tâhir Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Abd Allah at-Tamîmi; of this we shall speak again in the life of Abû 't-Tâhir, which will be found among those of the *Muhammads* (4).—Abû Tâlib died A. H. 566 (A. D. 1170-1) as he was returning from Egypt to Maghrib.—*Maâfiri* means *belonging to the tribe of Maâfir* Ibn Yafur; this tribe is very numerous and the greater portion of it inhabits Egypt.

(1) *Al-Maghribi* signifies *native of Maghrib*, or the *West;* a term applied not only to North Africa, but to Spain. From the silence of the Spanish Arab biographers, I am induced to believe that he belonged to the former country.

(2) This passage may perhaps signify, "that his memory was very good"—a circumstance proved by the correctness of the pieces which he wrote from memory.

(3) This work is not noticed by Hajji Khalifa.

(4) This passage is given by two of my MSS., but it does not exist in the autograph. Its place is marked there, however, by these words in red ink, هنا يكتب التخريجة, that is: *let the passage on the fly-leaf be written here.* This fly-leaf has been lost, and I suspect the authenticity of the passage as now printed, and must add that, none of my MSS. contain the life of Abû 't-Tâhir at-Tamîmi to which reference is here made.

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## ABD AR-RAZZAK AS-SANANI.

Abû Bakr Abd ar-Razzâk Ibn Hammâm Ibn Nâfi as-Sanâni was allied, by right **422** of enfranchisement, to the tribe of Himyar. Abû Saad as-Samâni says of him: "It is stated that, after the death of the Prophet, no one had so many visitors from "distant countries as he." He taught the Traditions on the authority of Maamar Ibn Rashîd, a *mawla* of the tribe of Azd and a native of Basra (*see vol. I. p. xxiv, note*), al-Auzâi, Ibn Juraij, and others. The chief imâms of Islamism in that period cited him as their authority for some of the Traditions which they taught; amongst the number were Sofyân Ibn Oyaina (who was one of his own masters), Ahmad Ibn Hanbal and Yahya Ibn Mâin (1). He was born A. H. 126 (A. D. 743-4), and he died in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 211 (January, A. D. 827) in Yemen.—*Sanâni* means *belonging to Sanâa*, one of the most celebrated cities in Yemen. In forming this relative adjective an *n* is added, as in *Bahrâni* derived from *Bahrâ* (2), but such cases are of rare occurrence.

(1) The lives of all these doctors will be found in this work.

(2) Bahrâ is the name of a tribe sprung from Kudâa.

## ABU NASR IBN AS-SABBAGH.

Abû Nasr Abd as-Sayid Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wâhid Ibn Ahmad Ibn Jaafar, generally known by the name of Ibn as-Sabbâgh (*the son of the dyer*), was chief Shafite jurisconsult of Persian and Arabian Irak. (*By his learning*) he equalled Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi, and by his knowledge of the Shafite doctrines he surpassed him. Persons came from all countries to study under him, and his veracity as a traditionist, his piety, and his virtuous conduct, which showed him to be a model set up by God to confound the perverse on the day of judgment (1), were all equally conspicuous. His principal works are the *Shâmil* (*comprehensive*), which is not only one of the best treatises possessed by the Shafites on their system of jurisprudence, but also one of the most authentic in its traditional contents and the most conclusive in its reasonings;—the *Tazkirat al-Aâlim wa 't-Tarîk as-Sâlim* (*remembrancer of the learned and safe path*); the *Odda* (*supply provided for emergencies*); these two last are on the principles of jurisprudence. On the opening of the *Nizâmiya* College at Baghdad, he acted as chief professor, but was replaced, after a lapse of twenty days, by Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi; he was reinstated, however, on the death of the latter. Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Hilâl Ibn as-Sâbi (2) says in his History: "The erection of the *Nizâ-*
"*miya* College was commenced in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 457 (Novem-
"ber, A. D. 1065), and this establishment was opened on Saturday, the 10th of
"Zû 'l-Kaada, 459 (September, A. D. 1067). Nizâm al-Mulk having given
"directions that the place of chief professor in it should be filled by Abû Ishak
"as-Shirâzi, it was settled with him that he should come forward and give
"lessons on that day. When the people were assembled, Abû Ishak did not
"appear, and after a fruitless search, they decided on sending for Abû Nasr
"Ibn as-Sabbâgh, who came and was installed. Abû Ishak then showed him-
"self in the mosque where he used to teach, and by this conduct he excited the
"manifest displeasure of his pupils, who ceased to attend his lessons and wrote
"to him that if he did not choose to profess in the *Nizâmiya*, they would quit
"him for Abû Nasr Ibn as-Sabbâgh. He consented to their wishes, and on
"Saturday, the first of Zû 'l-Hijja, Ibn as-Sabbâgh was removed and Abû Ishak
"seated in his place. Ibn as-Sabbâgh had occupied the post during twenty days."

Ibn an-Najjâr says in his History of Baghdad: "On the death of Abû Ishak, Abû "Saad al-Mutawalli was established in the vacant place; but, in the year 476 "(A. D. 1083-4), he was removed, and Ibn as-Sabbâgh reappointed; the latter "held the post till 477, when it was again conferred on Abû Saad, who held "it till his death." We have already mentioned something of this in the life of Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi (*vol. I. page* 11). Ibn as-Sabbâgh was born at Baghdad, A. H. 400 (A. D. 1009-10), and he died in the same city, in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 477 (September, A. D. 1084); or, by another account (given as a rectification of the preceding date), on Thursday, the 15th of Shaabân of that year. Towards the close of his life, Ibn as-Sabbâgh lost his sight.

(1) I have here paraphrased the word حجّة. See vol. I. page 587.
(2) See vol. I. page 290.

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## ABD AL-WAHHAB AL-MALIKI.

The kâdi Abû Muhammad Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Ali Ibn Nasr Ibn Ahmad Ibn **423** al-Husain Ibn Harûn Ibn Mâlik Ibn Tauk ath-Thâlabi, a native of Baghdad and a doctor of the sect of Mâlik, drew his descent from Mâlik Ibn Tauk ath-Thâlabi, the lord of Rahaba (1). He was an able jurisconsult, an elegant scholar, and a poet. He composed a treatise on the doctrines peculiar to his sect, and this work, entitled *at-Talkîn* (*tuition*), is one of the most instructive on the subject, although it forms but a small volume. Among his other numerous productions, may be specified the *Maûna*, or aid, and a commentary on the *Risâla* (2). The Khatib (*Abû Bakr Ahmad al-Baghdâdi*) speaks of him in the history of Baghdad, and says: "He received lessons from Abû Abd Allah Ibn al-"Askari, Omar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sabannak (3), and Abû Hafs Ibn Shâ-"hin (4). He transmitted from his masters a small portion of traditional in-"formation, and I wrote down (*some of it*) from his own lips. He was a trust-"worthy traditionist, and an abler jurisconsult than he was never met with

"among the Malikite doctors. In the examination of legal points he displayed "great acuteness, and the exposition of the results to which he thus attained was "marked by great clearness. He filled the place of kâdi at Bâdarâya and Bâku- "sâya (5); towards the latter period of his life he travelled to Egypt, in which "country he died."—Ibn Bassâm speaks of him in the *Dakhîra* in the following terms: "He was the last remnant of (*the illustrious*) men, and the (*sole*) tongue "(*to set forth the doctrines of*) the followers of *analogy* (6); I met with some "poetry of his containing thoughts brighter than the morning, and expressed "in words sweeter than is the obtaining of success in undertakings. Baghdad "rejected him, as is the old established custom of cities towards their men of "merit; and such is the rule of conduct which Fortune follows, in every "epoch, towards people of talent: he therefore bade adieu to its inhabitants, and "said farewell to its waters and its shades. I was told that, on the day of his "departure, its great men and its eminent *writers* (7) formed a large company "and a numerous troop to escort him out of the city, and that he said to "them: 'Had I found among you a roll of bread every morning and every "'evening, I should not have turned from your town, as I would then have "'obtained all I wished for.' He used to express his feelings on this subject in "some verses which I shall give here:

'Of all the abodes on earth, let Baghdad receive my salutation; it is entitled to re- 'peated salutations (*of farewell*) from me. I left it, not through hatred, and yet I knew '(*what perversity filled*) the quarters on both sides of the river. But large as it was, I 'could find no ease within it, and even the means of subsistence were refused me. 'That city is like a friend whose company is anxiously desired, but whose character 'removes him (*from our affection*) and counteracts his good qualities.'

"He then set out for Egypt, and as he passed through Maarra tan-Nomân "he met Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri (*vol. I. p.* 94), who received him with hospitality, "and afterwards alluded to the circumstance in one of his poems. These "are his words:

'Ibn Nasr the Malikite visited our country on his journey, and we praised the misfor- 'tunes which force a man to abandon his native place and to travel. When he explains 'a point of law, his reasonings give new life to Mâlik, and when he utters verses, *the* '*Wandering King* (8) seems to revive in his person.'

"On arriving in Egypt, he bore the standard (*of superiority*) and filled it far

"and wide (*with his renown*) (9); he drew after him its chiefs and its princes; "there the signal favours of fortune reached him and gifts the most desirable "poured like a torrent into his hands. But he had scarcely arrived there, when "he longed to eat of a particular dish, and, having partaken thereof, he died. "They relate that, when he rolled in agony, his soul mounting and descending "in his throat, he exclaimed: 'There is no god but God! when we began to "live, we died!' "—He composed some charming verses, such, for instance, as the following:

> I kissed that sleeping beauty, and she awoke, exclaiming: "Hasten to chastise the "the thief." I replied: "May my life be sacrificed for thy welfare! I am (*not a thief,* "*but*) an extortioner, and as such I can only be sentenced to restitution. Receive then "the kiss and abstain from tyranny; if that kiss suffice thee not, I shall add a thou- "sand to it." She answered: "(*No! I must have*) retaliation! this, as reason tells us, "is sweeter than honey to the heart of the self-avenger." The rest of that night, my **424** right arm was the girdle which encircled her waist, and my left arm was the necklace on her bosom. She then said: "Did you not declare that you abstained from all worldly "pleasure?" "No!" I replied, "but it is from abstinence, (*such as that,*) that I ab- "stain!"

> Baghdad is a delightful residence for those who have money, but for the poor it is an abode of misery and suffering. I walked all day through its streets bewildered and desolate; I was (*treated with neglect*) like a koran in the house of an atheist.

I had some verses on my mind, the author of which I did not know; but I have since found them attributed, in a number of places, to the kâdi Abd al-Wahhâb; they are as follows:

> How can we hope to quench our thirst if the seas exact water from the wells? (10) How prevent the vile from attaining their ends, if the great retire from the world to the pious solitude of the cell? The elevation of the base over the noble would be a great misfortune. When the low and the exalted are on an equality, 'tis then we would find pleasure in the society of death.

(*Ibn Bassâm*) the author of the *Dakhîra* mentions that Abd al-Wahhâb held the office of kâdi in the city of Isird (11), and another writer states that he filled that function at the towns of Bâdarâya and Bâkusâya in Irak. On being questioned concerning the time of his birth, he replied: "I was born at Bagh- "dad on Thursday, the 7th of Shawwâl, A. H. 362 (July, A. D. 973)." He died at Old Cairo on the eve of Monday, the 14th of Safar, A.H. 422 (February, A.D. 1031); some say, however, that his death occurred in the month of Shaa-

bân of that year. He was interred in the lesser Karâfa cemetery, between the sepulchral chapel of the imâm as-Shâfi and the gate of the Karâfa, near the graves of Ibn al-Kâsim and Ashhâb; I have visited his tomb.—His father (*Ali Ibn Nasr*) was one of the most eminent scriveners (12) of Baghdad: His brother, Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Nasr was a learned scholar and drew up a work, entitled *al-Mufâwida* (*conversation*), for the amusement of al-Malik al-Aziz Jalâl ad-Dawlat Abû Mansûr, the son of Abû Tâhir, the son of Bahâ ad-Dawlat, the son of Adad ad-Dawlat (13) Ibn Buwaih; in this book, which is very interesting and contains about thirty sheets (14), he relates various events of which he had been a witness. He composed also some epistles. His birth took place at Baghdad in one of the months of Jumâda, A. H. 372 (A. D. 982); he died on Sunday, the 26th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 437 (November, A. D. 1045) at Wâsit, whither he had gone up from Basra. Their father Abû 'l-Hasan Ali (*Ibn Nasr*) died on Saturday, the 2nd of Ramadân, A. H. 391 (July, A. D. 1001).

(1) The city of Rahaba, situated on the Euphrates in lat. 34° 37', at the distance of eight days' journey from Damascus and of five from Aleppo, was founded by Mâlik Ibn Tauk, one of the khalif ar-Rashîd's generals, who was then governor of Mesopotamia.

(2) I follow the reading of the autograph and al-Yâfi, where I find وشرح الرسالة not فى شرح الرسالة. All the other MSS. and Hajji Khalifa give the latter reading.

(3) All the MSS. except the autograph have سنبل; but that has سَبَنَّك. Abû 'l-Kâsim Omar Ibn Sabannak died A. H. 377 (A.D. 987-8).—(*Nujûm.*)

(4) See vol. I. page 401.

(5) It appears from the *Marasid*, that these two places were situated near an-Nahrawân.

(6) See vol. I. pages 6, 534, and xxvi.

(7) Literally: Its inkhorn wearers. These words signify probably the *kâtibs*, or persons employed in the civil service.

(8) *The wandering king* (*al-Malik ad-Dillîl*); this was a surname given to Amro 'l-Kais, of whom Muhammad said that he was the greatest of all the poets. See my *Diwân d'Amro 'l-Kaïs*, page xxiv.

(9) Literally: And filled its land and its sky.

(10) This verse probably means: How can we expect a recompense for our poetical eulogiums, if the sovereign exact from our patrons the little wealth which they possess?

(11) Isird, a city of Mesopotamia, is situated near the Tigris, at the distance of a day and a half to the south of Maiyâfârikîn.

(12) See vol. I. page 53, note (8).

(13) Ibn Khallikân, in giving this genealogy, has forgotten here the name of Rukn ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih.

(14) *Sheets*, in Arabic *Kurrâsa*: see page 98, note (3), of this volume.

## THE HAFIZ ABD AL-GHANI IBN SAID.

Abû Muhammad Abd al-Ghani Ibn Saîd Ibn Ali Ibn Saîd Ibn Bishr Ibn Marwân Ibn Abd al-Azîz al-Azdi (*a member of the tribe of Azd*) and a native of Egypt, was the most eminent *hâfiz* of the age in that country. He composed some useful works, such as a *Mushtabih an-Nisba*, or treatise on those relative adjectives the derivation of which might be mistaken, another on those (*geographical*) names each of which designate different places (*al-Mûtalif wa 'l-Mukhtalif*), etc. Great numbers studied under him with much profit to themselves. A close intimacy and friendship subsisted between him, Abû Osâma Junâda the philologer, and Abû Ali al-Mukri al-Antâki (*a teacher of the readings of the Koran and a native of Antioch*). These three used to meet at the library (*founded by al-Hâkim*) (1) and discuss literary subjects; but when Abû Osâma and Abû Ali were put to death by al-Hâkim the sovereign of Egypt, the *hâfiz* Abd al-Ghani retired to a place of 425 concealment, lest he should experience the same fate on account of his having frequented their society, and he did not appear in public till he received a full pardon. Of this we have already spoken in the life of Abû Osâma (*v. I. p.* 337). Abd al-Ghani was born on the 28th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 332 (August, A. D. 944), and he died at Old Cairo on the eve of Tuesday, the seventh of Safar, A. H. 409 (June, A. D. 1018): he was interred, the following day, in the Musalla of the Festival (2). It is stated by Abû 'l-Kasim Yahya Ibn Ali al-Hadrami, surnamed Ibn at-Tahhân, in the historical work designed by him as a continuation to that of Ibn Yûnus al-Misri (*see page* 93), that Abd al-Ghani Ibn Saîd was born A. H. 333 (A. D. 944-5). His father Saîd died A. H. 338, aged forty-three years. Abd al-Ghani himself mentioned that he had never received any traditional information from his father, Saîd.

(1) See vol. I. page 337.

(2) The original text has بحضرة مصلى العيد. I am unable to fix the precise meaning of the word حضرة in this place.

## ABD AL-GHAFIR AL-FARISI.

The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Hasan Abd al-Ghâfir Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Abd al-Ghâfir Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Ghâfir Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saîd al-Fârisi (*native of the province of Fars*) was a traditionist and a grammarian of the highest rank. At the age of five years he was able to read the Koran, and could repeat the creed in Persian (*his native language*). He studied jurisprudence with great assiduity, during four years, under Abû 'l-Maâli Imâm al-Haramain, the author of the *Nihâyat al-Matlab*, which is a treatise on the doctrines of the Shafite sect and on points of controversy. He was a daughter's son (1) of the imâm Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Kûshairi (*vol. II. p.* 152) and learned from him a great quantity of Traditions, as also from his grandmother Fâtima, the daughter of Abû Ali ad-Dakkâk (*see page* 152), his maternal uncles Abû Saad and Abû Saîd, the sons of Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Kushairi, his own parents Abû Abd Allah Ismaîl and Amat ar-Rahîm (*the handmaid of the Clement*), daughter to Abd al-Karîm al-Kushairi, and a great number of other teachers. He then left Naisapûr and proceeded to Khowarezm, where he continued his studies under the most eminent masters of that country, and opened a private course for the instruction of pupils. He travelled from thence to Ghazna, and then to India, teaching the Traditions and explaining (*his grandfather's work*) the *Latâif al-Ishârât* (*subtle indications*) (2). On his return to Naisapûr he officiated as a preacher, and, during a number of years, he gave lessons every Monday evening in the mosque of Akîl; he then composed his numerous works, of which the principal are the *Mufhim* (*elucidator*), in which he explains the obscure points in the *Sahîh* of Muslim; the *Sîâk*, or continuation of (*the Hâkim Ibn al-Bâî's*) history of Naisapûr, which work he finished towards the end of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 518; the *Majma 'l-Gharâib* (*collection of observations little known*), in which he elucidates the rare expressions occurring in the Traditions; he wrote besides many other instructive works. He was born in the month of the latter Rabî, A. H. 451 (May-June, A. D. 1059), and he died at Naisapûr, A. H. 529 (A. D. 1134-5).

(1) The word سبط *Sibt* signifies a grandson by the female line ابن البنت *the son of the daughter*, as the philologists define it. Thus Hasan and Husain were the *sibts* of Muhammad. A grandson by the male line is a *hafîd* حفيد. This distinction has generally escaped the attention of orientalists.

(2) According to Hajji Khalifa, this is a commentary on the Koran.

## ABU 'L-WAKT AS-SIJAZI.

Abû 'l-Wakt Abd al-Auwal Ibn Abi Abd Allah Isa Ibn Shoaib Ibn Ishak as-Sijazi knew by heart a great quantity of Traditions handed down from the highest authorities. He lived to an advanced age, and became the link which united the Traditionists of the rising generation to those of the past. In the year 621 (A. D. 1224) I heard al-Bokhâri's *Sahîh* explained by the *shaikh* Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn al-Mukarram Ibn Abd Allah as-Sûfi, a man of holy life; he taught this work by right of his having studied it at the *Nizâmiya* College, under the tuition of this Abû 'l-Wakt, in the year 553. [Abû 'l-Wakt had learned it in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 465 (July, A. D. 1073), from Abû 'l-Hasan Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muzaffar ad-Dàwûdi, who taught it with the authorisation of Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Hammûya as-Sarakhsi, under whom he studied it in the month of Safar, A.H. 381 (April-May, A.D. 991). Ibn Hammûya had been authorised to teach it by his own master Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Matar al-Ferbari, in A.H. 316 (A. D. 928); and al-Ferbari taught it with the permission of the author al-Bukhâri, under whose tuition he had read it twice; the first time in A. H. 248 (A. D. 862-3), and the second in 252 (A. D. 866)]. (1)—Abû 'l-Wakt led a life of holiness and passed most of his time in the practice of piety. He was born in the **426** month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 458 (October, A. D. 1066), at Herât, where his father had settled, and he died on the eve of Sunday, the 6th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 553 (November, A. D. 1158), at Baghdad, where he had arrived on Tuesday, the 21st of Shawwâl, A. H. 552, and taken up his abode in the *Ribat* of Fairûz. He died in that convent, and prayers were said over him there; but afterwards, the funeral service was celebrated in the presence of a great concourse of people, at the principal mosque, by the *shaikh* Abd al-Kâdir al-Jîli (2). He was interred in the Shûnîzi Cemetery under the same seat (*dakka*) in which the body of the celebrated ascetic Ruwaim (3) was deposited. Abû 'l-Wakt commenced learning the Traditions somewhat later than the year 460 (A. H. 1067-8), and he was the sole survivor of those who taught Traditions on the authority of ad-Dâwûdi.—His father died between the years 510 and 520 of the Hijra.—*Sijazi* means *belonging to Sijistân*, as has been already observed;

this relative adjective is formed irregularly (4).—My master Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn al-Mukarram as-Sûfi was born on the eve of the 27th of Ramadân, A. H. 538 (April, A. D. 1144); he died at Baghdad on the eve of the 5th (5) of Muharram, A. H. 621 (January, 1224). He was buried in the Shûnîzi Cemetery.

(1) This passage is written in the margin of the autograph. The original text will be found in the appendix to the Arabic edition.

(2) Abû Muhammad Abd al-Kâdir Ibn Abi Sâlih Mûsa Ibn Abi Abd Allah Abd Allah Ibn Yahya Ibn Muhammad Ibn Dâwûd Ibn Mûsa Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Mûsa Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib al-Jîli, surnamed Muhi ad-dîn (*reviver of religion*), was one of the most eminent Sûfi doctors. By his self-mortification, his piety, and his application to contemplative devotion, he attained the highest degree of holiness, and often received special proofs of God's favour, the veils which concealed the *Truth*, or Divine presence, having been frequently withdrawn to give him a glimpse of the Being who is the source of all happiness and the sole object worthy of love. Al-Yâfî devotes eleven pages of the *Mirât al-Jinân* to the enumeration of his excellencies, and informs us that in another work, the *Nashr al-Mahâsin*, he has mentioned some of the innumerable miraculous acts which this saint performed by a concession of the Divine grace. Abd al-Kâdir was born at Jîl, which is a collection of villages beyond Taberistân. This place is called also Kîl, Kîlân, and Jîlân, whence the surnames of Jîli, Kîli, Jîlâni, and Kîlâni, which are given to him by different writers. It may here be observed that there was a village bearing the name of Kîl, and lying on the bank of the Tigris at a day's journey from Baghdad, on the road to Wâsit; this place was also called Jîl. Hence originated the terms *Jîl al-Ajâm* (*Persian Jîl*) to mark the place of Abd al-Kâdir's birth, and *Jîl al-Irâk* to designate this latter place. Another Jîl existed near al-Madâîn. Abd al-Kâdir's mother bore the name of Omm al-Khair Fâtima; she was a woman of holy life and the daughter of a man celebrated for his piety and his progress in Sûfism, Abû Abd Allah Rizk Allah Ibn Abd al-Wahhâb as-Sûmâi الصومعى. Abd al-Kâdir was born A. H. 471 (A. D. 1078-9); he went to Baghdad in 488 (A. D. 1095), and died in that city (where he held the place of guardian of Abû Hanîfa's tomb), A. H. 561 (A D. 1165-6). The order of dervishes called after him the Kadris, acknowledges him as its founder.

(3) Abû Muhammad or Abû 'l-Hasan Ruwaim Ibn Ahmad Ibn Zaid Ibn Ruwaim, an eminent Sûfi and a native of Baghdad, was a disciple of al-Junaid. He was also distinguished as a *hâfiz*, a koran-reader (according to the system of Nâfi), and a doctor of the law, in which he was a Zâhirite, or follower of the imâm Dâwûd al-Ispahâni. His master al-Junaid esteemed him highly, and used to say of him, alluding to their application to spiritual exercises; "Ruwaim was busy when at leisure, but we others were leisurely in our "business." رويم مشغول فارغ وكنا فارغين مشغولين. He died at Baghdad, A. H. 303 (A. D. 915-6.) —(Al-Yâfi.—Ad-Dahabi.)

(4) The regular form would be *Sijistâni*.

(5) Read الخامس.

## IBN KULAIB AL-HARRANI.

Abû 'l-Faraj Abd al-Munim Ibn Abi 'l-Fath Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Saad Ibn Sadaka Ibn al-Hasîn (1) Ibn Kulaib al-Harrâni, surnamed Shams ad-dîn (*the sun of religion*), was a merchant and a member of the sect of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal. His family belonged to Harrân, but he himself was born in Baghdad and made his residence in that city. As he knew a quantity of Traditions supported by the highest authorities, persons came from all parts to learn them from him, and he became the link which connected the rising generation of Traditionists with the past. By his extensive acquirements in the Traditions, and by the number of masters from whom he had received them, he surpassed all his contemporaries. He was born in the month of Safar, A. H. 505 (August-Sept., A. D. 1111), and he died at Baghdad on the eve of Monday, the 27th of the first Rabî, A. H. 596 (January, A.D. 1200). The next morning, he was buried near the spot where his father and family were interred, in the cemetery called after Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, and situated at the Harb Gate. He preserved the vigour of his mind and all his bodily faculties till the last. In the course of his life he had no less than one hundred and forty-eight concubines.

(1) This name is so indistinctly written in the autograph, that it is illegible.

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## THE KATIB ABD AL-HAMID.

Abû Ghâlib Abd al-Hamîd Ibn Yahya Ibn Saad, a mawla to the tribe of Aamir Ibn Luwai Ibn Ghalib, was a *kâtib* so highly celebrated for the elegance of his style that his talent became proverbial: "Epistolary writing," it was said, "began "with Abd al-Hamîd and finished with Ibn al-Amîd." It was not only as a *kâtib* that he possessed abilities; he was also a perfect master of the belles-lettres and of all the branches of science. Syria was his native place, but when he commenced life as a boys' teacher, he travelled from one country to another.—



Writers of epistles copied his style and followed closely in his footsteps; and it was he who first smoothed the way to the introduction of eloquence into letter-writing. His collected epistles fill nearly one thousand leaves (*two thousand pages*). It was also he who first lengthened the epistle and employed complimentary eulogiums in certain parts of it, which improvement was adopted by his successors. He was *kâtib*, or secretary, to Marwân Ibn Muhammad al-Jaadi, the last of the Omaiyide sovereigns. Marwân one day received from a provincial administrator the present of a black slave; displeased with the exiguity of the gift, this prince ordered his secretary to write a short letter to that *aâmil*, blaming him for his conduct, and Abû Ghâlib wrote these words: "Hadst thou "found a worse colour than black and a number less than unity, thou wouldst "have sent them. Adieu!" A saying of his was: "The pen is a tree the 427 "fruits of which are words, and reflexion is a sea the pearls of which are wis-"dom." Ibrahîm Ibn al-Abbâs as-Sûli once said of him, on hearing his name mentioned: "Language was his element; I never wished to possess the language "of any *kâtib* so ardently as I wished for his." In one of his epistles Abû Ghâlib says: "Mankind are of various classes and different characters; some are "precious jewels, not to be sold for any price; and others so liable to be sus-"pected, that no one would buy them (1)." A letter in which he recommends the bearer to a man in power is thus worded: "The person who delivers you "this letter has the same right to your benevolence as to mine; having judged "you the only one on whom to place his hopes, and me the only one to assist him "in his project; I here fulfil his wish, do you realise his expectations." He said also: "The best style is that whereof the words are exalted and the "thoughts original (2)." The following verse was often repeated by him:

When *kâtibs* are insulted (3), their inkhorns become bows, and their pens, arrows.

He accompanied Marwân Ibn al-Hakam in his last campaign and was present at all his battles; of these events we have taken some notice in the life of Abû Muslim (*see page* 105). It is related that when Marwân was reduced to the conviction that his power was drawing to an end, he said to Abû Ghâlib: "It is "necessary for me that you side with the enemy and appear to desert me; their "admiration for you as a learned scholar and the necessity which they lie under "of having a *kâtib* like you, will induce them to place confidence in you.

" Then you may perhaps be able to do me service whilst I yet live; and, in case " of my death, you will certainly be the means of protecting my *harem* from " dishonour." To this, Abû Ghâlib replied: "The course which you advise " me to take is the most advantageous one for you, and the most dishonourable " for me; my opinion is, that we must bear with patience till Almighty God " favour us with success; and if he do not, let us die together." He then recited this line:

> I am to conceal fidelity in my heart and bear the exterior of a traitor; but where shall I find an excuse (4) sufficiently clear to satisfy all men.

The foregoing anecdote is related by Abû 'l-Hasan al-Masûdi in his *Murûj ad-Dahab* (*meadows of gold*). Abû Ghâlib Abd al-Hamîd was then slain with Marwân on Monday, the 13th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A.H. 132 (July, A.D. 750) (*see p.* 105), at Bûsir, a village in the province of al-Faiyûm, in Egypt.—I find among my rough notes the following passage in my own handwriting: "On the death of Marwân Ibn " Muhammad the Omaiyide, Abd al-Hamîd sought for concealment in Mesopo- " tamia, but, being betrayed, he was arrested and sent by Abû 'l-Abbâs"— the khalif as-Saffâh, I should think—" to Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân, the " commander of the police guards, who caused a tray to be heated in the fire and " then placed on the prisoner's head till he expired. Abd al-Hamîd was a native " of al-Anbâr, but he dwelt at ar-Rakka. His master in penmanship was " Sâlim, the *mawla* of Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik."—His son Ismaîl was an able *kâtib* and is counted amongst the most famous of them.—Yakûb Ibn Dâwûd, the vizir to al-Mahdi, and whose life we intend to give, was at first a *kâtib* in Abd al-Hamîd's office and under his orders; it was from him he learned his business.—When Marwân was flying before the army of his adversary, he reached Bûsir and asked what was the name of the place. On being informed that it was *Bûsîr*, he said: "*Ila 'llah il-Masîr* (*it is now that we must appearbefore God!*)" (5) He was slain in that place, as is well known.—Ibrahîm Ibn Jabala related as follows: "The *kâtib* Abd al-Hamîd perceived me writing a very bad hand, on " which he said to me: 'Do you wish your writing to be good?'—'Yes,' I " replied.—'Then,' said he, 'let the stem of your reed-pen be long and thick, " let its point be fine, and cut it sloping towards the right hand.'—I followed " his advice, and my writing became good."

(1) As the merit of this passage consists principally in alliteration and parallelism, it disappears in the translation. None of the manuscripts, except the autograph, gives the text of it correctly; nearly every word is more or less altered. In the printed text read يُباع and يُبتاع.

(2) Literally: The words of which are stallions, and the thoughts virgins.

(3) For خرج read جرح. All the manuscripts except the autograph are wrong.

(4) Here again all the manuscripts, including those of al-Masûdi (who gives the passage), are in the wrong. For بغدر read بعذر.

(5) *Bûsîr* sounds somewhat like *Bûs Sîr*, which words mean *calamity in the result*. Marwân augured evil from the name.

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## ABD AL-MUHSIN IBN GHALBUN AS-SURI.

428 Abû Muhammad Abd al-Muhsin Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ghâlib Ibn Ghalbûn as-Sûri (*a native of Tyre*) was a good poet, a talented scholar, and one of the ornaments of Syria. His verses, equally remarkable for elegance of style, beauty of thought, charm of expression, and pleasing regularity of imagery, form a *diwân* of masterpieces. One of his poems contains the following fine passage:

> Is it to punish (*my indiscretion*) or to compel me to pay a tribute (*of admiration*) that the image of her charms never leaves my sight (1). Her glances and her stature possess the qualities of the sword and of the spear (*sharpness and slenderness*). The water of youth is in her face, mixed with the fire (*carnation*) of her cheeks. One morning she came to me and said: "Take your choice—my aversion or my absence; I can offer no "other conditions." I replied, whilst my tears flowed in a torrent, like the rushing of the pilgrims through the pass of al-Mâzamain (2): "Do not so; if the time for your "aversion or absence come, my death comes also!" In pronouncing these words I seemed to have given her the order to retire, for she arose and hastened to leave me. She then set out with the caravan — may their camels be overwhelmed with fatigue wherever they first alight! (*then I may be able to overtake them.*) The vicissitudes of fortune showed me my life under two aspects; I marked my days with black, and I passed them in lingering agony; each day was for me equal to two nights of affliction. Who then can make me understand the difference between gold and silver? both are to me unknown, so long is it since I saw them, whilst I sought my livelihood by my poetic talent, the worst of menial trades! Such was my case till Ali Ibn al-Husain came (*to my assistance*), and to-day (*for lustre and exaltation*) poetry holds the third rank, being only surpassed by Sirius and Canopus (3).

The *kasîda* from which these verses are taken was composed by Abd al-Muhsin on Ali Ibn al-Husain, the father of the vizir Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn al-Maghribi. Respecting this piece, which is of considerable length and great merit, the following curious anecdote is told: There was in the city of Askalon a man of high rank, called Zû 'l-Mankabatain (*the possessor of the two merits*), to whom a certain poet went one day and recited this piece in his praise; on coming to that part of it where the eulogium is generally introduced, he added:

You are the possessor of every merit; why then confine yourself to two?

The *râis* listened with attention to the verses, and expressed his admiration, after which he gave a considerable reward to the poet; but when the latter withdrew, one of the persons present observed to him, that the poem he had just heard was by Abd al-Muhsin.—"I am aware of that," replied the *râis*, "and I know it by heart." He then recited it, on which the other said to him: "What induced you then to treat that fellow with so much attention and "reward him so generously?" To this the *râis* answered: "I did it solely on "account of that verse which he inserted in the poem, namely: *You are the pos-* "*sessor of every merit, etc.*; it is not Abd al-Muhsin's, and I am perfectly con- "vinced that it could have been made on me only, and it is really very fine."—We shall now give another passage of Abd al-Muhsin's poetry, but must observe that ath-Thaâlibi, in his continuation of the *Yatîma*, attributes it to Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn Abi Hasîn Ali Ibn Abd al-Malik, a native of Rakka (4), and whose father had **429** been kâdi of Aleppo; but as these very verses are to be found in Abd al-Muhsin's *diwân*, and as ath-Thaâlibi sometimes falls into mistakes, attributing pieces to the wrong author, this may perhaps be one of his blunders; the lines are as follow (5):

I stopped at (*an avaricious*) friend's, who suffered as much from my visit as I did from hunger; and I passed the night with him as a guest; such was the decree of fate, so often unjust to the man of noble mind. His reason was troubled by the uneasiness my presence caused him, and he had not well recovered, when he addressed me in these terms: "Why do you travel abroad?" To which I answered: "The Prophet, whose "words always furnish good counsel and lead to prosperity, has said: '*Travel; you* "*will get rich.*'" To this my host replied: "But he ended his saying thus: *fast; you* "*will enjoy good health.*"

The two verses which follow are attributed to him by the author of the *Yatîma*:

> Your generosity has planted a garden of gratitude in my heart; but that garden now suffers from drought; let him who planted it give it water. Hasten to revive it whilst life lingers in its branches; once the shrub is dried up, its verdure cannot be restored.

Happening to pass one day near the tomb of a friend, he recited these lines:

> On passing by thy tomb, I marvelled how my steps had been so well directed towards it. It may seem to thee that I have at length forgotten our mutual acquaintance; ah! how true the words of those who say: "The dead have no friends."

When his mother died he was deeply afflicted, and, on her burial, he pronounced these verses:

> (*The object of my affection is now deposited as*) a pledge underneath the stones in the sandy desert. She is gone! and the ties which held me to her have been broken. I used to weep when she complained of her sufferings; but now I weep because she complains no longer.

This idea is taken from al-Mutanabbi, who says:

> I complain because I no longer feel the pains of sickness; I suffered from them once, but then I had my limbs.

(6) The same thought is thus expressed in a verse of a long *kasîda* composed by Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad, a native of Aleppo, and generally known by the name of Ibn Sinân al-Khafâji (7):

> Others weep over the ruins of the dwellings where their friends once resided! O that I had such a motive to shed tears!

The merits of Abd al-Muhsin are great and numerous; but I am obliged to be concise. He died on Sunday, the 9th of Shawwâl, A. H. 419 (October, A. D. 1028), aged eighty years, or perhaps somewhat more.

(1) As it is impossible to translate this piece literally, I have merely endeavoured to express the thoughts as closely as the different genius of the two languages would permit.

(2) Burckhardt says in his *Travels in Arabia*, vol. II. p. 55: "The Hadj (*body of pilgrims*) passed at a " quick pace in the greatest disorder, amidst a deafening clamour, through the pass of Mazoumeyn, leading



" to Mezdelfe (*Muzdalifa*), where all alighted, after a two hours' march."—In place of مثل الهازمين, as the printed text and the MSS. have it, the autograph bears فوق الوجنتين; the verse would then signify: " I replied, whilst my tears flowed in torrents down my cheeks." This reading was felt by the copyists to be inadmissible on account of the recurrence of the word الوجنتين at the end of two verses coming very close to each other; this is contrary to the rule by which verses ending with the same word must be separated by at least six others. The corrected reading seems to be perfectly warranted.

(3) It is thus I render the word الشعريّين; which is the true reading, and found in the autograph alone. This makes another correction necessary in the same verse: حالية a word pointed variously in the MSS. must be replaced by ثالثة. For the next word كحال I am inclined to adopt لحال; in the autograph it may be read either way. At a later period Ibn Khallikân inserted in the margin an additional line at the end of this piece; it is more or less corrupted in the few manuscripts which reproduce it, and I now give it here correctly after the autograph: اغنى واعفى مدحُه العافين عن كَذب ومَيْن "The act of celebrating his " glory enriches and causes to flourish those who avoid lies and falsehood." It may be observed that I read العافين in this verse.

(4) The *Yatîma* furnishes very little information respecting Ali Ibn Abd al-Malik ar-Rakki, but it appears from that work, that he lived at Aleppo in the reign of Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân, and that he addressed some *kasîdas* to Abû Farâs (*vol. I. p.* 366), who replied to them in the same manner.

(5) In the printed text, the words وله must be suppressed.

(6) I suspect the authenticity of the passage which follows; it is written in the margin of the autograph, but in the handwriting of a person who, if we may judge from the general character of his additions, does not seem to be very exact in his quotations.

(7) Ibn Sinân al-Khafâji, a poet and an elegant scholar, made his literary studies under Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri and other masters, and obtained also a considerable reputation as a traditionist. He died at the castle of Baarân باعران, in the province of Aleppo, A.H. 466 (A.D.1073-4).—(*An-Nujûm az-Zâhira*.)

## AL-HAFIZ AL-OBAIDI.

Abû 'l-Maimûn Abd al-Hamîd, surnamed al-Hâfiz (*the guardian*), was the son of Muhammad Ibn al-Mustansir Ibn az-Zâhir Ibn al-Hâkim Ibn al-Azîz Ibn al-Moizz Ibn al-Mansûr Ibn al-Kâim Ibn al-Mahdi Obaid Allah: we have already spoken of al-Mahdi and some of his descendants. Al-Hâfiz received the oath of fidelity from the people of Cairo as regent and immediate successor to the throne, on the same day in which his cousin al-Aamir was murdered, and he engaged to act in that capacity till the delivery of the female whom al-Aamir had left

430 in a state of pregnancy. Of this last circumstance we shall again speak towards the end of this article. On the same morning, the vizir Abû Ali Ahmad, the son of al-Afdal Shâhanshâh, the son of Amir al-Juyûsh Badr al-Jamâli (1), received from the troops the oath of allegiance to himself, and having proceeded to the palace, he put al-Hâfiz into confinement, took all the authority into his own hands and governed most equitably. He restored to the former possessors the sums which had been extorted from them, and having made open profession of his faith as a follower of the twelve imâms, he rejected the pretensions maintained by al-Hâfiz and the Obaidite family, and caused public prayers to be offered up from the pulpits for the *Kâim, him who is to rise up at the end of time*, and whom, in their mistaken belief, they designate as the *expected imâm* (*al-Imâm al-Muntazir*) (2). By his orders, al-Kaim's name was inscribed on the coinage, and the words *hasten to the excellent work* were omitted in the *izân*, or call to prayer. Things continued in this state, till an officer of the court attacked and slew him in the Great Garden (*al-Bustân al-Kabîr*), outside of Cairo. This event happened on the 15th of Muharram, A. H. 526 (December, A. D. 1131), and was the result of a plot devised by al-Hâfiz. The troops immediately hastened to deliver the prince, and having proclaimed him sovereign under the title of al-Hâfiz, public prayers were offered up for him from all the pulpits of the kingdom. Al-Hâfiz was born at Askalon, in the month of Muharram, A. H. 467 (September, A. D. 1074), and was proclaimed regent on the day in which al-Aamir was murdered. (See his life in this work.) On the death of Ahmad Ibn al-Afdal he received the oath of allegiance as sovereign, and he died towards the close of Sunday eve, the 5th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 544 (October, A. D. 1149); some say, 543. According to another statement, his birth took place on the 13th of Ramadân, A. H. 468. The reason of his being born at Askalon was this: During the severe dearth which afflicted Egypt under the reign of his grandfather al-Mustansir, (and of which we shall mention some particulars in our life of that prince,) his father left the country and retired to Askalon, where he awaited the cessation of the famine and the return of abundance; and it was whilst he resided there that al-Hâfiz was born. This we give on the authority of our master Izz ad-dìn Ibn al-Athìr, who states it as a fact in his great historical work.—Al-Hâfiz and al-Aâdid were the only two sovereigns of that dynasty whose fathers had not reigned before them. (Of al-

Aâdid we have already spoken, *p.* 72). As for al-Hâfiz, his accession to the supreme power resulted from the circumstances which we shall here relate: al-Aâmir died without male children, but left a wife in a state of pregnancy; this caused great agitation among the people of Egypt, and they said: "No "imâm of this family dies without leaving a male child, to whom he transmits "the imâmate by a special declaration; (*what is to be done now?*)" But a declaration to that effect had already been made by him in favour of the child still in the womb, which however happened to be a girl. Then occurred the events of which we have already noticed where we relate what passed between al-Hâfiz and Ahmad Ibn al-Afdal. Al-Hâfiz was therefore declared regent, but, for the reason just stated, the absolute authority attached to the imâmate was withheld from him, as they had resolved on waiting till the child was born.—Al-Hâfiz was subject to violent attacks of cholic, and it was for him that Shîrmâh the Dailamite, or Musa an-Nasrâni (*Moses the Christian*) as some say, made the instrument called *the drum of the cholic*, which was preserved in the treasury of this dynasty till the accession of Salâh ad-dîn, who ordered it to be broken. The history of this drum is well known. I was informed by the grandson of the Shîrmâh above mentioned, that his grandfather had formed it out of the seven metals, which he combined (*successively*) together at the moments in which each of the seven planets reached its point of culmination. The nature of this drum was such that when any person beat it, wind escaped from his body through the natural vent; it was this which rendered it so serviceable in cases of cholic (3).

(1) See vol. I. page 614.

(2) This was equivalent to a declaration that the Fatimites were not the true Imâms, and had no right to the throne. He intended to establish his own sovereignty as protector of the empire till the coming of the *Expected Imâm*. See further details in the *Extraits du Kamel Altewarykh*, published by the *Académie des Inscriptions*, page 393.

(3) It is related by a grave historian, Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi, cited by Abû 'l-Mahâsin in his Nujûm, that one of Salâh ad-dîn's Kurdish soldiers, not being aware of the effects which this drum produced, began to beat it, but immediately experienced its influence to such a degree, that he broke it to pieces in a fit of indignation.

## ABD AL-MUMIN AL-KUMI.

Abû Muhammad Abd al-Mûmin Ibn Ali al-Kaisi (1) al-Kûmi was the sovereign indebted for his authority to the exertions of Muhammad Ibn Tûmart, better known by the name of the Mahdi. Abd al-Mûmin's father, a man of consummate prudence and gravity, held an eminent rank in the tribe of Kûmiya, and sold earthen vessels of his own manufacture. It is related that as he was one day engaged at his usual work, with his child Abd al-Mûmin sleeping near him, he heard a humming in the air, and on looking up, saw a swarm of bees like a dark cloud which descended towards the house and settled on Abd 431 al-Mûmin, so as to cover him entirely, but without awakening him. His mother screamed with terror at the sight, but the father told her that the child was in no danger. "I only wonder," said he, "what this may portend." He then washed the clay off his hands, and having dressed himself, he waited to see what the bees would do. They at length flew away, and the child awoke unharmed; not the least trace of hurt appeared on his body, although his mother examined him carefully, neither did he utter the slightest complaint. There was a man in the neighbourhood noted as a diviner, and to him the father went and related what had occurred. "This boy," said the diviner, "will soon come to "something great; the people of Maghrib will be all united in obedience unto "him." The subsequent history of Abû al-Mûmin is well known (2). I read in a history of Maghrib that Ibn Tûmart had got into his possession the book called *al-Jafr* (3), and that it contained an indication of all that he was to accomplish, of the history of Abd al-Mûmin, of his personal appearance, and of his very name. A considerable time, says this author, was passed by Ibn Tûmart till he at length found Abd al-Mûmin, who was still a boy; and thenceforward he treated him with marked honour and placed him at the head of his disciples. He then communicated to him the secret *(of his destiny)* and proceeded with him to the city of Morocco, which was at that time under the rule of Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Tàshifin, the king of the *al-Mulaththamûm* (4); it would be too long to relate what passed between that prince and him; we shall merely state that the former expelled him from the city, on which he proceeded to the mountains, where he levied troops and gained over to his cause the tribe of

Masmûda. We shall only state in a summary manner, that the Mahdi did not make any conquests, but that it was by means of the troops which he had raised, and of the system which he had organised, that his successor Abd al-Mûmin effected the conquest of that country.—Ibn Tûmart was always predicting the noble qualities which his disciple was to display, and, every time he saw him, he recited these verses:

> You possess in perfection all the qualities with which thou hast been favoured; and hence proceed joy and happiness for us all. Thine is the smiling mouth, the liberal hand, the noble soul, and the open countenance.

I have found these verses attributed to Abû 's-Shis al-Khuzâi, the celebrated poet (5).—The Mahdi Ibn Tûmart used also to say to his disciples: "Your "comrade will be the conqueror of kingdoms." It is not true that he nominated Abd al-Mûmin as his successor; but his disciples judged that the preference which their master showed him was a sufficient intimation of his intention, and they acknowledged him for their chief. It was thus that the authority of Abd al-Mûmin was established. The first city which he took was Oran, then Tilimsen, then Fez, then Salé, and then Ceuta; after these conquests he proceeded to Morocco, which he besieged eleven months, and carried towards the beginning of A.H. 542 (6). Having thus grounded his power, he extended his domination over al-Maghrib al-Aksa, al-Maghrib al-Adna, the other provinces of North Africa, and the greater portion of Spain. He then received the title of Amîr al-Mûminîn, and the poets celebrated his glory in eulogistic poems of the greatest beauty. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn mentions in his *Kharîda* that Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Abbâs, a jurisconsult of Tîfâsh (7), addressed him in a *kasîda* beginning thus:

> Never was a braver deportment seen among the hostile swords and spears than that of the khalif Abd al-Mûmin, the son of Ali.

On hearing this verse, the prince motioned to him that what he had said was quite sufficient, and he ordered him a reward of one thousand gold pieces. When Abd al-Mûmin had established his authority on a solid basis, and had attained an advanced age, he left Morocco and entered Salé, where a violent attack of sickness carried him off. He expired on one of the last ten days (*the*



27*th*) of the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 558 (June, A. D. 1163), after a reign of thirty-three years and some months. It is said that his body was taken to Tînmalil (8), the place mentioned in the life of the Mahdi Muhammad Ibn Tûmart, and there interred. Towards the latter period of his life, he was an aged man with hair completely white. I copy the following passage from an historical work containing an account of his life with a description of his person; it is the author who speaks: "I saw an aged man of upright stature, with a large head, 432 "dark-blue eyes, a bushy beard, callous hands, tall even when seated, with "teeth of the purest white, and a mole on his right cheek." The year of his birth is uncertain; some say A. H. 500 (A. D. 1106-7), and others, A. H. 490. He nominated as successor to the throne his son Abû Abd Allah Muhammad, but the authority of this prince was soon shaken, and himself deposed in the month of Shaabân, in the first year of his reign (9). His brother Yûsuf (whose life shall be given in this life) was then proclaimed sovereign.—*Kûmi* means *belonging to Kûmiya*, a small tribe established on the sea-coast in the province of Tilimsen. Abd al-Mûmin was born at Tâjira, a village in that region.—As for the book called the *Jafr*, it is spoken of by Ibn Kutaiba towards the beginning of his work entitled *Ikhtilâf al-Hadîth*, where he concludes a long dissertation with these words: "And something stranger than the foregoing mode of interpreting is that followed by the Rafidites (10) in their interpretation of the "Koran and their pretended knowledge of its hidden meaning, conveyed to "them by the *Jafr*, a work mentioned in these verses by Saad Ibn Harûn al-Ijli, "the chief of the Zaidites (11):

'Behold the Rafidites torn by dissensions, yet all holding shocking opinions respecting 'Jaafar (12). Some call him an imâm, and others the Immaculate Prophet; but what 'causes my inexpressible astonishment is their volume (*jild*) the *Jafr!*—I renounce 'before God to all the followers of the *Jafr*.'" (13).

There are many more verses in the same piece, but I confine my quotation to these, because they make mention of the *Jafr*, and that is all I require. After giving the whole piece, Ibn Kutaiba continues thus: "This is the *jild* (*volume* "or *skin*) of tne *Jafr*, in which they pretend that the Imâm wrote whatever was "requisite for them to know, and every thing which is to happen till the day "of judgment; but God knoweth best (*if its contents be true*)." I must add that by *the Imâm* they mean Jaafar as-Sâdik (14), him of whom we have already

spoken (*vol. I. p.* 300). Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri alludes to the *Jafr* in the following lines, taken from one of his poems :

> They wonder at the family of the Prophet, because they got their knowledge from the skin of a kid (*jafr*); yet the mirror of the astrologer, small though it be, shows him all the inhabited regions of the world and the deserts.

The word *jafr* signifies *a four months' kid*, at which age its sides swell out (*jafara*) and it quits the dam. The feminine of this word has a final *h* (*a*). In that time it was their custom to write on skins, (*blade-*)bones, potsherds, and all things of that sort.

(1) Abd al-Mûmin bore the surname of al-Kaisi (*descendant from Kais Ibn Ghailân*, or Kais Ailân, *Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maad Ibn Adnân*), because the Berber tribe to which he belonged claimed its descent from the great Arabic stem of Adnân.

(2) See Abû 'l-Fedâ, t. III. p. 399, and the Portuguese translation of Ibn Abd al-Halîm's *Kartâs*, published at Lisbon in 1828 under the title of *Historia dos Soberanos Mohametanos que reinarão na Mauritania.* My edition of Ibn Khaldûn's history of the Berbers will contain full information respecting the origin, organisation, and history of the Muwahhid dynasties. See also the *Extraits du Kamel Altevarykh*, published by the *Académie des Inscriptions*, p. 334.

(3) Of this book Ibn Khallikân will speak farther on.

(4) They were called *al-Mulaththamûn*, because they used to wear a *lithâm*, or bandage, across the lower part of their face, as is still the custom in the deserts from which they originally came. This is the same race which is called the *Almoravites* (*al-Murâbitûn*), or *Almoraves* by European writers.

(5) See vol. I. page 510.

(6) According to Ibn Khaldûn and Ibn Abd al-Halîm, the city of Morocco was taken in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 541 (March, A. D. 1147).

(7) The *kâtib* gives no further information respecting this poet, but the anecdote is mentioned by different historians. Tîfâsh, the ancient *Tipasa*, lies about forty miles to the south of Bona, in North Africa.

(8) Ibn Khallikân writes this name *Tîn Mall*. I follow the African historians. This stronghold was situated to the east of Morocco in the heart of Mount Atlas.

(9) Further particulars respecting Abû Abd Allah Muhammad's reign will be found in the life of his brother Yûsuf Ibn Abd al-Mûmin.

(10) The word *Râfidi* signifies literally, *heretic*; it is applied to designate the different *Shîite* sects.

(11) The Zaidites acknowledged for *Imâm* Zaid, the son of Ali, the son of Husain, the son of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib.

(12) Jaafar the son of Muhammad the son of Ali al-Bâkir was considered by one of the Shîite sects as the true Imâm.

(13) These verses would not lead the reader to suppose that the author himself was a partisan of Jaafar, as Ibn Khaldûn, who calls him Harûn Ibn Saîd al-Ijli has explicitly stated. See an extract from his *Prolegomena*





in M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. II. p. 300. I cannot discover any mention of Said Ibn Harûn in as-Shahrestâni, but feel convinced, from the examination of the verses quoted here as his, that Ibn Khaldûn is mistaken. D'Herbelot has some observations on the *jafr* worthy of notice. See *Bib. Orient.* GEFR U GIAME.

(14) Read الصادق in the printed text.

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## ABU 'L-KASIM AL-ANMATI.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Othmân Ibn Saîd Ibn Bashshâr al-Anmâti, surnamed also al-Ahwal (*the squinter*), an eminent doctor of the Shâfite sect, studied jurisprudence under al-Muzani (*vol. I. p.* 200), and ar-Rabî Ibn Sulaimân al-Murâdi (*vol. I. p.* 519). Amongst his own disciples, he counted Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn Suraij (*vol. I. p.* 46). It was through him that the people of Baghdad were inspired with such ardour as they then showed to procure and learn by heart the writings of as-Shâfi. He states that he heard al-Muzani (1) say: "For the "last fifty years I have read the treatise (*on jurisprudence*) transmitted down "from as-Shâfi, and I do not recollect having read it a single time without "deriving from it a great quantity of information which I did not possess be-"fore." Al-Anmâti died at Baghdad in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 288 (Sept.-Oct. A. D. 901).—Abû Hafs Omar Ibn Ali al-Mutawwii (2) mentions an Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Bashshâr al-Anmâti (*a relation of the preceding*) in his work entitled *Kitâb al-Muzhab fi Zikri Ayimmat il-Mazhab* (*the book with the gilt case, containing an account of the great doctors of the* (Shafite) 433 *sect*).—*Anmâti* means *a maker and seller of anmât*, or bed furniture, such as rugs, mats, pillows, etc. It is the people of Egypt who call them by this name and who give to the seller of such wares the appellation of *Anmâti*.

(1) Read المزني in the printed Arabic text.

(2) It appears from Hajji Khalifa that al-Mutawwii lived before the time of Abû 't-Taiyib Sahl as-Solûki, for he states in his bibliography that the former was the first who composed a *Tabakât* of Shafite doctors, and as-Solûki the second. The life of as-Solûki is given in the first volume of this work, p. 606.

## DIA AD-DIN AL-HADBANI.

Abû Amr Othmân Ibn Isa Ibn Dirbâs Ibn Fir Ibn Jahm Ibn Abdûs al-Hadbâni (1) al-Mârâni, surnamed Diâ ad-din (*splendour of religion*), was one of the most learned doctors of the age in Shafite jurisprudence. He was a brother of the kâdi Sadr ad-din Abû 'l-Kasim Abd al-Malik, *hâkim* (2) of Egypt, and acted as his deputy at Cairo. When a boy, he studied in Arbela under the *shaikh* al-Khidr Ibn Akil, (*vol. I. p.* 488); after which he went to Damascus, where he put himself under the tuition of Abd Allah Ibn Abi Usrûn (*vol.II. p.*32), and acquired a profound knowledge of the general principles of jurisprudence and of Shafite law. The first satisfactory commentary ever composed on Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi's *Muhaddab* was written by him; it forms nearly twenty volumes, but remains incomplete, as the author only went as far as the chapter on evidence, which, with the remaining chapters, he left uncommented: this work he entitled *al-Istiksa li Mazâhib il-Fokahâ* (*diligent examination of the different systems established by the jurisconsults*). He composed also, amongst other works, a full commentary, in two volumes, on Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi's treatise on the general principles of jurisprudence, the *Luma*. (*Some years*) previously to the death of the kâdi Sadr ad-din, an event which occurred on the eve of Wednesday, the 5th of Rajab, A. H. 605 (January, A. D. 1209), he was removed from the place of deputy-*hâkim* and appointed to fill the post of professor in a college founded for him in the Castle of Cairo by the emir Jamal ad-din Khushtorin (3) al-Hakkâri. He held this post during the remainder of his life, and expired at Cairo on the 12th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 602 (June, A. D. 1206), aged nearly ninety years. He was interred in the lesser Karâfa Cemetery. The kâdi Sadr ad-din was buried in the mausoleum bearing his name and situated in the same cemetery. When this kâdi was asked the date of his birth, he indicated the end of the year 516 (A. D. 1123), or the beginning of 517, being in doubt respecting the precise epoch (4).—*Mârâni* means *belonging to the Banû Mârân*, a tribe inhabiting the Murûj (*meadows*) below Mosul (5).

(1) The orthography of this name is fixed by al-Yâfi, but its signification is not given there nor in any of the other works consulted by me. The author of the *Tabakât al-Fokahâ* says that he was a Kurd.



(2) This office appears to have been the same as that of grand kâdi (*Kâdi 'l-Kudât*), but with this additional privilege that the person who filled it possessed uncontrolled executive power as *redresser of grievances*. (*See vol. I. p.* 346.)

(3) This name is written in the autograph خُشتربن. It is so incorrectly transcribed in all the other MSS., that I was unable to fix its true orthography.

(4) The autograph contains the following marginal note: "The sultan Salâh ad-dîn entrusted him with the "kadiship of [all] Egypt, after he had acted as kâdi of al-Gharbiya, one of the provinces in that country. "This nomination took place on the 22nd of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 566; some say 565." This passage is to be found in some of the other MSS., but the date which they give is 586, which I knew, from Ibn Hujr's *Kâdis of Egypt*, to be false. This led me to suppress the passage in the Arabic text, but it shall be given in the appendix.

(5) The *Murûj* of Mosul, called also *Marj Abi Obaida*, lies to the east of the city. It is a low ground, surrounded by hills and covered with meadows and villages.—(*Marâsid*.)

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## TAKI AD-DIN IBN AS-SALAH.

Abû Amr Othmân Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Othmân Ibn Mûsa Ibn Abi 'n-Nasr an-Nasri al-Kurdi as-Shahrozûri (*a descendant of Abû Nasr the Kurd and a native of Shahrozûr*) was a jurisconsult of the sect of as-Shâfi. He bore the surname of Taki ad-din (*pious in religion*) and was generally known by the name of Ibn as-Salâh as-Sharakhâni. This doctor was one of the most eminent men of his time by his deep acquaintance with the sciences of Koranic interpretation, Traditions, jurisprudence, *names of men* (or biography of Traditionists), and every branch of knowledge connected with the Traditions and with the oral transmission of philological learning. He possessed also a considerable degree of information in many other departments of science. His *fatwas*, or legal opinions, were considered of great validity, and he was one of the masters from whose tuition I derived great profit. He made his first studies in jurisprudence under his father as-Salâh (1), who was one of the most distinguished *shaikhs* among the Kurds; he was then taken by his parent to Mosul, where he studied for some time, and I have been told that he had repeatedly gone over the whole of (*Abû Ishâk as-Shîrâzi's*) *Muhaddab* with his masters, before his mustaches were grown. He was then employed at Mosul as an under-tutor by the learned

*shaikh* Imâd ad-dìn Abû Hâmid Ibn Yûnus. After a short stay in that city, he 434 travelled to Khorasân, where he remained for some time, occupied in acquiring a knowledge of the Traditions extant in that country; he then returned to Syria and was appointed professor in the *Nâsiriya* College at Jerusalem, founded by al-Mâlik an-Nâsir Salâh ad-dìn. During his residence in that city he successfully directed numerous pupils in their studies, and he afterwards removed to Damascus, where he obtained the professorship in the college, called the *Rawâhiya* after its founder az-Zaki Abû 'l-Kâsim Hibat Allah Ibn Abd al-Wâhid Ibn Rawâha al-Hamawi (*native of Hamât*), the same person who founded the *Rawâhiya* College at Aleppo. When the *Dâr al-Hadîth* (*or school for teaching the Traditions*) was erected at Damascus by al-Malik al-Ashraf, the son of al-Malik al-Aâdil Ibn Aiyûb, he was nominated to that professorship and taught the Traditions to numbers of pupils; he subsequently became professor in the *Madrasa Sitt as-Shâm*, a college within the city walls, founded by Sitt as-Shâm Zaman Khâtûn, the daughter of Aiyûb and the uterine sister of Shams ad-Dawlat Tûrân Shâh. It lies to the south of (*the hospital founded by Nûr ad-dîn and named after him*) al-Bìmâristân an-Nûri. Sitt as-Shâm erected also the college outside Damascus which contains her tomb, the tomb of her brother, and that of her husband Nâsir ad-dìn, the son of Asâd ad-dìn Shìrkûh, and sovereign of Emessa (2). Ibn as-Salâh held simultaneously those three places and filled with strict punctuality his duties in each, never interrupting the regular course of his lectures unless forced to do so by unavoidable circumstances; he was (*indeed*) firmly grounded in learning and piety. I went to him in the beginning of the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 632 (end of June, A. D. 1235), and resided with him at Damascus for a year, which time I passed in close study. He composed an instructive work on the sciences connected with the Traditions, and another on the rites of the Pilgrimage, in which he treated the subject at length, and inserted many observations useful and requisite to be known. His *Ishkâlât* is an elucidation of the *obscurities* in (*Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli's treatise on jurisprudence, the*) *Wasît*, and his *fatwâs* also have been collected by one of his pupils and form a volume. He continued till the last to lead a righteous life, passed in piety, application to study and assiduity in teaching. His death took place at Damascus on Wednesday morning, the 25th of the latter Râbi, A. H. 643 (September, A. D. 1245); on the afternoon of the same day, the funeral service was said over

him, and he was interred in the cemetery of the Sûfis, outside the gate of Nasr. He was born A. H. 577 (A. D. 1181-2) at Sarakhân.—His father as-Salâh died at Aleppo on the eve of Thursday, the 27th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 618 (Jan. A. D. 1222), and was buried at a place called al-Jebul (3), outside the gate of Arbain (4), in the tomb of the *shaikh* Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Fârisi (5). His birth is placed by approximation in the year 539 (A. D. 1144), as he did not himself know the exact date. He held the professorship in the *Asadiya* College, founded at Aleppo by Asad ad-dîn Shirkûh; before his nomination he had studied at Baghdad, and taken lessons from Sharaf ad-dîn Ibn Abi Usrûn (*page* 32). —*Sharakhân* is a village in the province of Arbela, near Shahrozûr.—Az-Zaki Ibn Rawâha died at Damascus on Tuesday, the 7th of Rajab, A. H. 622 (July, A.D. 1225), and was buried in the cemetery of the Sûfis. It is stated by Shihâb ad-dîn Abd ar-Rahmân Abû Shâma (6), in his Annals, that Ibn Rawâha died A. H. 623.—Sitt as-Shâm, the daughter of Aiyûb, died on Friday, the 16th of Zû'l-Kaada, A. H. 616 (January, A. D. 1220).

(1) From this it appears that his father Abd ar-Rahmân bore the title of Salâh ad-dîn.

(2) See vol. I. pages 285 and 267.

(3) I have printed this name الجبل, but the autograph has الجبّل, an unpronounceable word. It is true that the whole of this passage is in the margin of the autograph and not in the author's handwriting; it must have been inserted however with his authorisation. There exists a village called *al-Jebbûl* الجبول at the distance of eighteen or twenty miles from Aleppo, but it lies to the south-east of the city, whereas the gate of Arbâin is on the north side of it.

(4) In the Arabic text I have printed *al-Arbain* on the authority of some of my MSS. and on that of Russel. See *History of Aleppo*, vol. I. p. 13, note.

(5) In the autograph this name is so indistinctly written, that it may be read *al-Fâsi* الفاسي.

(6) The *shaikh* and *imâm* Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd ar-Rahman Ibn Ismail Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Othmân, surnamed Shihâb ad-dîn (*flambeau of religion*), was a jurisconsult, a grammarian, a teacher of the *readings* of the Koran, an historian, and a traditionist. He was generally known by the name of Abû Shâma because he had a large *mole* on the left temple. He was born at Damascus in one of the months of Rabî, A. H. 599 (*end of* A. D. 1202); before attaining the age of ten years he had mastered all the Koran, and at the age of sixteen he had acquired a perfect acquaintance with the art of koran-reading, under as-Sakhâwi (*see his life in this volume*). One of his masters was Ibn as-Salâh. Ad-Dahabi says that he wrote a great deal on different branches of science, and that he possessed great abilities as a doctor, a professor, and a *mufti*. He died at Damascus in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 665 (June, A. D. 1267). His principal works are a commentary on the *Shâtibiya* (*see the life of Ibn Firro in this volume*); two abridgments of the history of Damascus, the first in fifteen volumes, and the second in five; a commentary on as-Sakhâwi's *kasîdas* in honour of the Pro-

phet; the *Kitâb ar-Raudatain* or *Two Gardens*, containing the history of Nûr ad-dîn and Salâh ad-dîn (a copy of which important work is in the *Bib. du Roi*); a continuation of the preceding; a treatise on dogmatic theology; an introduction to grammar; a versified edition of az-Zamakhshari's *Mufassal*, etc. He left many other works, but unfinished.—(*Tab. as-Shâfiyîn.*)

## IBN JINNI.

Abû 'l-Fath Othmân Ibn Jinni, a native of Mosul, was one of the great masters in the science of grammar. He studied the belles-lettres under Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi (*vol. I. p.* 379), and, on quitting him, he commenced as teacher in Mosul. His former master, happening to pass through the city, saw him surrounded by pupils at their lessons, on which he said to him: "You are rotten before you "are ripe (1)." On hearing these words he abandoned his class, and became the assiduous disciple of Abû Ali till he acquired a perfect knowledge of the science. His father Jinni was a Greek slave belonging to Sulaimân Ibn Fahd Ibn Ahmad al-Azdi, a native of Mosul, and to this circumstance he alludes in the following passage from one of his poems: 435

Were I sprung from nothing, my learning would be a title of nobility. But I come of princes powerful and noble, Cæsars, whose voice silenced the threats of adversity. For them the Prophet prayed (2), and the prayer of a prophet is glory sufficient.

He composed some fine poetry. The following lines of his indicate that he had only one eye, which is said to have been really the case; but some attribute them to Abû Mansûr ad-Dailami:

Thy rigour towards me who have committed no fault denotes an evil intention. I swear by thy life! that I wept till I felt afraid for my single eye. And yet were it not that I should never see thee again, it would be no advantage for me to preserve my sight.

I saw a *kasîda* of his, in which he laments the death of al-Mutanabbi, and I would give it here were it not so long.—As for Abû Mansûr ad-Dailami, better known as Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Mansûr, he was the son of a soldier in the service of Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân, and was a good but licentious poet. He

also had but one eye, and on this defect he composed some fine verses, such as these:

O you have no witnesses to prove that you were in love! know that mine are my eyes, with which I wept till one of them was lost. And yet how strange it is, that the eye which I have still remaining, abstains (3).

He made also the following ingeniously turned verse on a handsome boy who had but one eye:

He has one eye which strikes all eyes (*with admiration*), and another which was struck by (*evil*) eyes.

Ibn Jinni composed a number of instructive works on the science of grammar, namely: the *Kitâb al-Khasâis* (*on the principles of grammar*); the *Sirr as-Sanâat* (*secret of the art*); the *Munsif* (*impartial*), intended to elucidate Abû Othmân al-Mâzini's (*vol. I. p.* 264) treatise on the declensions and conjugations; the *Talkîn* (*instruction*); the *Taâkub* (*mutual succession*); the *Kâfi* (*sufficient*), being a commentary on al-Akhfah's treatise on rhyme (*vol. I. p.* 573); a work on the genders; a treatise on the nouns ending with a short *elif* and those ending with a long one; the *Tamâm* (*completion*), being a commentary on the poems of the Hudailites; the *Manhaj* (*highway*), treating of the derivation of those proper names which occur in the *Hamâsa*; a concise treatise on prosody; another on rhyme; *al-Masâil al-Khâtiriyât* (*questions incidentally suggested*); *at-Tazkira tal-Isbahâniya* (*memorial of Ispahân*); extracts from Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi's *Tazkira*, selected and put in order; the *Muktadib* (*rough draught*), treating of the *concave* verbs; the *Luma* (*flashes*); the *Tanbîh* (*warning*); the *Muhaddab* (*regularly drawn up*); the *Tabsira* (*elucidation*); etc. It is said that the *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi borrowed from him the titles of his own works, for he also composed a *Muhaddab* and a *Tanbîh*, but on jurisprudence, and a *Luma* and a *Tabsira* on the principles of jurisprudence. Another work of Ibn Jinni's is the *Fasr* (*disclosure*) (4), forming a commentary on the *Diwân* of al-Mutanabbi, which work he had read through under the tuition of the author. In this commentary I read the following passage: "A person once asked al-Mutanabbi why, in his verse, *Bâdîn* 436 "*hawâka sabarta am lam tasbirâ* (*suffer as you may, with firmness or with impatience, you cannot conceal your love*), he wrote the word *tasbirâ* تصبرا with a

"final *elif*, notwithstanding the presence of the apocopating particle *lam*, which "required *tasbir* تصبر. To this he answered: 'Were Abû 'l-Fath here'—mean- "ing me—'he would tell you the reason.'"—The *elif* replaces here the simple corroborative *nûn;* the original form of the word is *tasbiran* تصبرن, but when this *nûn* is followed by a full stop, an *elif* is put in its place; it is thus that al-Aasha says: *Adore not Satan, adore God; (la tâbudi 's-Shaitâna wa 'llaha fâbudâ)* فاعبدا; here the original form of the word is *fâbudan* فعبدن, but the subsequent stop brings in the *elif* ا to replace the *nûn*. Ibn Jinni was born at Mosul some time before A. H. 330 (A.D. 941); he died at Baghdad on Friday, the 27th of Safar, A. H. 392 (January, A. D. 1002).

(1) Such appears to be the meaning of the expression زببت وانت حصرم, which signifies literally: You give out must although you are an unripe grape.

(2) This may be an allusion to the satisfaction expressed by Muhammad on learning how favourably his letter, in which he invited the emperor Heraclius to embrace Islamism, had been received by that prince. Or perhaps it may refer to the lively interest which Muhammad took in the triumph of the Greeks over the Persians; an event which the Moslims pretend was foretold in the Koran many years before. See *Surat* 30.

(3) It abstained from the pleasure of seeing the beloved, lest her charms should have deprived it of sight.

(4) The title of this work is written differently in each of the MSS. I discovered it at length in the *Fihrist*, and the autograph gives it with the vowel points.

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## ABU AMR IBN AL-HAJIB.

Abû Amr Othmân Ibn Omar Ibn Abi Bakr (1), surnamed Jamâl ad-dîn (*beauty of religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Hâjib (*the son of the chamberlain*), was a jurisconsult of the sect of Mâlik. His father was a Kurd and served the emir Izz ad-dîn Musak as-Salâhi in the capacity of a chamberlain. His son Abû Amr was yet a boy when he studied the Koran at Cairo; he then applied himself successively to Malikite jurisprudence, Arabic grammar, and the *readings* of the Koran, sciences in all the branches of which he acquired a consummate knowledge and attained distinction. He then proceeded to Damascus, where he opened a class in that corner of the Great Mosque

which is appropriated to the Malikites. Multitudes attended his lessons, and nothing could abate his zeal as a professor. He was deeply versed in a great number of sciences, but grammar became his favourite study. His (*principal*) works are an abridgment of the Malikite doctrines, a short introduction to grammar, entitled the *Kâfiya* (*sufficient*), and a treatise of a similar kind on the grammatical inflexions, entitled *as-Shâfiya* (*satisfactory*); to illustrate each of these works, he composed a commentary. He wrote also on the principles of jurisprudence, and all his productions are highly elegant and instructive. He contradicted the grammarians on some particular points and quoted, to confute them and bring their rules into doubt, examples (*from ancient authors*) extremely difficult to solve: he was (*indeed*) gifted with great penetration. Having left Damascus, he returned to Cairo, where he settled, and had crowds of pupils who assiduously attended his lessons. (*When I was a kâdi there*) he came before me repeatedly to give evidence, and I then questioned him on obscure points of grammar, to which he made most satisfactory replies, with great sedateness of manner and complete self-possession. One of the questions which I proposed to him was relative to the incidental conditional phrase employed in another phrase of the same kind, as it occurs in this expression: *in akalti in sharabti faânti tâliku* (*wife! if you eat* (*if you drink*), *you are divorced by the fact!* (2) and I asked him how it could be shown that, in this phrase, the priority of the act of drinking to that of eating is implicitly declared; and that such is the case is proved by the fact that the divorce then takes place (*by law*), whereas had she eaten first and drunk afterwards, she would not have been divorced. I consulted him also on this verse of al-Mutanabbi's:

> I endeavoured to support my woes till I could endure them no longer (*lâta mustabari*), and I faced every danger till no more remained for me to face (*lâta muktahami*).

Respecting this verse, I asked him what was the reason that *mustabar* and *muktaham* were here in the genitive, although *lâta* is not one of those parts of speech which have the power of governing a noun in that case? On both these questions he spoke at some length and gave an excellent solution to each; and were his answers not so long, I would give them here (3). Ibn al-Hâjib afterwards removed to Alexandria with the intention of taking up his residence there, but he had not been long in that city, when he died. This event took place

after sunrise on Thursday, the 26th of Shawwâl, A. H. 646 (February, A. D. 1249), and he was buried outside the gate which opens towards the sea (*Bab al-Bahr*). His birth took place towards the end of the year 570 (A. D. 1175) at *Asna*, a small village in the dependencies of al-Kûsiya, which place is situated in Upper Sâid, a province of Egypt.

(1) The following passage is written in the margin of the autograph: ابن يونس الدُوَنى ثم المصرى "Ibn Yunûs ad-Duwani al-Misri (*native of Egypt*)." *Ad-Duwani* probably signifies *belonging to Devin* دوين or *Tovin*, a town in Armenia.—It may however mean *belonging to Dunâk* دونق, a village near Nahâwend, or to *Dûn*, a village near Dînawar.

(2) This phrase signifies: *Wife! if you eat when drinking, you are divorced.* The solution of numerous questions similar to this is given in the *Futawa Alemgiri*, vol. I. p. 579 *et seq.*

(3) The commentators on al-Mutanabbi say that in the expression *lâta mustabari* the noun حين is understood, it is therefore equivalent to لات حين مصطبر.

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## AL-MALIK AL-AZIZ THE SON OF SALAH AD-DIN.

Abû 'l-Fath Othmân, surnamed al-Malik al-Azîz Imâd ad-dîn (*the mighty prince, column of the faith*), acted as viceroy of Egypt during the absence of his father, the sultan Salâh ad-dîn Yûsuf Ibn Aiyûb, in Syria. On the demise of his father at Damascus, he took possession of the supreme power with the unanimous consent of the great military officers of the empire. This is an event so well known that any relation of it is unnecessary (1). His conduct as a sovereign was marked by such piety, virtue, magnanimity, and beneficence, as entitled him to the reputation of sanctity. He learned Traditions at Alexandria from the *hâfiz* as-Silafi (*vol. I. p.* 86) and the jurisconsult Abû 't-Tâhir Ibn Aûf az-Zuhri (2); at Cairo he received lessons from the learned grammarian Abû Muhammad Ibn Bari (*vol. II. p.* 70), and other eminent masters. It is said that his father preferred him to all his other children. Al-Malik al-Azîz was in Syria when his son al-Malik al-Mansûr Nâsir ad-dîn Muhammad came into the world; and the letter of congratulation which al-Kâdi al-Fâdil (*vol. II. p.* 111) wrote 437

to him from Cairo, announcing the happy event, was worded in these terms: "The humble servant of our master al-Malik an-Nâsir kisses the ground before "him, and prays God to preserve his well directed and exemplary life! may "He increase his happiness for the happiness of others! may the number of his "friends, servants, and followers be multiplied so that his authority have "therein an arm of might! may God so augment the abundance of his off- "spring that it may be said: *There is the Adam of kings, and these are his sons!* "His servant now informs him that the Almighty, to whom all dominion be- "longeth, hath favoured him, al-Malik al-Azîz, (may his arms be triumphant!) "with a signal blessing, a young prince, pure and holy, sprung from a gene- "rous stock the branches of which are engrafted one on the other, and pro- "duced by a noble family of which the princes are nearly equal to the angels "of heaven, and of which the slaves are sovereigns on this earth." Al-Malik al-Azîz was born at Cairo on the 8th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 567 (January, A. D. 1172). (*His death was the result of an accident;*) having gone to (*the province of*) al-Faiyûm, he rode out to hunt, and as he was gallopping full speed after a beast of chase, his horse fell with him, and the injury which he sustained brought on a fever: he was borne in that state to Cairo, and he died there on the seventh hour of the night preceding Wednesday, the 21st of Muharram, A.H. 595 (November, A. D. 1198). This event was announced to his uncle al-Malik al-Aâdil in a letter of consolation addressed to him by al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil, and a passage of which we shall transcribe here: "And we now say, in bid- "ding farewell to the blessing of al-Malik al-Azîz's existence: *There is no power* "*and no might but in God!* the words of those who endure with resignation;— "and we say moreover, inasmuch as a blessing still subsisteth among us by "the existence of al-Malik al-Aâdil: *Praise be to God, the lord of all creatures!* "the words of those who utter thanksgiving.—From this unfortunate event "has resulted that every heart is broken, and that the extreme of affliction is "drawn (*down upon us*); an occurrence such as this is for every individual (and "especially for those who resemble your humble servant,) one of death's most "effective admonitions,—and how much the more effective when exemplified "in the fate of a youthful king! May the mercy and blessing of God be shed "over his countenance; and may the Divine favour make easy for him the path "to paradise!

"And when the beauty of other countenances is effaced (*by death*), may the earth ab-
"stain from obliterating the beauty of his.

"Thy humble servant, whilst he thus traces these lines in respectful duty, is "undergoing the combined sufferings of mind and body; having pains in the "limbs, and sadness parching the heart! he is the more afflicted by the loss of "such a master, as it was not long since that he saw the father of that master "among the living; each day his grief has been renewed, and the first wound "was scarcely healed when it was opened by a second! May God not deprive "the Moslims of the consolation which they find in the existence of their "sultan al-Malik al-Aâdil! inasmuch as he hath not refused to them a befitting "model of patience in the conduct of their blessed Prophet."— Al-Malik al-Aziz was buried in the lesser Karâfa, in the sepulchral chapel erected over the grave of the imâm as-Shâfi. His tomb is a conspicuous object in that cemetery.

(1) See Abû 'l-Fedâs *Annals;* tom. IV. p. 133 *et seq.*

(2) Abû't-Tâhir Ismail Ibn Makki Ibn Ismail Ibn Isa Ibn Aûf az-Zuhri al-Korashi al-Iskandarâni (*a member of the tribe of Zuhra, which is a branch of that of Kuraish and a native of Alexandria*), surnamed also Sadr al-Islâm (*centre of Islamism*), was a doctor of the sect of Mâlik and a *mufti* of the highest consideration. He studied jurisprudence under Abû Bakr at-Tortûshi, and he learned Traditions from him, Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad ar-Râzi, and others. The *hâfiz* as-Silafi took notes at his lectures and gave Traditions on his authority. He was esteemed one of the most learned doctors of his sect, and the sultan Salâh ad-dîn studied Mâlik's treatise on jurisprudence, the *Muwatta*, under him. He composed a number of works and educated many disciples. This doctor was highly respected for his piety and mortified life. He was born A.H. 485 (A. D. 1092), and he died in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 581 (November, A. D. 1185).—(As-Soyûti's *Husn al-Muhâdira;* MS. 652, fol. 118. Ad-Dahabi's *Annals;* MS. 753, fol. 1 Al-Yâfi's *Annals;* MS. 644.)

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## THE *SHAIKH* ADI IBN MUSAFIR AL-HAKKARI.

The *shaikh* Adi Ibn Musâfir al-Hakkâri was an ascetic, celebrated for the holiness of his life, and the founder of a religious order called after him *al-Adawia*. His reputation spread to distant countries and the number of his followers in- 438



creased to an immense multitude. Their belief in his sanctity was so excessive that, in saying their prayers they took him for their *kibla* (1) and imagined that, for the next life, they would have in him their most precious treasure and their best support. Before this, he had followed as a disciple a great number of eminent *shaikhs* and men remarkable for their holiness; he then retired from the world and fixed his residence in the mountain of the Hakkâri tribe, near Mosul, where he built a cell (*or monastery*) and gained the favour of the people in that country to a degree unexampled in the history of the anchorites. It is said that the place of his birth was a village called Bait Fâr, situated in the province of Baalbek, and that the house in which he was born is still visited (*as a place of sanctity*). He died A.H. 557 (A.D. 1162), or, as some say, A. H. 555, in the town where he resided, [in the Hakkâri country,] and was interred in the monastery which he had erected. His tomb is much frequented, being considered by his followers as one of the most sacred spots to which a pilgrimage can be made. His descendants continue to wear the same distinctive attire as he did and to walk in his footsteps; the confidence placed in their merits is equal to that formerly shown to their ancestor, and like him they are treated with profound respect. Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mustawfi (2) notices the *shaikh* Adi in his history of Arbela, and places him in the list of those persons who visited that city. Muzaffar ad-din, the sovereign of Arbela, said that, when a boy, he saw the *shaikh* Adi at Mosul: according to him, he was a man of middle size and tawny complexion; he related also many circumstances indicative of his great sanctity The *shaikh* died at the age of ninety years.

(1) See vol. I. page 37, note (3).

(2) His life is given in this volume.

## ORWA IBN AZ-ZUBAIR.

Abû Abd Allah Orwa Ibn az-Zubair, surnamed al-Kurashi al-Asadi (*a descendant of Asad and a member of the tribe of Koraish*), was one of the seven great jurisconsults of Medîna (we have already noticed five of them in this work under the proper heads). His father az-Zubair Ibn al-Awwâm was one of the ten companions to whom Muhammad declared that they should enter paradise. Az-Zubair was the son of al-Awwâm Ibn Khuwailid Ibn Asad Ibn Abd al-Ozza Ibn Kusai Ibn Kilâb (the rest of the genealogy is well known) (1), and of Safiya, the paternal aunt of the Prophet. The mother of Orwa was Asmâ the daughter of Abû Bakr as-Siddik; the same who was surnamed *Zât an-Nitâkain* (*the wearer of the two girdles*) (2), and designated as one of the old women of paradise (3). Orwa was the uterine brother of Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair; the third brother, Musâb, being born of another woman. He has handed down a particular manner of reading certain words (*hurûf*) of the Koran, and he received Traditions from his maternal aunt, Aâisha, the Mother of the faithful. Ibn Shihâb az-Zuhri and others (4) have given Traditions on his authority. Orwa was a man of learning and holy life; when in Syria with al-Walîd Ibn Abd al-Malik, a mortification settled in his foot and he was obliged to have it amputated. The operation was performed in the room where al-Walîd was sitting, but as his attention was engaged by persons who were conversing with him, and as Orwa made not the slightest movement, he was not aware what was doing till he perceived the smell caused by the hot iron which had been applied to the wound (5). This fact is mentioned by Ibn Kutaiba in his *Kitâb al-Maârif.* That same night, Orwa did not omit reciting his usual task of prayers. It is related that when he was making this visit (*to Syria*), his son Muhammad died, and that, on his return to Medîna, he merely said: "We have had sufferings in "our journey." He survived the amputation of his foot eight years. (6) On the death of his brother Abd Allah, he went to Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân and said to him one day: "I wish you to give me the sword which belonged to my "brother Abd Allah."—"It is (*in the armoury*)," answered the khalif, "with "the other swords, and I should not know it amongst them."—"Let them be "brought here," replied Orwa, "and I will point it out." By Abd al-Malik's

orders the swords were brought in, and Orwa selected from among them one very much hacked on the edge. "Did you know it before?" said the prince.— "No," replied the other.—"How then have you recognised it?"—"By these "words of the poet an-Nâbigha:

"Their only fault lies in their swords, which are broken-edged with striking hostile "squadrons"

It was this Orwa who dug the well at Medina which bears his name; none 439 of the other wells in the city furnish better water than it does. He was born A.H. 22 (A.D. 642-3); but some say A.H. 26. He died A.H. 93 (A.D. 711-2), or A.H. 94, at Fura (7), a village belonging to him and situated near Medina. Fura was also the place of his interment, according to (*Muhammad*) Ibn Saad. The year 94 was called *the year of the jurisconsults* (8). We shall speak of his son Hishâm.—The following anecdote is related by (*Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Muhammad*) al-Otbi: Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân, Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair, and his two brothers Musâb and Orwa were assembled together within the precincts of the Sacred Temple (*at Mekka*) at the time in which they acknowledged the authority of Moawia Ibn Abi Sofyân (9), when one of them exclaimed: "Come, let us each make a wish (10)." On this Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair said: "My wish is to possess the two Holy Cities and obtain the kha-"lifate."—"Mine," said Musâb, "is to possess the two Iraks and to have for "wives the two pearls of the tribe of Kuraish, Sukaina the daughter of al-Husain (11) and Aâisha the daughter of Talha (12)."—"My wish," said Abd al-Malik, "is to possess all the earth and succeed to Moawia."—Orwa then said: "I care not for those things which you desire; my wish is self-mortifi-"cation in this life, the possession of paradise in the next, and the honour "of being one of those whose authority will be cited as transmitters of the "science of the law." The vicissitudes of time effected at length the fulfilment of their wishes; and Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân used to say: "If any one has a "desire to see a man (*who will be*) one of the inhabitants of paradise, let him "look at Orwa Ibn az-Zubair."

(1) Kilâb was the son of Murra Ibn Kaab Ibn Luwai Ibn Ghalib Ibn Fihr Kuraish.

(2) Asma was called *Zât an-Nitâkain* from her having torn her girdle in two that she might tie up, with

the pieces, the bag of provisions and the water-skin which Muhammad and Abû Bakr were taking with them when they fled from Mekka to Medîna. Her death occurred A. H. 73 (A. D. 692-3).—(Al-Yâfi. Matthew's *Mishkât*, vol. II. p. 745. MS. 855, fol. 13.)

(3) I have not been able to discover the origin of this appellation.

(4) Read in the printed text: ابن شهاب الزهري وغيره. The other reading, although borne out by manuscripts of good repute, is evidently incorrect.

(5) In eastern countries the stump of the amputated limb is seared with a hot iron or plunged into boiling pitch, in order to stop the hemorrhage.

(6) Here a note in the autograph refers the copyists to a *takhrîja*, (*extract* or *fly-leaf*), containing probably some additional information. This fly-leaf must have been lost at an early period, since its contents have not been inserted in any of the subsequent manuscripts.

(7) The author of the Marâsid says: *Fura*, pronounced by some *Furua*, is the name of a village in the canton of ar-Rabada, and on the road leading to Mekka. It lies at the distance of eight posts برد from Medîna, or, it is said, four days' journey.—He says of ar-Rabada الربذة that it is a village three miles اميال from Medîna. —Here for اميال *miles*, we must perhaps read ليال *nights*.

(8) See vol. I. page 263.

(9) The precise period of this event is uncertain.

(10) It is supposed by Moslims that the wishes made in the temple of Mekka are generally fulfilled.

(11) See vol. I. page 581.

(12) Aâisha was the daughter of Talha Ibn Obaid Allah at-Taimi and of Umm Kulthûm, the daughter of the khalif Abû Bakr. On her marriage with Musâb Ibn az-Zubair, her husband settled on her a dowry of one hundred thousand dinars. She died A. H. 123 (A. D. 740-1).—(*Nujûm*.)

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## RUKN AD-DIN AT-TAWUSI.

Abû 'l-Fadl al-Irâki Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Irâki al-Kazwîni, surnamed Rukn ad-dîn (*column of the faith*), and generally known by the appellation of at-Tâwûsi, was an imâm of great abilities and a controvertist of the highest talent. He studied controversy under the Hanifite doctor Rida ad-dîn an-Naisâpûri (1), the author of the *Tarîkat fi 'l-Khilâf* (*system of controversy*), and attained great skill in this science. He drew up on it three *Tâlîkas*, one of them an abridgment, the other a *Medium* treatise, and the third a full exposition. Students flocked to Hamadân from countries far and near, that they might place themselves under the tuition of such a master, and it was by them that his *Tâlîkas* were put down in writing. A college called the *Hâjibiya* was built for

him at Hamadân by the *hâjib*, or chamberlain, Jamâl ad-din (2). His *Medium* treatise is better than the two others, because he displays in it more legal knowledge and furnishes more abundant information; at the present day, this work is more generally studied than any other on the same subject. The reputation of the author spread abroad, and his systems of controversy were introduced into distant countries. He died at Hamadân on the 14th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 600 (February, A. D. 1204).—I do not know, neither does as-Samâni mention, the derivation of the word *Tâwûsi*; but I have heard a number of jurisconsults, who were his fellow-countrymen, say that this surname is borne by a great many persons in Kazwin, and that they all claim to be descended from the *tâbî* Tâwûs Ibn Kaisân (*vol. I. p.* 642); at-Tâwûsi may perhaps be one of those.

(1) It appears from the *Tabakât al-Hanafiya* that Rida ad-dîn an-Naisâpûri composed two works, the *Tarîka fi 'l-Khilâf* and the *Makârim al-Akhlâk*. Hajji Khalifa notices them both, but furnishes no information respecting their author. I do not think that this doctor was the same person as the Muwaiyad an-Naisâpûri surnamed Rida ad-dîn, whose life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(2) Hamadân ceased to be the capital of Irâk on the fall of the Seljuk dynasty there, A. H. 590. It was most probably before that year that the chamberlain Jamâl ad-dîn built the college in question. He must therefore have been in the service of the sultan Arslân, who died A. H. 571, or of his son Toghrul, who fell in the battle with Tukush Khân, sultan of Khowârezm, A. H. 590.

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## SHAIZALA.

Abû 'l-Maâli Azìzi Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Mansûr al-Jili (1), generally known by the name of Shaizala, was an able doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and an eminent preacher; highly distinguished by the elegance of his language, the unction of his style, and his well-stored memory. He drew up some works on jurisprudence, the principles of the Moslim religion, and pulpit oratory; he collected also a great quantity of poetry composed by the Arabs of the desert. The place of kâdi in the suburb of al-Azaj at Baghdad was filled by him for some time, and he was remarkable for the perspicacity of his judgment. He had learned

a great quantity of Traditions from many masters, and he professed openly the doctrines of al-Ashari. One of his sayings was this: "It was said to Moses: 440 "*Thou shalt not see me* (2), because he was told to look at the mountain and "did so. Then it was said to him: *O thou who seekest to see us, why look at any* "*thing else?*" He recited, on this idea also, the following verses:

> O you who pretend, in word, to be a sincere friend and brother; did you say the truth, you would not look at any other but me! You have walked the path of one who loved me, but you chose another object for the sincerity of your attachment; shame! how can a heart love equally two persons?

Shaizala died at Baghdad on Friday, the 17th of Safar, A. H. 494 (December, A. D. 1100), and was interred outside the Abrez Gate, opposite the tomb of Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi.—*Shaizala* was a surname which he received, but its signification is unknown to me.

(1) See vol. II. page 172, note (2).
(2) Koran, surat 7, verse 139.




## ATA IBN ABI RABAH.

Abû Muhammad Atâ Ibn Abi Rabâh Aslam (or Sâlim) Ibn Safwân was a mulatto, born at al-Janad, and a *mawla* to the Fihr family of Mekka, or to the family of Jumah: some, however, consider him as a *mawla* to Abû Maisara al-Fihri. He held a high rank at Mekka as a jurisconsult, a *tâbî*, and a devout ascetic, and he derived (*his knowledge of the law and the Traditions*) from the lips of Jâbir Ibn Abd Allah al-Ansâri (1), Abd Allah Ibn Abbâs (*vol. I. p.* 89), Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair, and many others of Muhammad's companions. His own authority as a traditionist was cited by Amr Ibn Dinâr (*vol. I. page* 580), az-Zuhri (2), Katâda (3), Mâlik Ibn Dinâr (4), al-Aamash (*vol. I. p.* 587), al-Auzâi (*vol. II. p.* 84), and a great number of others who had heard him teach. The office of *mufti* at Mekka devolved to him and to Mujâhid (*vol. I. p.* 568, *n.* 8),

and was filled by them whilst they lived. Katâda declared him to be the most learned of all men in the rites of the pilgrimage, and Ibrahim Ibn Omar Ibn Kaisân said: "I remember that, in the time of the Omaiyides, a crier was "ordered by them to proclaim to the pilgrims that no one should apply for "*fatwas* to any person but Atâ Ibn Abi Rabâh." It is to him that the poet alludes in these lines:

Ask the *mufti* of Mekka if it be a crime in him whose heart is inflamed with love, to visit the object of his passion and clasp her in his arms?—The *mufti* replied: "God "forbid that piety should refuse to bleeding hearts the means of closing their wounds."

When these two verses were repeated to him, he exclaimed (*with great simplicity*): "By Allah! I never said any such thing." (5) It has been handed down by doctors of our sect (*the Shâfite*) that Atâ held it lawful to have commerce with female slaves when their masters authorised it; and Abû 'l-Futûh al-Ijli (*vol. I. p.* 191) inserts the following observation on this subject in his elucidation of the obscure passages in the *Wasît* and the *Wajîz*, where he explains the third chapter of the section on deposits: "It is related that Atâ "sent his female slaves to his guests." But in my opinion this is highly improbable, for even were it considered lawful, jealousy and manly feelings would prevent it; and how could an illustrious imâm like him be even suspected of such a thing: my only motive for speaking of it here is the singularity of the doctrine itself.—Atâ was black in colour, blind of an eye, flat-nosed, having the use of only one arm, lame of a leg, and woolly-haired; when advanced in life he lost the use of his sight. Sulaimân Ibn Rafi said: "I "went into the Sacred Mosque and saw all the people assembled around some "person, and on looking to see who it was, behold! there was Atâ sitting on "the ground and looking like a black crow." He died A.H. 115 (A.D. 733-4); some say 114, at the age of eighty-eight years. It is related, however, by Ibn Abi Laila (6) that Atâ performed the pilgrimage seventy times and lived to the

441 age of one hundred.—Al-Janad is the name of a well known town in Yemen, which has produced many learned men.

(1) Abû Abd Allah Jâbir Ibn Abd Allah as-Salami al-Ansari (*a member of the tribe of Salima and one of the* Ansârs) embraced Islamism one year before the first pact made with Muhammad at al-Akaba (*Abulfedæ*



*Annales*, tom. I. p. 53), and was present at the second. He died A.H. 78 (A.D. 697-8), aged ninety-four years. —(*Nujûm*. *Siar as-Salaf*.)

(2) The life of az-Zuhri will be found amongst those of the Muhammads.

(3) The life of Katâda is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(4) His life will be found in this work.

(5) In the autograph the word تلاسق is written with a *domma* on the last letter, which indicates it to be in the nominative case. Were this reading admitted, the verse would signify: "God forbid that the closing "up of the wounds in bleeding hearts should destroy piety;" and the point of the anecdote would be lost.

(6) This is the Muhammad Ibn Abi Laila whose life will be found further on. He must not be confounded with the Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abi Laila whose life has been given page 84 of this volume, and who was his father.

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## AL-MUKANNA AL-KHORASANI.

Al-Mukannâ al-Khorâsâni (*the veiled* impostor *of Khorasân*), whose real name was Atâ, but whose father's name is unknown to me, began his life as a fuller at Marw. Having acquired some knowledge of (*natural*) magic and incantations, he pretended to be animated by the divinity, which had passed to him by transmigration, and he said to his partisans and followers: "Almighty God "entered into the figure of Adam, and it was for that reason that he told the "angels to adore Adam, *and they adored him except Iblîs, who proudly refused* (1), "and who thus justly merited the divine wrath. From the figure of Adam, "God passed into that of Noah, and from Noah to each of the prophets suc-"cessively, and of the sages, till he appeared in the figure of Abû Muslim al-"Khorâsâni (*vol. II. p.* 100), from whom he passed into me." His assertions having obtained belief with some people, they adored him and took up arms in his defence, notwithstanding the horrible extravagance of his pretensions and the deformity of his person. He was low in stature, ill made, blind of an eye, and a stutterer; he never let his face be seen, but always *veiled* it with a mask of gold, and it was from this circumstance that he received his name. The influence which he exercised over the minds of his followers was acquired by the delusive miracles which he wrought in their sight by means of magic and incantations. One of the deceptions which he exhibited to them was the image

of a moon, which rose so as to be visible to the distance of a two months' journey, after which it set; and he thus inspired them with the firmest belief in his words. It is to this moon that Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri (*vol. I. p. 94*) alludes in the following line:

> Awake (*from the delusions of love*)! that full moon (2) whose head is shrouded in a veil is a false and delusive object, like the moon of the veiled impostor.

This verse forms part of a long *kasîda*. Abû 'l-Kâsim Hibat Allah Ibn Sinâ al-Mulk, another poet whose life we shall give in this work, speaks of this moon also in a long poem of his, where he says:

> Beware! the veiled (*impostor's*) rising moon is not more pregnant with magic than the glances of that turbaned moon.

When the reputation of al-Mukannâ's conduct became public, the people rose up against him and laid siege to the castle which served him as a place of refuge. Perceiving that death was inevitable, he assembled his women and gave them a poisoned drink; after which he swallowed a draught of the same liquor and expired. On entering the castle, the Moslims put all his followers to the sword. This occurred A. H. 163 (A. D. 779-80): may God's curse be upon him! and may God protect us from deceptions!—I never found the name or the situation of this castle mentioned by any person, till I read in Shihâb ad-din (*Yâkût*) al-Hamawi's (3) work, wherein he treats of the places which bear the same name, that there are four places called *Sanân*, and that one of them, situated in Transoxiana, had been inhabited by al-Mukannâ al-Khâriji (*the heretic rebel*). This appears to be the castle in question.—I have since found, in the history of Khorasân, that it is the very one, and that it is situated in the canton of Kassh (4).

(1) Koran, surat 2, verse 32.

(2) In poetry a *full moon* means a handsome face.

(3) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(4) Kassh lies in Transoxiana.—I feel it necessary to make an observation on the passage commencing with *I never found the name*. It has been added in the margin of the autograph by Ibn Khallikân himself, but this last phrase, *I have since found in the history of Khorasân, etc.*, does not exist in that manuscript, although given in others. I merely notice the fact here, reserving my conclusion for another occasion.



## IKRIMA.

Abû Abd Allah Ikrima Ibn Abd Allah, a *mawla* of Abd Allah Ibn Abbâs, drew his origin from the Berbers of Maghrib. He belonged first to al-Huzain Ibn al-Hirr (1) al-Anbari, by whom he was given to Ibn Abbâs, who was then governor of Basra (2) for Ali Ibn Ali Tâlib. His new master took great pains in teaching him the Koran and the *Sunna*, and gave him (*the*) Arabic names (*by which he was thenceforward known*). Ikrima transmitted Traditions on the authority of Ibn Abbâs, Abd Allah Ibn Omar (*vol. I. p.* 567), Abd Allah Ibn Amr Ibn al-Aâsi (3), Abû Huraira (*vol. I. p.* 570), Abû Saîd al-Khudri (4), al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, and Aâisha. He was one of the principal *tâbîs* and jurisconsults of Mekka, (*but*) he was constantly removing from one town to another. It is related that Ibn Abbâs himself had ordered him to go forth and give *fatwas* to the people. Said Ibn Jubair (*vol. I. p.* 564) having been asked if he knew of any person more learned than himself, answered: "Ikrima." The Khârijite opinions held by Ikrima exposed him to the animadversion of the public. He taught Traditions (*as has been just said*) on the authority of a number of Muhammad's companions, and Traditions were given on his authority by az-Zuhri, Amr Ibn Dinâr (*vol. I. p.* 580), as-Shâbi (*vol. II. p.* 4), Abû Ishak as-Sabîi (5), and others. His master Ibn Abbâs died without giving him his liberty, and Ali, the son of Ibn Abbâs, sold him to Khâlid Ibn Yazîd Ibn Moawia for four thousand dinârs, but Ikrima went to him and said: "There is "no good in you; you have sold your father's learning for four thousand "dinârs." On this Ali obtained Khâlid's consent to annul the bargain, and granted Ikrima his liberty. Abd Allah Ibn al-Harith relates as follows: "I "went to visit Ali the son of Abd Allah Ibn Abbâs, and I saw Ikrima tied up "at the door of a privy, on which I said: 'Is it thus that you treat your slave?' "To which he replied: 'Know that that fellow has told lies of my father.'" Ikrima died A.H. 107 (A. D. 725-6); others say 106, or 105, or 115; he was then aged eighty or eighty-four years. Muhammad Ibn Saad (6) relates the following circumstances on the authority of al-Wâkidi (7), who states that he learned them from Khâlid Ibn al-Kâsim al-Bayâdi: "Ikrima and the poet Ku-"thayir, the lover of Azza, died in the year 105 and on the same day; in the

" afternoon, funeral prayers were said over them at the usual place; I was pre-
" sent at the ceremony, and the people said : ' Our most learned jurisconsult
" and our best poet are dead.' " They both died at Medîna, but some state, erroneously however, that Ikrima's death took place at al-Kairawân. Ikrima was much addicted to travelling in distant countries, and he visited, amongst other places, Khorasân, Ispahân, and Egypt.—The primitive signification of the word *Ikrima* is *a hen-pigeon*, but it was subsequently employed as a proper name for persons.—Omâra Ibn Hamza, the *mawla* of al-Mansûr, so noted for his vanity (8), was descended from Ikrima; according to the Khatib (*vol. I. p.* 75), he was the son of Ikrima's daughter (9).

(1) The autograph has الحرّ.

(2) See vol. I. page 665, and note.

(3) Abd Allah the son of Amr Ibn al-Aâsi embraced Islamism previously to his father's conversion, and obtained permission from the Prophet to write to his parent and inform him of the doctrines of his new faith. He was only thirteen years younger than his father, and he often reproached him for his turbulent and seditious conduct. By his profound devotion and learning he obtained general respect, and he died A. H. 72 (A. D. 691-2), at the age of seventy-two years. The place of his death is not known with certainty; some authorities say Syria, and others, Egypt or Mekka or Tâif.—(*Talkîh* MS. No. 361, fol. 40.)

(4) Abû Saîd Saad Ibn Malik Ibn Sinân Ibn Thalab al-Khudri (*of the tribe of Khudra*) was one of Muhammad's companions and an *ansâr* of the third class. At the age of thirteen years he took up arms for the Prophet and accompanied his father to Ohod. When the Moslim troops were passed in review before the battle, he was found to be too young and sent back. The father fell at Ohod, and the son afterwards accompanied the Prophet in twelve of his expeditions. He died at Medîna, A. H. 74 (A. D. 693-4), and was interred in the Bakî cemetery.—(*Nujûm. Siar as-Salaf. Talkîh.*)

(5) The life of as-Sabli is given in this volume.

(6) The life of Muhammad Ibn Saad will be found in this work.

(7) The life of al-Wâkidi will be found further on.

(8) Omâra Ibn Hamza Ibn Mâlik Ibn Yazîd Ibn Abd Allah, a *mawla* to al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Malik, was a *kâtib* in the service of the khalif al-Mansûr, who entrusted him with the receivership of the revenues of Basra. His style was remarkable for purity and elegance, and his liberality unbounded. He carried his vanity, however, to so great an extreme, that it was proverbially said: "Such a one is vainer than Omâra Ibn Hamza." Some persons obtained from him a gift of one hundred thousand dirhims, and when he was informed by his chamberlain that they had come to thank him for his generosity, he answered : " Tell them that I have deli-
" vered them from the opprobrium of poverty, and shall not impose upon them the burden of gratitude." Numerous other anecdotes are related of his excessive vanity. A palace in Baghdad called the hotel of Omâra (*dâr Omâra*) was so called after him. He died A. H. 199 (A. D. 814-5).—(*Abridged History of Baghdad* by the Khatîb, No. 634, fol. 6 et 146. *An-Nujûm az-Zâhira*, in anno.) Some anecdotes respecting him will be found in this work.

(9) Read ابن ابنة عكرمة.

## ZAIN AL-AABIDIN.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, the son of al-Husain, the son of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, is generally known by the appellation of Zain al-Aâbidîn (*the ornament of the adorers*), but was sometimes designated as Ali the Less. As none of the other children of al-Husain left issue, all his descendants are sprung from this son. Zain al-Aâbidin is one of the twelve imâms, and ranks among the principal *Tâbîs*. It was observed by az-Zuhri that he never met a member of the tribe of Koraish possessing nobler qualities than he. His mother Sulâfa was daughter to Yezdegird, the last of the kings of Persia, and she was aunt to the mother of Yazid Ibn al-Walîd the Omaiyide, surnamed an-Nâkis. When Kutaiba Ibn Muslim al-Bâhili, the lieutenant-governor of Khorasân, had overthrown the royal dynasty of Persia and slain Fairûz the son of Yezdegird, he sent the two daughters of the latter to al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf ath-Thakafi (*vol. I. p.* 356), who was then governor of Irak and Khorasân. Al-Hajjâj kept one of them for himself and sent the other, whose name was Shah Farîd, to al-Walîd Ibn Abd al-Malik, 443 and she bore him his son Yazîd, who was afterwards surnamed an-Nâkis (*the diminisher*), because he diminished the donations, or pay, granted to the troops. Zain al-Aâbidin was also called Ibn al-Khiaratain (*the son of the two preferred ones*), because the Prophet had said: "Of all the human race, "Almighty God has preferred two (*families*); the tribe of Kuraish amongst "the Arabs, and the Persians amongst the foreign nations." Abû 'l-Kâsim az-Zamakshari relates the following circumstance in his work entitled *Rabî al-Abrâr*: "Amongst the number of the Persian captives brought to Me-"dina by the Companions, in the khalifate of Omar Ibn al-Khattâb, were "three daughters of Yezdegird. When they had sold the other prisoners, "Omar ordered them to sell the daughters of Yezdegird also, but Ali said: "'The daughters of kings are not to be treated as those of the common "people.'—'And what must be done with them?' said Omar.—Ali replied: "'Let a price be set upon them, to be paid by him who wishes to possess "them.' This proposal having received Omar's consent, Ali bought them all, "and gave one of them to Abd Allah Ibn Omar, another to his own son al-"Husain, and the third to his ward Muhammad, the son of Abû Bakr as-Sid-

"dik. Abd Allah's concubine bore him a son named Sâlim, al-Husain's bore "Zain al-Aâbidîn, and Muhammad's bore al-Kâsim. These three children "were cousins by the mothers' side, and their mothers were daughters to Yez-"degird (1)."—Al-Mubarrad gives the following anecdote in his *Kâmil*: "A "man of the tribe of Kuraish, whose name was not mentioned to me, made a "relation which I here give:—I used to sit in company with Saîd Ibn al-"Musaiyab (*vol. I. p.* 568), and he asked me one day who were my maternal "uncles? to which I replied that my mother was a slave-girl. It seemed to "me that this answer diminished his regard for me, but I waited for some time, "and Sâlim, the son of Abd Allah, the son of Omar Ibn al-Khattâb entered. When "he withdrew, I said: 'Pray, sir, who is that?'—'Good God!' exclaimed he, "'how is it possible that you do not know so eminent a person of your own "tribe? why, that is Sâlim, the son of Abd Allah, the son of Omar Ibn al-Khat-"tâb.'—'And who,' said I, 'was his mother?'—'A slave-girl,' was his reply. "Then came in Kâsim, the son of Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr, who sat down for "some time and then retired. 'Pray, sir,' said I, 'who is that?' — 'How!' "exclaimed he, 'you do not know so eminent a person of your own family? "how very strange! why, that is al-Kâsim the son of Muhammad Ibn Abi "Bakr as-Siddik.'—'And who,' said I, 'was his mother?'—'A slave girl.' "I waited yet longer, and Ali, the son of al-Husain, the son of Ali Ibn Tâlib en-"tered. When he went away, I said to Ibn al-Musaiyab: 'Pray, sir, who is "that?'—'That is a person,' replied he, 'whom it is impossible for a Muslim "not to know; that is Ali, the son of al-Husain, the son of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib!' "—'Who was his mother?' said I.—'A slave-girl!' he replied. On this I "addressed him in these terms: 'I remarked, sir, that your regard for me was "lessened when you learned that my mother was a slave-girl; but do not these "persons resemble me in the same respect?' From that moment I acquired "increased favour in the sight of al-Musaiyab."—The people of Medîna had a dislike to taking concubines, but their feelings on this point were completely changed when Ali, the son of al-Husain, al-Kâsim the son of Muhammad, and Sâlim the son of Abd Allah grew up and surpassed every person in the city by their piety and their knowledge of the law.—Ibn Kutaiba mentions, in his *Kitâb al-Maârif*, that Zain al-Aâbidîn's mother was a native of Sind and that her name was Sulâfa; others however call her Ghazâla, and God knows best which is right.

—Zain al-Aâbidîn was most attentive to his mother, and it was said to him: "You are certainly a most dutiful son, but why do we not see you eat out of "the same dish with her?" To which he replied: "Because I should be "afraid that in stretching forth my hand to take a morsel, that morsel might "be one on which she had already cast her eyes; and I should have thus com- "mitted an undutiful act." The story of Abû 'l-Mikhassh with his son (2) is quite the contrary of the foregoing, for he said: "I had a daughter who sat at "table with me, and put forth a hand like a bunch of dates, joined to an arm "(*long and white*) like the crown-bud of the palm-tree, and she never cast her "eyes on a good morsel without offering it to me. I found a husband for her, "and I had after that a son who sat with me at table, and put forth a hand "(*broad and black*) like the scale (3) of a palm-tree, joined to an arm like the "cross post of a tent-frame; and, by Allah! he never cast his eyes on a nice "bit, but his hand had already seized it."—Ibn Kutaiba says in his *Kitâb al-Maârif* that on the death of Zain al-Aâbidîn's father, his mother married Zubaid (4), his father's *mawla*, and he himself enfranchised one of his slave-girls and married her. This conduct drew upon him a letter of reproaches from Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân, but he replied to it in these words: "*Ye have in the* 444 "*apostle of God an excellent example* (5), and he manumitted and married Safiya "the daughter of Huaiya Ibn Akhtab; he manumitted also Zaid Ibn Hâritha "and gave him in marriage Zainab Bint Jahsh, the daughter of his paternal "aunt."—The merits and excellencies of Zain al-Aâbidîn are beyond enumeration. He was born on a Friday, in one of the months of A. H. 38 (A. D. 658-9); he died at Medina, A. H. 94 (A. D. 712-3), some say 96 [or 92], and was interred in the cemetery of al-Bakî, in the tomb of his uncle al-Hasan Ibn Ali. The mausoleum in which they are deposited contains also the tomb of al-Abbâs.

(1) This is in contradiction with Ibn Khallikân's own statement.

(2) Read ابى المخشّ مع ابنه.

(3) What is meant by the *scale* of the palm-tree is the broad excrescence on the trunk to which the stem of the leaf was attached, and which remains when the leaf falls off.

(4) Read in the printed text بزبيد.

(5) Koran, surat 33, verse 21.

## ALI AR-RIDA.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali ar-Rida (1), the son of Mûsa al-Kâzim, the son of Jaafar as-Sâdik, the son of Muhammad al-Bâkir, the son of Ali Zain al-Aàbidîn, him whose life has been just given, is considered by (*that sect of the Shîites called*) the Imâmites as one of the twelve imâms. Al-Mâmûn married him to his daughter Omm Habîb, and having nominated him successor to the khalifate, he caused his name to be inscribed (*as such*) on the gold and silver coinage. In executing this resolution, al-Mâmûn proceeded in the following manner: When in the city of Marw, he had a census taken of all the male and female descendants of al-Abbâs, and found that their number was thirty-three thousand, old and young (2). He then sent for Ali (*ar-Rida*), and having granted him a most honourable reception, he convoked the principal officers of the empire and informed them that, after examining throughout the descendants of al-Abbâs and those of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, he did not find amongst them a more excellent person than Ali (*ar-Rida*), nor one better entitled to the empire. He then declared him his successor, and ordered the black standards and livery (*of the Abbâsides*) to be suppressed. When intelligence of these proceedings reached those descendants of al-Abbàs who were in Irak, they felt that resolute measures were necessary to prevent the supreme authority from passing out of the hands of their family, and they in consequence pronounced the deposition of al-Mâmûn and took the oath of fealty to his uncle, Ibrahîm Ibn al-Mahdi, whom they declared khalif. This event took place on Thursday, the 5th of Muharram, A. H. 202 (25th July, A. D. 817); some say, however, that it occurred in A. H. 203. It would be too long to relate the particulars of this event, the results of which are well known; we have besides given a summary sketch of them in the life of Ibrahîm Ibn al-Mahdi (*vol. I. p.* 17). Ali ar-Rida was born at Medîna, on a Friday, in the year 153 (A. D. 770), but this is contradicted by other statements, which place his birth in A. H. 151, on the 7th or 8th of Shawwâl, or on the 6th of that month. He died in the city of Tûs on the last day of Safar, A. H. 202 (September, A. D. 817), or, according to others, on the 5th of Zû 'l-Hijja, or the 13th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 203 (May, A. D. 819). Al-Mâmûn said the funeral service over him and had him buried near the tomb of

his own father ar-Rashid. His death was caused by eating too many grapes; but some attribute it to a slow poison. It is of him that Abû Nuwâs speaks in the following lines:

> People said to me: "You are the ablest of all men in the various styles of noble "discourse; your eulogies, expressed in admirable verse, are a blossom filling the "hand of him who culls it with a fruit of pearls. Why then have you neglected to ce- "lebrate the son of Mûsa and extol the noble qualities united in his person?" My answer was: "I am unable to utter praises suited to the merits of an imâm to whose "father (*the angel*) Gabriel acted as a servant (3)."

He composed these verses because one of his companions had said to him: "I "never saw a more shameless fellow than you; there is not a sort of wine nor "beast of chase but you have made some verses on it; and here is Ali Ibn Musa "ar-Rida, living in your own time, and yet you have never noticed him." To this Abû Nuwâs replied: "By Allah! my silence has no other motive than 445 "the respect I bear him; it befits not a person of my rank to compose verses on "a man like him." Some time after this, he recited the piece here given. The following lines were pronounced by him also in praise of ar-Rida, (4) (and mention is made of the circumstance (*by Ibn al-Jauzi*) in the *Shuzûr al-Okûd* under the year 201 or 202.)

> The immaculate (*descendants of Ali*,) the pure of heart! whenever their name is pronounced, benedictions accompany it. He whose descent you cannot trace up to Ali, has no title to boast of ancient ancestry. When God created and established the world, he made you pure, O mortals! and chose you for his own; but you (*sons of Ali!*) are the noblest of mankind; it is you who possess the knowledge of (*God's*) book and of the meaning conveyed by its *surats* (5).

Al-Mâmûn said one day to Ali Ibn Mûsa: "What do your brethren say of "our grandfather al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib?"—"That," replied Ali, "which they ought to say of a man (*so highly favoured*) that, when God imposed "on his creatures obedience to the Prophet, He prescribed to the Prophet the "duty of obedience towards him (6)." On receiving this answer, al-Mâmûn ordered him a present of one million of dirhims. His brother Zaid Ibn Mûsa having revolted at Basra against al-Mâmûn and given the inhabitants a prey to violence and rapine, this khalif sent Ali Ibn Mûsa to turn him from his evil courses. On meeting him Ali said: "Woe be to thee, O Zaid! thou hast "treated the Moslims of Basra most cruelly, and yet thou callest thyself a son

"of Fâtima, the daughter of the Prophet. By Allah! the Prophet himself is "thy greatest foe. Know that he who pretends to derive honourable qualities "from God's Prophet, should manifest the same to others (7)." When this discourse was related to al-Mâmûn, he burst into tears and exclaimed: "It is "thus that all the members of the Prophet's family should be!" The last words of Ali Ibn Mûsa's reprimand convey an idea which he had borrowed from a saying of Zain al-Aâbidîn's (him whose life has been just given). That imâm always travelled incognito, and when asked his motive, he replied: "I detest "assuming the qualities to which my descent from the Prophet entitles me, "when I cannot manifest them to others."

(1) *Ar-Rida* signifies *the accepted, the pleasing*. This surname was given to him by al-Mâmûn on nominating him successor to the empire. Abû 'l-Fedâ says that the full title was: *ar-Rida min Aal Muhammad*, which Reiske has rendered by *communibus votis electus vir de gentilitate Muhammedis*, but I believe it to mean *acceptissimus apud Deum vir de gentilitate Muhammedis*.

(2) This seems to be an exaggeration.

(3) The poet means the imâm's forefather Muhammad, to whom Gabriel was sent with the different passages of the Koran.

(4) The phrase which follows is written in the margin of the autograph, but has been scored out.

(5) Some of the Shiite sects believe that every verse of the Koran has not only a literal, but a hidden meaning; which last is known to their imâm alone.

(6) This precept is not in the Koran. The author of the *Majmâ al-Ahbâb* (MS. fonds St. Germain, No. 131) states, in his life of al-Abbâs, that the Prophet treated him with the deference and respect due to a parent.

(7) Literally: "He that takes by the Prophet should give by him."

## ABU 'L-HASAN AL-ASKARI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali al-Askari, surnamed al-Hâdi (*the director*), and held by the *imâmite* Shiites as one of the twelve imâms, was the son of Muhammad al-Jawâd and the grandson of Ali ar-Rida; having just given the life of the latter, it is unnecessary for us to trace up the genealogy farther (*as it will be found there*). Secret information having been given to al-Mutawakkil that this imâm had a quantity of arms, books, and other objects for the use of his followers concealed

in his house, and being induced by malicious reports to believe that he aspired to the empire, he sent one night some soldiers of the Turkish guard to break in on him when he least expected such a visit. They found him quite alone and locked up in his room, clothed in a hair-shirt, his head covered with a woollen cloak, and turned with his face in the direction of Mekka; chanting, in this attitude, some verses of the Koran expressive of God's promises and threats, and having no other carpet between him and the earth than sand and gravel. He was carried off in that attire and brought, in the depth of the night, before al-Mutawakkil, who was then engaged in drinking wine. On seeing him, the khalif received him with respect, and being informed that nothing had been found in his house to justify the suspicions cast upon him, he seated him by his side and offered him the goblet which he held in his hand. "Commander of the faithful!" said Abû 'l-Hasan, "a liquor such as that was "never yet combined with my flesh and blood; dispense me therefore from "taking it." The khalif acceded to his request and then asked him to repeat some verses which might amuse him. Abû 'l-Hasan replied that he knew by heart very little poetry; but al-Mutawakkil having insisted, he recited these lines:

> They passed the night on the summits of the mountains, protected by valiant warriors, but their place of refuge availed them not. After all their pomp and power, they had to descend from their lofty fortresses to the custody of the tomb. O what a dreadful change! Their graves had already received them when a voice was heard exclaiming: "Where are the thrones, the crowns, and the robes of state? where are now the faces once "so delicate, which were shaded by veils and protected by the curtains of the audience- "hall (1)?"—To this demand, the tomb gave answer sufficient: "The worms," it said, "are now revelling upon those faces; long had these men been eating and drinking, "but now they are eaten in their turn."

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Every person present was filled with apprehension for Abû 'l-Hasan Ali's safety; they feared that al-Mutawakkil, in the first burst of indignation, would have vented his wrath upon him; but they perceived the khalif weeping bitterly, the tears trickling down his beard, and all the assembly wept with him. Al-Mutawakkil then ordered the wine to be removed, after which he said: "Tell me! "Abû 'l-Hasan! are you in debt?"—"Yes," replied the other, "I owe four "thousand dinars." The khalif ordered that sum to be given him, and sent him home with marks of the highest respect.—Abû 'l-Hasan was born at Medîna, A.H.

214, on Sunday, the 13th of Rajab (Sept. A. D. 829); others say on the day of Arafa (*the 9th of Zû 'l-Hijja*); some persons again place his birth in the year 213. Al-Mutawakkil was at length induced, by the numerous unfavourable accounts which he received of Abû 'l-Hasan's conduct, to have him taken from Medîna and sent to Sarr-man-râa. This town was also called *al-Askar* (*the army*), because al-Motasim, the prince who built it, removed his army (*from Baghdad*) to that station. It was on account of his residence there that Abû 'l-Hasan was surnamed *al-Askari*. He passed twenty years and nine months at that place, and he died there on Monday, the 24th of the latter Jumâda, A.H. 254 (June, A.D. 868). Others place his death on the 25th or on the 4th of that month; some again say that he died on the 3rd of Rajab of the year just mentioned. He was interred in the house where he dwelt.

(1) When the sovereign gave audience, one or more curtains were always drawn between him and the public. In old times, the number of curtains was seven, and they were placed at some distance from each other.

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## ALI IBN ABD ALLAH IBN AL-ABBAS.

Abû Muhammad Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib Ibn Hâshim al-Hâshimi, grandfather to the khalifs as-Saffâh and al-Mansûr, was the youngest son of his father. Distinguished for the eminence of his rank, the nobleness of his descent, and his talent as an elegant speaker, he was equally conspicuous for his beauty, wherein he surpassed every other member of the tribe of Koraish. "He possessed five hundred olive-trees, and he said every "day a prayer of two *rakas* at the foot of each: he was called *Zû 'th-Tha-* "*finât*."—So says al-Mubarrad in his *Kâmil*, but the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi states, in his *Kitâb al-Alkâb*, that the person who bore this surname was Ali Ibn al-Husain (Zain al-Aâbidîn) and that he was so denominated because he prayed one thousand *rakas* every day, so that *callosities* (*thafinât*) were formed on his knees like those on the limbs of camels.—It is related that Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib



missed Ibn Abbâs one day at the prayer of noon and asked the persons present what could be his motive for staying away; they replied that a son was born to him, and when the prayer was over, Ali said: "Let us go and see him." On entering, he congratulated Ibn Abbâs and then said: "I thank the Giver and "mayest thou find a blessing in the gift! what name has he received from you?" —"Would it be right for me," replied Ibn Abbâs, "to give him a name and not "wait till thou shouldst do it?" Ali then told them to bring the child, and having taken it in his arm, he chewed a date and rubbed the roof of its mouth with it (1); he then handed it to the father, saying: "Here! take it, Abû 'l-Am-"lâk (2); I give it *Ali* for a name and *Abû 'l-Hasan* for a surname."—When Moawia got possession of the khalifate, he said to Ibn Abbâs: "None of your "family should bear the same name and surname as that man; I shall call the "child *Abû Muhammad*."—This appellation then became current as his surname.—It is al-Mubarrad who relates this anecdote in his *Kâmil*, but the *hâfiz* Abû Noaim says in his *Hilyat al-Awliâ*: "When Ali Ibn Abd Allah went to see "Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân, that khalif said to him: 'Change thy name and "thy surname, for I cannot bear to hear them pronounced.' The other re-"plied: 'As for the name, no; but as for the surname, give me that of Abû "Muhammad.' It was thus that his surname was changed."—I must observe that Abd al-Malik's motive in speaking so was the hatred which he bore to Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, and this was so excessive that he could not endure to hear his 447 name and surname pronounced. Al-Wâkidi says that Abû Muhammad was born on the night in which Ali was murdered (*a statement in contradiction to that made by al-Mubarrad*), and God alone knoweth the truth.—Al-Mubarrad says also (3): "Ali (*Ibn Abd Allah*) was flogged twice, and, each time, by the order "of al-Walid Ibn Abd al-Malik. The first time was for having married Lu-"bâba (4), the daughter of Abd Allah Ibn Jaafar Ibn Abi Tâlib. She had been "already married to Abd Malik, but one day he took a bite out of an apple and "handed her the rest. Now, as he had a bad breath, she called for a knife, "and being asked by him what she wanted to do with it, she replied: 'To cut "off the part of the apple which is spoiled.' He immediately divorced her, and "she was taken in marriage by this Ali Ibn Abd Allah. In consequence of this, "al-Walid flogged him, saying: 'Ah! you mean to degrade the khalifs by "marrying their mothers.' (For it was a motive of this kind which led Mar-

" wân Ibn al-Hakam (*al-Walîd's grandfather*) to marry the mother of Khâlid, " the son of Yazîd, the son of Moawia.) Ali Ibn Abd Allah replied: 'My " intention was to quit this town; and, as I am her cousin, I married her to be " her protector.' "—Others say that Abd al-Malik married Labbâna, the daughter of Abd Allah Ibn Jaafar, and as he had a bad breath, she suggested to him the propriety of using a tooth-brush. He took her advice, but divorced her. She then became the wife of Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abbâs, who was bald and always wore a skull-cap; Abd al-Malik then sent a girl to pull off his cap unawares and thus expose his baldness to Lubbâna, with whom he was sitting. On this Lubbâna said: "I like a bald Hâshimite better than a foul-breathed " Omaiyide."—Relative to the second flogging which Ali Ibn Abd Allah received, we shall give a relation of it furnished by Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Shujâa, and which was headed with the names of the persons through whom it had successively passed down till he received it; the narrator says: "I one " day saw Ali Ibn Abd Allah flogged with a whip, and paraded about on a camel, " with his face towards the tail, whilst a crier proclaimed: 'This is Ali Ibn Abd " Allah the Liar.' On this, I went up to him and said: 'What is the reason of " their calling you a liar?' and he answered: 'They were told that I had de- " clared that the sovereign authority would be exercised later by my two sons; " and, by Allah! their descendants shall continue to hold it till they be mas- " tered by their own slaves; a small-eyed race, with broad faces like doubly- " strengthened shields (5).' " Ibn al-Kalbi says, in his *Jamharat an-Nisab*, that the person who presided at the flogging of Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs was Kulthûm Ibn Iyâd Ibn Wahwah Ibn Kushair Ibn al-Aawar Ibn Kushair, the commander of the khalif al-Walid Ibn Abd al-Malik's police guards: he afterwards governed North Africa in the name of Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik, and he was slain in that province (6).—Another author mentions that Kulthûm was slain in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A.H. 123 (Oct.-Nov. A.D. 741).—"Ali Ibn Abd Allah," says a narrator, "went with his two grandsons, the (*future*) khalifs as-Saffâh and " al-Mansûr, into the presence of Sulaimân Ibn Abd al-Malik"—this is a mistake; it was with Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik that the circumstance occurred— " and that khalif made room for him on his throne, showed him great kindness " and asked him what he required. Ali answered; 'I am thirty thousand dir- " hims in debt;' on which the khalif gave orders to pay the sum for him. He

"then said: 'You will recommend that my two boys be well treated.' The "khalif gave orders to that effect, and Ali thanked him and said: 'You and "they are relations by blood.' When Ali turned to withdraw, Hishâm said to "the company: 'That *shaikh* has grown old and has fallen into dotage; he says "that the authority which we exercise will pass into the hands of his children.' "Those words were overheard by Ali, who exclaimed: 'And so it shall be, by "Allah! these two shall reign.'"—Ali was held in the highest respect by the people of Hijâz: Hishâm Ibn Sulaimân al-Makhzûni related on this subject as follows: "Whenever Ali Ibn Abd Allah came to Mekka to perform the pil-"grimage or to visit the temple, the Koraish suspended the assemblies which "they held in the Sacred Mosque and deserted the places where public lessons "were usually given, for the purpose of keeping him company and giving him a "mark of the profound respect and veneration which they bore him: when he "sat down, they sat down; when he stood up, they stood up; and when he "walked, they all crowded around him and walked with him. This they conti-"nued to do till he left the Sacred Territory." He was of a fair complexion, large in body, and wore a long beard. His feet were so large, that he could 448 find no shoes or boots to fit him, unless they were made on purpose by his orders. He was so extremely tall, that when he performed the circuits around the Temple on foot, with the rest of the people about him, he seemed to be on horseback. Yet, tall as he was, he only came up to the elbow of his father Abd Allah, and he only came up to the elbow of his father al-Abbâs, whose stature was surpassed, in an equal degree, by that of his father Abd al-Muttalib (7). An old woman who saw Ali Ibn Abd Allah making the circuits around the Kaaba and surpassing in height every person there, asked who he was, and being informed that he was Ali Ibn Allah, the grandson of al-Abbâs, she exclaimed: "There is no god but God! people would doubt my memory, were I to say that "I saw al-Abbâs going round this sacred House, and that he looked like a "white tent (8)." All this is mentioned by al-Mubarrad in his *Kâmil;* he states also that al-Abbâs had a powerful voice, and that, one morning at day-break, a hostile troop having come down upon them, he cried out as loud as he could, "The enemy! to arms!" and that every pregnant female who heard him miscarried (9). Abû Bakr al-Hâzimi (10) says in his (*geographical*) work containing the list of those names which are borne by more than one place, under

the letter *ghain*, where he notices two places called *al-Ghâba:* "Al-Abbâs Ibn "Abd al-Muttalib would stand on Salâ, a hill near Medîna, and call to his slave- "boys at al-Ghâba, loud enough to be heard by them. This he did towards "the end of the night; and there are eight miles between Salà and al-Ghâba." —Ali Ibn Abd Allah died at as-Sharât, A.H. 117 (A.D. 735), aged eighty years. He was born, according to al-Wâkidi, on the night in which Ali Ibn Abi Tàlib was murdered; namely, the eve of Friday, the 17th of Ramadân, A. H. 40 (January, A. D. 661); but other dates are assigned to his birth. (*He says also that*) Ali Ibn Abd Allah died A. H. 118. Another historian places his death in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada; Khalîfa Ibn Khaiyât, in A. H. 114, and a fourth, in A. H. 119. He wore his hair dyed black, and his son Muhammad, the father of as-Saffàh and al-Mansûr, dyed his red, so that the persons who did not know them, mistook one for the other.—*As-Sharât* is a place in Syria, on the road leading from Damascus to Medina; it is situated near as-Shaubek, in the province of al-Balkâ (11). In the environs lies the village called *al-Humaima*, which was the property of this Ali and of his children during the reign of the Omaiyide dynasty: as-Saffàh and al-Mansûr were born and brought up there; they proceeded from thence to Kufa, where, as is well known, as-Saffàh was proclaimed khalif.—We shall give the life of Muhammad, the son of Ali Ibn Abd Allah.— At-Tabari says, in his History, that al-Walîd Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân removed Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs from Damascus and assigned him al-Humaima as a residence, in A.H. 95 (A.D. 713-4). His descendants continued to dwell there till the fall of the Omaiyides, and he had upwards of twenty male children born to him in that place.

(1) Muhammad did the same with Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair, and the custom was kept up by pious Moslims.

(2) This is the first time I find this surname given to Ibn Abbâs.

(3) It may be remarked that, throughout this article, the numerous extracts from al-Mubarrad's *Kâmil* are either silly fables, or else in contradiction with the statements of other authors.

(4) The autograph has لِبابه.

(5) This prophecy was probably supposed to designate the Turkish troops in the service of the khalifs.

(6) See the extract from an-Nuwairi given by me in the *Journal Asiatique* for November, 1841.

(7) Ibn Khallikan has borrowed this absurd lie from al-Mubarrad. It may, however, be founded on fact, as each of these persons might have been only a boy when seen at the side of his father.

(8) It must be recollected that the *ihrâm*, or cloak, worn by the pilgrims when they perform the circuits round the Kaaba, is of white wool.

(9) This may be true, but it was rather through fear of the enemy than from the loudness of al-Abbâs's voice.

(10) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(11) In Berghaus' map of Syria, *as-Sharât* or *Schera*, as he writes it, is placed between Akaba and Petra, in lat. 38° 8', and long. 33° 26' E. from Paris.

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## THE KADI ABU 'L-HASAN AL-JURJANI.

The kâdi Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abd al-Azîz al-Jurjâni was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, an elegant scholar and a poet. The *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi mentions him in the *Tabakât al-Fokâha* (*biographical dictionary of jurisconsults*), and remarks that his poetical works have been collected into a *diwân*. It was the kâdi 'l-Jurjâni who composed these lines:

> They said to me: "You are full of backwardness;" (*why not celebrate the praises of the great?*) They might have seen, however, that I was a man who shunned a station in which dishonour had been his lot.

The piece which contains this verse is of great length, and so well known that it is needless to give it here.—Ath-Thaâlibi speaks of him in these terms in the *Yatîma*: "He was the pearl of the age, the wonder of the world, the pupil 419 "of the eye of science, the pinnacle of the diadem of the belles-lettres, and the "cavalier of the army of poetry. To a penmanship like that of Ibn Mukla, he "united the prose-style of al-Jâhiz and the poetic talent of al-Bohtori. In his "youth he acted as the lieutenant of al-Khidr (1), journeying throughout the "earth and travelling to the provinces of Irâk, Syria, and elsewhere; during "which expeditions he acquired such a stock of varied information and instruc-"tion, as rendered him a beacon in the regions of science, and in learning, "perfection itself." He then gives numerous extracts from his poetry, and, "amongst others, the following lines:

> Thy lover is tormented by his passion; let him experience thy kindness; be not cruel, but appreciate his merit, for he is the last (*and most patient*) of thy lovers.

A distich expressing a similar thought was recited to me by my friend Husâm ad-dìn Isa Ibn Sinjar al-Hâjiri, of whom I shall again speak. It was composed by himself and runs as follows:

O thou for whose cheeks I should give my eyes; none (*of thy lovers*) have kept their plighted faith but me; let me implore thee to show me a moment's kindness; I am the last (*and most patient*) of them all.

The following verses are by al-Jurjâni:

They told me to employ humility as a step to wealth, but they knew not that abasement is (*as bad as*) poverty. There are two things which prohibit me from riches; my honest pride and fortune's unkindness. When I am told that wealth is within my reach, I look and perceive that, before I attain it, I must pass through stations worse than poverty itself.

By the same:

They told me to roam through the earth, and that the means of livelihood are always ample. I replied: They are ample, but to reach them is difficult. If I have not in the world a generous patron to assist me or a profession to support me, where shall I find a means of livelihood?

In an address to the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p.* 212), he says:

Let us not blame the (*poetic*) ideas which you rejected, if they produce no effect when brought together. All originality of thought was engrossed by the promptness of your genius, and the rarest terms, the most fleeting modes of expression, became familiar to your mind. So, when we aim at originality, we can only find ideas stolen from you and repeated to satiety.

A piece addressed by him to the vizir, in which he felicitates him on his restoration to health, contains this passage:

Must every day renew our fears for the cessation of noble deeds?—deeds which cause all noble hearts to vibrate with sympathy! Thy body received a share of every perfection; how then did sickness fall to its lot? When the soul of the vizir is afflicted, the souls and hearts which hold their life from his are filled with anguish. By Allah! I shall never look with pleasure on a beloved face whilst the face of the vizir is emaciated by sickness. I mistake; that extenuation results from his ardent soul inciting him to noble deeds. Cease then to grieve because that sky is overcast; it will soon begin to shed (*refreshing*) showers.

450 By the same:

I never enjoyed the pleasure of existence except when at home, with a book for my companion. Nothing is dearer to me than science, and I desire no other society. Intercourse with mankind is a degradation and the only one; avoid the world, and live in honour and authority.

By the same:

Alas! what means this separation? why those journeyings forth and departures without end? When these dear friends have left me, let me die; I shall then have obtained my last remaining wish.

He composed a great quantity of poetry, all in a simple style, and he wrote a work entitled *al-Wasâta, etc.* (*mediation between al-Mutanabbi and his adversaries*), in which he displayed great abilities, vast learning, and extensive information. The *Hâkim* Abû Abd Allah Ibn al-Bâi states, in his history of the eminent men of Naisâpûr, that he died in that city on the last day of Safar, A. H. 366 (October, A. D. 976), at the age of seventy-six years. The following relation is furnished by another historian: "He (*al-Jurjâni*) was a man of strict veracity, and "his conduct as a kâdi was most commendable; when he arrived at Naisâpûr "with his brother Muhammad, in the year 337 (A. D. 948-9), he had not "reached the age of puberty. They both took lessons from the different "masters there, and he died, in the post of grand-kâdi, at Rai, A. H. 392 "(A. D. 1001-2). His body was transported to Jurjân and there interred." The statement of the *Hâkim* is however the most authentic and the truest.—*Jurjân* is the name of a great city in the province of Mazenderân.

(1) The patriarchs al-Khidr and Elias are the protectors of travellers; the first is constantly journeying throughout the earth for that purpose, and the latter throughout the sea. They are the guardians and escorters of the pilgrims on the way to Mekka and back again.—(See M. Reinaud's *Monumens arabes, persans et turcs*, vol. I. p. 170.)



## IBN AL-MARZUBAN.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Marzubân, the Shafite doctor, was a native of Baghdad. His talents as a jurisconsult and his profound piety ranked him as one of the most illustrious (1) among the learned. He studied jurisprudence under Abû 'l-Husain Ibn al-Kattân (2), and gave lessons in the same science to Abû Hâmid al-Isfarâini, on the first arrival of the latter at Baghdad. It is related that he used to say: "I do not know any person who can complain of "being wronged by me;" he was a jurisconsult, however, and well knew that speaking ill of any person in his absence is a wrong done to him (3). He filled the post of professor at Baghdad, and had a peculiar manner of setting forth the system of as-Shâfi's doctrine. He died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 366 (Feb. March, A. D. 977).—*Marzubân* is a Persian word meaning *master* (*or lord*) *of the frontier*; *marz* signifies *frontier* (4), and *bân*, *master*. This was originally a title given to those who were next in rank to the king.

(1) The autograph has جلة; the other MSS. are wrong.

(2) See his life, vol. I. page 51.

(3) I do not understand this observation, unless it signify that he never spoke ill of any person.—I find my conjecture confirmed by al-Yâfi, who says: معناه انه لم يغتب احدا اذا الغيبة من جملة المظالم.

(4) The word *marz* is the same as the English word *marches*. *Marzubân* is equivalent to *lord of the marches*, *lord marcher*, or *marquis*.

## AL-MAWARDI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Habîb, a native of Basra and generally known by the surname of al-Mâwardi, was one of the most distinguished and eminent jurisconsults of the Shafite sect. He studied law at Basra under Abû 'l-Kâsim as-Saimari (1), and then at Baghdad under Abû Hâmid al-Isfarâini. The knowledge which he had acquired, from oral transmission, of the doctrines

of his sect was most extensive (2), and it is impossible to read the *Hâwi* (or *comprehensive*), a work composed by him on that subject, without acknowledging his profound learning and perfect acquaintance with the whole system of Shafite jurisprudence. The office of kâdi in a great number of towns was (*successively*) conferred upon him, and he (*at length*) took up his residence at Baghdad, in the *darb* (3), or street, of az-Zafarân (4). Abû Bakr al-Khatib, the author of the History of Baghdad, gives some traditional information on his authority and remarks that he held the highest character for veracity. Besides the *Hâwi*, he composed many other works, of which we may mention his Explanation of the Koran, another treatise (*on the same subject*) entitled *an-Nukat wa 'l-Oyûn* (5); the *Adab ad-Dîn wa 'd-Dunya* (*instructions for this world and the next*); the *al-Akhâm as-Sultaniya* (*statuta sultanica*) (6); the *Kânûn al-Wizâra* (*organisation and functions of the vizirate*); the *Siâsa tal-Mulk* (*administration of the state*); and the *Iknâa fi 'l-Mazhab* (*institutio satisfaciens, de doctrinâ sectæ Shafitæ*), which last is an abridged treatise. He drew up some other works on the fundamentals of jurisprudence and on literature, and he contributed greatly by his labours to the general stock of information (7). It is said that, whilst he lived, he did not publish any of his works, but put them all up together in a (*safe*) place, and that, on the approach of death, he said to a person who possessed his confidence: "The books in such a place were composed by me, but I abstained from publishing them, because I suspected that, although my intention in writing them was to work in God's service, that feeling, instead of being pure, was sullied by baser motives. Therefore, when you perceive me on the point of death and falling into agony, take my hand in yours, and if I press it, you will know thereby that none of these works has been accepted from me; in this case, you must take them all and throw them by night into the Tigris; but if I open my hand and close it not, that is the sign of their having been accepted, and that my hope in the admission of my intention as sincere and pure has been fulfilled."—"When al-Mâwardi's death drew near," said that person, "I took him by the hand and he opened it without closing it on mine whence I knew that his labours had been accepted, and I then published his works."—Towards the beginning of the History of Baghdad, the Khatib has "the following passage: "Al-Mâwardi told me that he was in Baghdad when his brother wrote him these lines from Basra:

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'I have long desired to visit Baghdad and enjoy the sweetness of its air (*hawâ*), but 'fate refused my wish! How then can I support my absence from it now, since it pos- 'sesses sweetness of air (*hawâ*) and the dearest object of my love (*hawa*) (8)?'

"Abû 'l-Izz Ahmad Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Kâdish relates as follows: 'Abû 'l- " 'Husain al-Mâwardi repeated to me the following lines as having been recited " 'to him at Basra by their author, the *kâtib* Abû 'l-Khair of Wâsit:

'The pen of destiny traces future events; 'tis therefore all the same to labour or to 'repose. 'Tis folly in you to toil for subsistence; the child in the womb receives its full 'provision!' "

It is related that, on his return from Baghdad to Basra, al-Mâwardi recited these words of al-Abbâs Ibn al-Ahnaf's:

I dwelt in it for a time with dislike; but when accustomed to it, I left it against my will. It was not that the place pleased me, but it embittered my life to quit those I loved. I departed from it, though its aspect gave pleasure to my eyes; but I left my heart as a hostage behind me.

His reason for reciting these verses was, that he belonged to Basra and had no wish to leave it; wherefore he went to Baghdad against his will: after some time, he became reconciled to the place and forgot Basra, so that it gave him great pain to quit it. As-Samâni attributes the foregoing lines to Abû Muhammad al-Muzani, an inhabitant of Transoxiana. Al-Mâwardi died at Baghdad on Tuesday, the 30th of the first Rabi, A. H. 450 (May A. D. 1058), aged eighty-six years; he was interred the next morning in the cemetery at the Gate of Harb.—As-Samâni says that *Mâwardi* means a *seller of mâward*, or *rose-water*.

(1) Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Wâhid Ibn al-Husain Ibn Muhammad as-Saimari was one of the most eminent imâms of the Shafite sect. He studied under Abû Hâmid al-Marwarrûdi and Abû 'l-Faiyâd al-Basri. Having acquired a profound acquaintance with the system of Shafite jurisprudence, he gave lessons which were attended by pupils from all parts of the world. He composed a number of excellent works on the doctrines of his sect, and one of them, the *Idâh*, or *elucidation*, forms five volumes. His other works are the *Kifâya* (*sufficiency*), an abridged treatise which was commented by him in another work entitled the *Irshâd*. It is here necessary to remark that Abû Bakr al-Baidâwi composed another commentary on the *Kifâya*, entitled also the *Irshâd*. The precise year of Abû 'l-Kâsim as-Saimari's death is not known, but ad-Dahabi says in his *Târîkh al-Islâm* that he was still alive and at Basra in A. H. 402 (A. D. 1011-2).—*Saimari* is derived from *Saimara*, the name of a river near Basra, the banks of which are covered with villages.—(*Tab. as-Shâf.*)

(2) The original merely says: "He was *hâfiz* to the doctrine."

(3) In the printed Arabic text, for ضرب read درب.

(4) See vol. I. page 373.

(5) This title may be rendered by *puncta et oculi* or *lepida dicta et fontes*.

(6) This is a most learned and perfectly systematic treatise on the political and religious organisation of the Moslim state.

(7) Literally: And the public profited by him.

(8) Literally: Since it unites in itself the two *hawas*, one of them having a long final *â* and the other a short one.

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## ABU 'L-HASAN AL-ASHARI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali al-Ashari drew his descent from Ibn Abi Mûsa, one of the Prophet's companions; he was the son of Ismaîl Ibn Abi Bishr Ishak Ibn Sâlim Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Mûsa Ibn Bilâl Ibn Abi Burda Aâmir Ibn Abi Mûsa. This able dogmatic theologian and defender of the *sunnite* doctrines was the founder 452 of the sect called the Asharites, and his celebrity is sufficiently great to dispense us from making a long article on him. The kâdi Abû Bakr al-Bâkillâni was the great champion and supporter of his peculiar doctrines (1). Abû 'l-Hasan al-Ashari used to attend, every Friday, the lessons given in the mosque of al-Mansûr at Baghdad, by the Shafite doctor Abû Ishak al-Marwazi; and he would then take his place amongst the other pupils. He was born in Basra, A. H. 270 (A. D. 883-4); some say 260; and he died at Baghdad between A. H. 330 and 340 (A. D. 941-952); it is stated however by Ibn al-Hamadâni (2), in his continuation of at-Tabari's History, that al-Ashari died A. H. 330, and another account refers his death to the year 324. He was interred between the suburb of al-Karkh and the Basra Gate. Mention has been already made of his ancestor Abû Burda (*page* 2 *of this volume*).—" *Ashari* means *descended from Ashar;* the " real name of Ashar was Nabt, the son of Odad Ibn Zaid Ibn Yashjub : he was " surnamed *Ashar* (*the hairy*) because he came into the world with hair on his " body." Such are the words of as-Samâni.—The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn Asâkir has written a volume on the merits of al-Ashari.—(3) Abu 'l-Hasan al-Ashari was at first a Motazilite, but he then made a public renunciation of his belief in man's free-will (*adl*), and of the opinion that the Koran was created. This



occurred in the great mosque of Basra, on a Friday; he was sitting in the chair from which he taught, when he cried out as loud as he could: "They who "know me, know whom I am; as for those who do not know me, I shall tell "them: I am Ali Ibn Ismail al-Ashari, and I used to hold that the Koran was "created, that the eyes (*of men*) shall not see God, and that we ourselves are "the authors of our evil deeds (4); now, I have returned to the truth; I re-"nounce these opinions and I take the engagement to refute the Motazilites "and expose their infamy and turpitude." He was strongly inclined to gaiety and humour. His works are the *Luma* (*flashes*), the *Mûjaz* (*abridgment*), the *Idâh al-Burhân* (*elucidation of the work called the* Burhân); the *Tabiyîn* (*illustration*) treating of the dogmas of religion; the *Kitâb as-Sharh wa 't-Tafsîl* (*explanation and exposition*), being a refutation of the people of falsehood and error (*the Motazilites*). He is also the author of the treatises containing the refutation of the *Mulâhida* (*impious*) belonging to the various Motazilite, Râfidite, Jahmite, Kharijite, and other heretic sects. He was interred in the *Mashrâ 'z-Zawâya* (*street of the cells*); his sepulchral monument has a mosque at one side and lies near a bath: it is situated on the left hand, when going from the bazar to the Tigris. Al-Ashari supported himself on the produce of a landed estate which his ancestor Bilâl Ibn Abi Burda had erected into a *wakf*, for the support of his descendants (5); and his daily expense was seventeen dirhims. The foregoing observations are taken from the *Khatîb*. Abû Bakr as-Sirafi (6) said: "The "Motazilites went with their heads up till such time as God produced al-Ashari "to the world." Al-Ashari's works are fifty-five in number.

(1) The doctrines of al-Ashari are set forth by as-Shahrastâni; see page 65 of the printed Arabic text.

(2) See vol. I. pages 290 and 405.

(3) What follows exists no longer in the autograph, but these words in red ink هاهنا التخريجة (*hâhuna 't-Takhrîja*) indicate sufficiently that the contents of a fly-leaf, now lost, were to be inserted here. It fortunately happens that the whole passage is preserved in two of my manuscripts.

(4) See Pocock's *Specimen*, page 234, and Dr. Cureton's *Shahrastâni*, page 30.

(5) By the Moslim law, a man may settle the *income* of his lands and tenements on his descendants to the last generation. He has only to convert his property into a *wakf* (by making it over to a charitable establishment), with the reservation that the annual income is to be applied to that purpose. On the failure of descendants, the income reverts to the establishment.

(6) The life of Abû Bakr Muhammad as-Sirafi will be found in this work.

## AL-KIYA AL-HARRASI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali at-Tabari (*a native of Taberistân*), and generally known by the appellation of al-Kiya al-Harrâsi, was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi. On leaving his native place, he proceeded to Naisâpûr and studied jurisprudence under the Imâm al-Haramain till he excelled in that science. His countenance was handsome, his voice clear and loud, his style elegant, and his language agreeable. From Naisâpûr he removed to Baihak, where he taught publicly for some time and then went to Irak, where he was appointed head-professor at the *Nizâmiya* college of Baghdad. This place he continued to hold till his death. In the *Sîâk*, or continuation of the History of Naisâpûr, the *hâfiz* Abd al-Ghâfir al-Fârisi (*see page* 170) speaks of him in these terms: "He was one of the Imâm al-Haramain's principal under-tutors (1); a second "Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli; nay, more profound in learning, more holy in life, "more pleasing in voice, and more agreeable in countenance." After his arrival in Baghdad, al-Kiya al-Harrâsi was attached to the service of Majd al-Mulk Barkyârûk, the son of the Seljûk sultan Malak Shah (*vol. I. p.* 251), and was raised by his favour to wealth and honour. Under that dynasty, he filled the duties of 455 chief kâdi. He possessed great information in the science of the Traditions, and he used to cite them with success in his discussions and conferences. On this subject, one of his sayings was: "When the horseman of the Traditions gallops "about in the hippodrome of contestation, the heads of analogical deductions "are struck off and given to the winds (2)." The following relation was made by the *hâfiz* Abû 't-Tâhir (3) as-Silafi: "When I was in Baghdad, in the year "495, I asked a *fatwa* (*legal opinion*) from our master Abû 'l-Hasan on a point "which I had argued with the jurisconsults in the *Nizâmiya* College; the "question I proposed to him was expressed in these terms: 'What does the "imâm (whom God may favour!) say of this: a man willed one-third of his "property to the learned and to the jurisconsults; are the writers of the Tra-"ditions included in the legacy or not?' Under this question the *shaikh* wrote "as follows: 'They are; and why should they not? has not the Prophet said: "'*He who, for the advantage of my people, preserves forty Traditions relating* "'*to their religion, shall be raised up by God, on the day of the resurrection, as a*

" '*jurisconsult and a learned man* (4)."—Al-Kiya's opinion having been asked respecting (*the legality of cursing*) Yazìd the son of Moawia, he returned the following answer: "He was not one of the Companions, for he was born in the " days of Omar Ibn al-Khattâb (5). As for the opinion of the early imâms on " this subject, we shall state that Ahmad (*Ibn Hanbal*) has expressed himself " twice on it; once he said that the curse might be implied, and another time " that it should be openly expressed. Mâlik has delivered two similar opi- " nions, and Abû Hanîfa also; but I hold one only—that it should be openly " expressed. And why should it not? Was not Yâzid a player at *nerd* (6), a " hunter with trained leopards, and an inveterate wine-bibber, on which subject " his poetry is sufficiently known. One of these pieces ran as follows:

> 'When the wine-cup assembled my companions, and the musician sung to excite the 'joys of love, I bade them take a full share of pleasures and delight, for even the things 'which last the longest must have an end.' "

He continued his answer in the same strain, and wrote on the back of the leaf (7): "Had I space enough left, I should slack the rein in exposing the " infamies of this man. Signed, Ali Ibn Muhammad." The imâm Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli was once consulted on the same subject, and he gave an opinion altogether contrary to the foregoing. The questions proposed to him were these: " Should a person who openly cursed Yazìd be considered as a reprobate, or " should he be treated with indulgence? Had Yazìd the intention of slaying al- " Husain, or was it done in self-defence? Is it permitted to say *God have mercy* " *on him* when speaking of Yazìd, or is it better to suppress the prayer? May " the *mufti* be rewarded with the divine favour for dissipating our doubts!" His answer was as follows: "It is absolutely forbidden to curse a Moslim, and " he who curses a Moslim is himself the accursed; the blessed Prophet having " said: *The Moslim is not a curser*. And how should it be allowable to curse a " Moslim, when it is not permitted to curse the beasts of the field? The pro- " hibition from doing so has been transmitted down to us; and moreover, *the* " *dignity of a Moslim is greater than the dignity of the Kaaba*, according to the posi- " tive declaration of the blessed Prophet. Now, it is certain that Yazìd was a " Moslim, but it is not certain that he slew al-Husain, or that he ordered or " consented to his death; and as long as these circumstances remain undecided,

" it is not allowable to believe that he acted so. Besides, it is forbidden to think
" ill of a Moslim, since Almighty God has said: *Be not ready to entertain unfa-*
" *vourable opinions* (of another), *for sometimes those opinions are a crime* (8), and
" the blessed Prophet has declared that *the blood, the wealth, and the reputation*
" *of the Moslim are sacred, and of him no ill should be thought*. Moreover, if any
" person assert that Yazid ordered al-Husain's death or consented to it, he gives
" thereby an evident proof of his extreme folly; for, were he to endeavour to
" discover the true circumstances of the death of such great men, vizirs, and
" sultans as perished in his own time—were he to essay to find out who ordered
" the deed to be committed, who consented to it, and who disapproved of it,
" he would not succeed,—not even if the murder were perpetrated in his neigh-
" bourhood and in his presence. How then could he pretend to know the par-
" ticulars of a similar occurrence which took place in a distant country and in a
" by-gone age? And how can he know the truth (*of Yazîd's conduct*), now 454
" that nearly four hundred years have elapsed, and that the crime was com-
" mitted in a place far remote? It must be considered also that this event was
" taken up by party-spirit, and that (*false*) statements respecting it abounded on
" all sides; the true circumstances of it cannot therefore be known; and such
" being the case, it is incumbent on us to think well of every Moslim who can
" possibly deserve it. To this we shall add some observations: suppose that
" there be positive proof of one Moslim's having murdered another, the doctrine
" of the orthodox jurisconsults (9) is, that the murderer is not an infidel, because
" the act itself is not an act of infidelity, but of disobedience (*towards God*).
" It may also happen that the murderer repent before he dies. And if an infidel
" be converted from his infidelity, it is not allowable to curse him; how much
" the less then is it allowable to curse him who repents of having committed
" murder? Besides, how can it be known that the murderer of al-Husain died
" unrepenting? *and He* (God) *accepteth the repentance of his creatures* (10). Where-
" fore, in as much as it is not lawful to curse a Moslim after his death, he who
" curses him is a reprobate and disobedient to God. Suppose even that it were
" permitted to curse him, the abstaining therefrom would be no crime, accord-
" ing to the unanimous opinion of the imâms; nay, the man who never once,
" during the course of his existence, cursed Satan, will not be asked on the day
" of judgment why he cursed him not. And as for him who cursed Satan, he

"shall be asked his motives for so doing, and how he knew that Satan was re-"jected and accursed. The accursed are those who are far removed from Al-"mighty God, but who those may be is a mystery, except in the case of such per-"sons as die infidels; for we know by the divine law that they are accursed. As "for the invoking of the divine mercy on Yazid, it is allowable, nay, acceptable "(*in the sight of God*), – nay, it is included in these words which we utter in "every prayer: *O God! pardon the men and the women who believe;* for Yazid "was a believer. God knows if my opinion be right. Signed: al-Ghazzâli."—Al-Kiya al-Harrâsi was born in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 450 (Dec.-Jan. A.D. 1058-9); he died at Baghdad on the afternoon of Thursday, the 1st of Muharram, A. H. 504 (July, A. D. 1110), and was buried in the funeral chapel erected over the tomb of the *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi. The *shaikh* Abû Tâlib az-Zainabi (11) and the *kâdi 'l-Kudât* Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn ad-Dâmaghâni, who were the chiefs of the Hanifite sect at that time, attended his funeral notwithstanding the coldness which had subsisted between them and him; one of them stood at the head of the corpse, the other at the foot, and Ibn ad-Dâmaghâni recited this appropriate verse:

> The wailings and lamentations of the female mourners are useless! like words uttered yestereven, thou existest for us no longer.

The following verse was then pronounced by az-Zainabi:

> Women are sterile and have produced none like him; nay, they will never produce his equal.

I do not know for what reason he received the name of *al-Kiya* which is a Persian word signifying *a man of rank and influence.*—The *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir states, in his great historical work, that the celebrated poet Abû Ishak Ibrahim al-Ghazzi (*vol. I. p.* 38) passed some time under al-Kiya's tuition at the *Nizâmiya* college, and that he composed the following extempore lines on his death.

> Behold the work of Fate, which spareth none and letteth none escape! Mankind has no place of refuge from Fate's decrees. Were exalted station a protection against its attacks, no eclipse would ever obscure the brightness of the sun and moon. Ask the dastard who lives in apprehension of death, if precaution ever availed against it? Islamism weeps the absence of its sun, and sheds floods of tears, compared to which

the rain would be found less copious. Behold that learned divine who used to receive us with an open and smiling countenance; with that look of pleasure which, to a visitor, was the best of welcomes. Death may tread him under foot, but his vast 455 learning has spread abroad to distant climes. O thou who wert the pillar of the faith! may the clouds of heaven shed a copious shower, each morning, on thy tomb. Thou hast left us in affliction, and the news of this misfortune has reached all mankind—has the news of their desolation at length reached thee? Thy instructive lessons gave new life to (*as-Shâfi*) Ibn Idrîs, and at (*the beauty of*) their composition, intelligence and reflexion stood amazed. He who was so fortunate as to note them down, possesses now a flambeau of unfading brightness. The obscurities of jurisprudence, elucidated by thy words, are like the foreheads of brown horses marked with a white star. Did I know thy equal, I should invoke him and exclaim: "The age is impoverished and "requires succour from thy riches (12)."

(1) The Arabic word is معيد *muîd;* it corresponds in some degree to the French *répétiteur*. The *muîds* were chosen by the professor among his most advanced scholars, and their duty was to instruct the junior pupils and make them *repeat* their lesson till they knew it by heart. See M. de Sacy's *Abd Allatif*, p. 459.

(2) He means to say that a legal opinion formed from analogical deductions must yield to the authority of a genuine Tradition. See Introduction to vol. I. page xxvi.

(3) The surname of *Abû 't-Tâhir* may be written indifferently with or without the article.

(4) See Matthew's *Mishkât*, vol. I. p. 65.

(5) Muhammad gave repeated injunctions that no person should curse or speak ill of his companions. See *Mishkât*, vol. II. p. 747 *et seq*.

(6) A sort of backgammon. See Hyde's *Historia Nerdiludii* in his treatise *de Ludis Orientalibus*.

(7) This is not usual in *fatwas* or in letters.

(8) Koran, surat 49, verse 12.

(9) Literally: Of the people of the truth.

(10) Koran, surat 9, verse 105.

(11) Abû Tâlib al-Husain az-Zainabi, the Hanifite doctor, surnamed Nûr al-Huda (*light of the direction*), died A.H. 512 (A.D. 1118-9).—(*Al-Yâfi*.)

(12) In this verse I follow the printed text and the later MSS., but the autograph has شرواه not ثروا. If this reading be adopted, the sense is: "Our age requires a man like him."

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## THE *HAFIZ* ABU 'L-HASAN AL-MAKDISI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, the son of al-Anjab Abû 'l-Makârim al-Mufaddal Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abi 'l-Ghaith Mufarrij Ibn Hâtim Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Jaafar Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn al-Hasan al-Lakhmi al-Makdisi (*a member of the tribe of Lakhm and*

*sprung from a family belonging to Jerusalem*), was an eminent doctor of the Mâlikite sect, and a *hâfiz* of the highest reputation for his learning in the Traditions and the sciences connected with them. Alexandria was the place of his birth and residence. When the *hâfiz* as-Silafi settled in that city, Abû 'l-Hasan al-Makdisi became his disciple and profited greatly under his tuition; such was also the case with our learned master Zaki ad-din Abd al-Azim al-Mundiri (*vol. I. p.* 89), who completed his education under the same *hâfiz*. Al-Mundiri spoke of his condisciple as a person of great talent and holiness of life; he recited to me numerous pieces of verse composed by him, such as those which follow:

I have now passed my sixtieth year, and must declare that the happiest of my days were mixed with affliction. Visitors ask me how I am?—Judge what is the state of him who has settled in (*a spot which is always*) a field of battle!

O my soul! hold firm by the doctrines transmitted from the best of prophets, from his companions and his *Tâbis*. When thou hast used thy efforts in propagating his religion, thou mayest perhaps be perfumed with the sweet odour of that pious work. To-morrow, on the day of reckoning, when the fires of hell shall rage intensely, fear lest thou becomest a prisoner there.

There are three *b*'s which torment us, *bakk* (*bugs*), *burguth* (*fleas*), and *barghash* (*gnats*); the three fiercest species of created beings, and I know not which is the worst.

There was a maid with rosy lips, whose kiss gave new life to him whom she saluted; wine mixed with musk seemed to be contained within them. I tasted not her lips, but I state the fact on good authority; I learned it from the toothpick which had been with herself.

456 This is now a common idea, having been rendered familiar to us by the verses of the ancients and the moderns. It is thus that Bashshâr Ibn Burd says in one his pieces:

O thou whose lips are the sweetest in the world! not that I have made the test, but the evidence of the toothpicks suffices.

And al-Abiwardi says in one of his poems:

Her companions told me that they learned from the toothpick of *arâk*-wood that her lips were sweet.



The *hâfiz* al-Makdisi was deputy-*hâkim* (1) at Alexandria, and professed in that city at the college which bears his name; he then removed to Cairo and continued, till his death, to fill the place of professor in the *Sâhibiya* college, founded by the vizir Safi 'd-dìn Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Ali, better known by the surname of Ibn Shukr (2). He was born at Alexandria on the eve of Saturday, the 24th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A.H. 544 (March, A.D. 1150), and he died at Cairo on Friday, the first of Shaabân, A.H. 611 (December, A.D. 1214). —His father al-Kâdi 'l-Anjab (*the most noble kâdi*) Abû 'l-Makârim al-Mufaddal died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 584 (Aug.-Sept. A. D. 1188); he was born A. H. 503 (A.D. 1109-10).—*Makdisi* means *belonging to Bait al-Makdis* (*the House of the Holy Place*, or *Jerusalem*).

(1) See page 188 of this volume, note (2).
(2) See vol. I. page 196, note (16).

## SAIF AD-DIN AL-AAMIDI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abi Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sâlim ath-Thâlabi (*member of the tribe of Thâlaba and*) surnamed Saif ad-din (*sword of the faith*) al-Aamidi, was a dogmatic theologian. On commencing his studies, he went down to Baghdad, and as he belonged to the sect of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, he put himself under the tuition of the Hanbalite doctor Ibn al-Manni Abû 'l-Fath Nasr Ibn Fityân; but, after some time, he passed over to the sect of as-Shâfi and attended the lessons of the *shaikh* Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn Fadlân (1), under whose direction he studied controversy and rose to distinction by his acquirements in that science. Having committed to memory the *Tarîka*, or system of controversy, composed by the *Sharîf* (2) and the *Zawâid*, or appendix to the controversial treatise of Asaad al-Mîhani (3) (*see vol. I. p.* 189), he passed into Syria and studied the intellectual sciences with such success, that he was pronounced to be the most learned person of the age in these branches of knowledge. He then removed to Egypt and occupied the post of under-tutor in the college situated in the lesser

Karâfa cemetery, near the tomb of the imâm as-Shâfi. He then became professor in the mosque at Cairo, called *al-Jâmi as-Zâfiri*, and his increased reputation attracted numerous pupils. The successful results of his tuition excited at length the jealousy of some native jurisconsults, who formed a party against him, and accused him of heterodoxy, laxity of moral principle, atheism, and attachment to the doctrines of the (*ancient Greek*) philosophers and sages. They then drew up a complaint in which they denounced him guilty of these crimes, and affixed to it their signatures with the declaration that he deserved the punishment of death. I have been informed by one of those doctors, who was a man of intelligence and instruction, that, on remarking the excessive animosity by which the cabal was actuated, he inscribed the following verse with his signature on the document, when it was brought to him that he might insert in it a declaration similar to that of the others:

"They envied the man because they could not equal him in merit; such are his foes "and accusers."

When Saif ad-dìn perceived his enemies combined against him and discovered 487 their projects, he withdrew secretly from the country and proceeded to Syria. He then settled in the city of Hamât and composed a number of instructive works on dogmatic theology, the fundamentals of jurisprudence, logic, philosophy, and controversy. Of these we shall indicate the *Abkâr al-Afkâr* (*original ideas*) on scholastic theology; an abridgment of the same, entitled *Manâih al-Karâih* (*borrowings from natural genius*); the *Rumûz al-Kunûz* (*indications of hidden treasures*); the *Dakâik al-Hakâik* (*subtilia veritatum*); the *Lubâb al-Albâb* (*core of the hearts*); the *Muntiha as-Sûl* (*results of inquiry*), being a treatise on the fundamentals (*of faith and jurisprudence*). He composed also a system of controversy (4), an abridgment of the same, and a commentary on the *Sharîf's Jadl*, or treatise on dialectics. The number of his works amounted to about twenty. Having removed to Damascus, he obtained the professorship in the *Azîziya* college, but after a lapse of some time he was deprived of his place, on account of some suspicions which had been cast upon him. From that period till his death, he remained unoccupied and confined himself to his house. He died on the 3rd of Safar, A. H. 631 (November, A. D. 1233), and was buried at the foot of Mount Kâsiyûn. His birth took place A. H. 551 (A. D. 1156).—

*Aamidi* means *belonging to Aamid*, a large city in Diâr Bakr, near the country of Rûm (*Asia Minor*).—Abû 'l-Fath Nasr Ibn Fityân Ibn al-Manni was a doctor of the law and a traditionist. He instructed numerous disciples. Born A. H. 501 (A. D. 1107-8); died, 5th Ramadân, 583 (November, A. D. 1187).

(1) Abû 'l-Kâsim Yahya Ibn Ali Ibn al-Fadl Ibn Hibat Allah, surnamed Ibn Fadlân and Jamâl ad-dîn (*beauty of religion*), was a learned doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi. He studied jurisprudence at Baghdad, his native place, under Abû Mansûr ar-Razzâz, and at Naisâpûr under Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yahya, a disciple of al-Ghazzâli. He professed at Baghdad, and was considered as one of the first masters in the science of jurisprudence, dogmatic theology, controversy, and dialectics. Born A. H. 515 (A. D. 1121-2); died in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 595 (June, A. D. 1199.)—(*Tab. as-Shâf.*)

(2) This *Tarîka* is designated farther on as the *Jadl;* it seems to have been a treatise on points of law controverted between the orthodox sects. The author, who is here denominated the *Sharîf*, is unknown to me, and has not been noticed by Hajji Khalifa. The whole passage of Ibn Khallikân has been repeated, without any observation, in the *Tabakât as-Shâfiyin* and by al-Yâfi in his Annals.

(3) Read الميهنى in the printed text, not البيهقى.

(4) By *system of controversy* is meant a general view of all the points on which the orthodox sects disagree; with the arguments in favour of the opinions held by the sect to which the author belongs.

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## AL-KISAI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Hamza Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Bahman Ibn Fairûz, surnamed al-Kisâi, a *mawla* to the tribe of Asad and a native of Kûfa, was one of the seven *readers* of the Koran. In grammar, philology, and the koranic *readings* he displayed abilities of the highest order, but in poetry his skill was so inferior that it was currently said: "Amongst all the learned in grammar, "there is not one who knows less of poetry than al-Kisâi." He was tutor to al-Amîn the son of Harûn ar-Rashîd and instructed him in the belles-lettres. Having neither wife nor slave-girl, he addressed some verses to ar-Rashîd, complaining of his celibacy (1), and that khalif ordered him a present of ten thousand pieces of silver, a beautiful slave-girl with all her attire, a eunuch, and a horse completely harnessed. Being one day in company with Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan, the Hanifite jurisconsult, at an assembly held by ar-Rashîd, he re-

marked that a person versed in one science could find his way in all the others, on which Muhammad said to him: "What is then your opinion of a man who, "in making the satisfactory prostrations which some neglect or irregularity "in the prescribed prayers rendered necessary, again commits an irregularity? "must he renew his prostrations?" To this he replied in the negative (2), and gave for reason that a noun which has already assumed the diminutive form cannot be diminished again.—It is thus that I found this anecdote related in a number of places, but the *Khatîb* says, in his History of Baghdad, that the conversation took place between Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan and al-Farrâ (3), who 458 were sisters' sons.)—Muhammad then asked him if the sentence of divorce joined to the condition of possession was valid? Al-Kisâi answered that it was not, and gave for reason that *the torrent does not precede the rain* (4). He had some conferences and discussions with Sibawaih and Abû Muhammad al-Yazîdi, of which we shall take further notice in the lives of these two grammarians. The traditional knowledge handed down by al-Kisâi was received by him from Abû Bakr Ibn Aiyâsh (*vol. I. p.* 553), Hamza az-Zaiyât (*vol. I. p.* 478), Ibn Oyaina (*vol. I. p.* 578), and others; among the persons who transmitted the information furnished by al-Kisâi were al-Farrâ and Abû Obaid al-Kâsim Ibn Sallâm. Al-Kisâi died A. H. 189 (A. D. 804-5) at Rai, to which city he had accompanied Harûn ar-Rashid. As-Samâni observes that the death of Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan occurred on the same day and at the same place, but Ibn al-Jauzi remarks, in his *Shuzûr al-Okûd*, that he (*the latter*) died at Zanbawaih, a village in the canton of Rai. As-Samâni states again that al-Kisâi died at Tûs in A. H. 182 (A. D. 798-9), or 183. God knows best the truth! It is related that ar-Rashid said on this occasion: "The sciences of jurisprudence and grammar have been "interred at Rai."—*Kisâi* means *a wearer of a kisâ* or *cloak*: he received this name because, on his arrival at Kûfa, he went muffled up in a cloak to Hamza Ibn Habib az-Zaiyât, who (*being then engaged in giving lessons to his pupils*) asked which of them wished to read? To this one of them replied: "He with "the cloak (*al-Kisâi*)." Others state that he was so called because he had used a cloak instead of an *ihrâm* when performing the pilgrimage.

(1) Ibn Khallikân gives the verses, but they cannot be translated. They form an enigma the word of which designates the attribute of Priapus.



(2) This is conformable to the law which says: سجود السهو فى سجود السهو لا يجب

(3) The lives of the grammarian Abû Zakariyâ Yahya al-Farrâ and of the jurisconsult Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan will be found in this work.

(4) The *sentence of divorce joined to the condition of possession* (*tâlîk at-talâk balmilk*) is when a man says to a woman who is not his wife: *If I marry thee, thou art divorced*, or when he says: *Every woman whom I may marry is divorced*. The Hanifite doctors admit the validity of the divorce in this case, and consider it as immediately effected by the act of marriage. The Shafites deny its validity. Al-Kisai denied it also on the principle that *the torrent does not precede the rain*, or, in other words, that the consequence cannot precede the antecedent. The expression he makes use of was proverbial among the Arabs of the desert, and well known also to every philologer and grammarian. It is to be found in Freytag's *Meidani*, vol. I. page 613, under another form, namely, سبق مطره سيله *precessit pluvia ejus torrentem ejus*.

The *milk* or *possession* is effected by the act of marriage التزويج سبب للملك and the married man is the *mâlik* or *possessor*. The persons who take an interest in this question will find the requisite information in D'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, tom. V. p. 208, and Hamilton's *Hidâya*, vol. I. The following extracts from works of high authority are relative to this question; but as their technicality renders a literal translation extremely difficult, I prefer giving them in the original language.

اذا اضاف الطلاق الى النكاح وقع عقيب النكاح نحو ان يقول لامراة ان تزوجتك فانت طالق
او كل امراة اتزوجها فهى طالق ـ ـ ـ ـ واذا اضافه الى الشرط وقع عقيب الشرط مثل ان يقول
لامراته ان دخلت الدار فانت طالق * ولايصح اضافة الطلاق الا ان يكون الطالق مالكا او يضيفه
الى ملك والاصافة الى سبب الملك كالتزويج كالاضافة الى الملك *

—(*Futawa Alemgiri*, vol. I. p. 586.)

قول ابى حنيفة انه يصح تعليق الطلاق والعتق بالملك فيلزم الطلاق اوالعتق سوا اطلق
او عمم او خصص وصورته ان يقول لاجنبية ان تزوجتك فانت طالق او كل امراة اتزوجها
فهى طالق او يقول لعبد ان ملكتك فانت حر اوكل عبد اشتريته فهو حر وقول مالك انه
يلزم الطلاق او العتق اذا خصص او عين قبيلة او قرية او امراة بعينها لا ان اطلق او عمم وقول
الشافعي واحمد انه لا يلزم الطلاق او العتق مطلقا *

—(*al-Mîzân as-Shârâniya*, MS. No. 369, fol. 194.)

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## AD-DARAKUTNI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Omar Ibn Ahmad Ibn Mahdi, a *hâfiz* of great learning and celebrity, and a jurisconsult of the sect of as-Shâfi, was a native of Baghdad.

He acquired his knowledge of the law from Abû Saîd al-Istakhri the Shafite doctor (*vol. I. p.* 374); but this statement is contradicted by some, who pretend that one of Abû Saîd's disciples was his master in that science. He learned the *reading* of the Koran, by *audition and repetition* (1), under Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan an-Nakkâsh, Ali Ibn Saîd al-Kazzâz, Muhammad Ibn al-Husain at-Tabari, and other eminent teachers of the same period. When a mere boy, he began to learn Traditions from Abû Bakr Ibn Mujâhid (*vol. I. p.* 27), and having at length come to be considered as the sole imâm (*or first master*) of the age in that science, none of his contemporaries ever disputed his title. Towards the end of his life, he commenced teaching the koran *readings* at Baghdad. He was well informed on the points wherein the doctors of the different sects disagree, and he knew by heart many of the *diwâns*, or collected poetical works, of the desert Arabs. As one of these *diwâns* consisted of the poems composed by as-Saiyid al-Himyari (2), he was held by some for a follower of the Shiite doctrines. Traditional information was given on his authority by Abû Noaim (*v. I. p.* 74) the author of the *Hilyat al-Aûlià*, and by many other persons. In the year 376 (A.D. 986-7) he gave evidence as a witness before the kâdi Ibn Mârûf (*vol. I. p.* 379), an act of which he afterwards repented, "because," said he, "the statements which I furnished relative to the blessed Prophet were ad-"mitted on my own authority as exact, whereas my declaration in a court of "justice is not receivable unless corroborated by that of another person (3)." Amongst the works composed by him are a *Sunan*, or collection of Traditions, and a *Mukhtalif wa Mûtalif* (4). He was induced to leave Baghdad and travel to Egypt by the intelligence which he received that Abû 'l-Fadl Jaafar Ibn Hinzâba (*vol. I. p.* 319), the vizir of Kâfûr, had the intention of composing a *Musnad* (5). As he wished to assist in that work, he undertook the journey and remained with the vizir for some time, during which he received from him marks of the highest honour, with a liberal subvention for his expenses, and an abundance of presents. He thus, by the favour of Ibn Hinzâba, became possessor of a large fortune, and he remained with him till the completion of the work. During that period, he and the *hâfiz* Abd al-Ghani Ibn Saîd (*vol. II. p.* 169) contributed their joint efforts to the task of extracting (*the materials of*) the *Musnad* (*from various sources*) and writing them out. Abd al-Ghani used to say: "The per-"sons who discoursed the best of all on the Traditions of the Prophet were

"three in number; Ali Ibn al-Madini (6) in his age, Mûsa Ibn Hârûn (7) in "his, and ad-Dârakutni in ours."—One of ad-Dârakutni's pupils having 459 asked him if he ever saw a person equal to himself (*in learning*), he returned no direct answer, but merely observed that God had said: *Justify not yourselves* (8). The other insisted notwithstanding, and ad-Dârakutni at length replied: "If "you mean in a single science, I have seen (*persons*) more able than myself; "but if you mean in all the branches of knowledge which I possess, why then "I never met my equal." He was versed in a great variety of sciences, and was a master of the highest rank in those connected with the Koran. His birth took place in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, 306 (April, A. D. 919), and his death occurred at Baghdad on Wednesday the 8th (some say the 2nd) of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 385 (December, A. D. 995). Some place his death in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja. The funeral service was said over him by Abû Hâmid al-Isfarâini (*vol. I. p.* 53), and he was buried in the cemetery at the Convent Gate (*Bâb ad-Dair*), near the tomb of Mârûf al-Karkhi (9).—*Dârakutni* means *belonging to Dâr al-Kutn* (*cotton-house*), an extensive quarter of Baghdad.

(1) See the observations in vol. I. p. 675, note to p. 568.

(2) I am indebted to M. Caussin de Perceval for the following note on as-Saiyid al-Himyari:

Esseyid al-Himyari, dont le prénom était Abou Hâchim et le véritable nom Ismaïl, était fils de Mohammed fils de Yézyd fils de Rabia, etc. Son grand-père Yézyd avait composé des satires contre Zyâd (Ibn Abihi) et ses fils, et fut pour cela jeté en prison et tourmenté par Obaydallah fils de Zyâd. Les trois poëtes arabes qui ont fait le plus de vers sont Béchâr, Abou 'l-Atahiyya et Esseyid; personne n'a pu recueillir toutes leurs poésies. Quant a Esseyid, ses vers sont tombés dans l'oubli, malgré leur nombre et leur mérite, parcequ'ils sont remplis d'attaques contre les compagnons du Prophète, contre Abou Becr, Omar, Othman, et contre Ayecha et autres épouses de Mahomet. Les père et mère d'Esseyid étaient de la secte hérétique des *Ebadhi* اباضية, lui il était de la secte chiite des *Keïssâni* كيسانية. (Cette secte, suivant Ibn Khaldoun, tirait son nom de son fondateur *Keïssân*.) Il admettait l'imâmat de Mohammad Ibn al-Hanefiya (*his life is given by Ibn Khallikân*) et professait l'opinion du retour يقول بالرجعة, c'est-à-dire qu'il croyait que Mohammed Ibn el-Hanefiya n'était point mort et qu'il reviendrait un jour. Esseyid a fait beaucoup de poésies en l'honneur des Hachemites, particulièrement des Alides, et contre leurs adversaires. Lorsque les Omeyyades furent renversés, il complimenta Abou 'l-Abbâs Seffâh, qui, pour le recompenser de ses vers, lui dit de demander ce qu'il voudrait. Esseyid demanda pour Souleymân fils de Habîb le gouvernement d'el-Ahwâz, qui lui fut accordé. Le cadi de Basra, Sewwâr fils d'Abdallah, ayant un jour refusé d'admettre son témoignage en justice, Esseyid lui écrivit une lettre où il le baffouait et alla ensuite réciter au calife Mansour une satire virulente contre ce magistrat; celui-ci vint à l'instant se plaindre. Mansour lui dit en riant: "Ne sais-tu pas qu'Eyas fils de "Moâwia reçut le témoignage de Farazdak; pourquoi blesser un homme qui a une langue comme celle "d'Esseyid?" Ensuite le calife ordonna à Esseyid de faire sa paix avec le cadi. Mais l'inimitié du poëte et

du juge continua, et ils cherchaient à se nuire réciproquement. Esseyid ayant dit un jour au calife que Sewwâr voulait suborner des témoins pour le condamner comme coupable de vol, Mansour fit venir le cadi " et lui dit: "Je t'ôte à l'égard d'Esseyid tes fonctions de juge." Esseyid mourut à Wâsit, les uns disent sous le règne de Mansour, d'autres sous celui de Haroun —(According to Abû 'l Mahâsin, in his *Nujûm*, this poet died A.H. 171 (A.D. 787-8).)

(3) In all civil and criminal causes, generally speaking, the evidence of two witnesses is requisite to establish the proof of a fact. In civil matters, witnesses may, if they like, withhold their evidence.

(4) This is a treatise on such traditionists as might be confounded with others from the similarity of their names.

(5) See vol. I. page 323, note (7).

(6) Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Jaafar Ibn Najîh Ibn al-Madîni, a *mawla* to the tribe of Saad, a *hâfiz* of the highest eminence, and one of the great imâms of Islamism, was a native of Basra. His acquirements in the Traditions were most extensive, and he displayed great penetration in appreciating their authenticity and the credibility of the persons by whom they had been transmitted down الجرح و التعديل والعلل. He composed nearly two hundred works on the subject, and his authority was cited by al-Bukhâri, Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, Abû Dâwûd, an-Nisâi, Ibn Mâja, at-Termedi, and others. His conduct and demeanour were modelled on that of the early Moslims, and his actions, words, dress, manner of sitting, and general behaviour were noted down, by the learned doctors of that time, as worthy of imitation. He received his traditional knowledge from his own father, who was also a celebrated traditionist, and from Hammâd Ibn Zaid, Sofyân Ibn Oyaina, Hushaim, and others. Al-Bukhâri said of him: "I was never sensible of my inferiority but in the presence of Ali Ibn al-Madîni;" and Ibn Oyaina declared that were it not on Ibn al-Madîni's account, he would never have given lessons ماجلست. He was born A. H. 161 (A. D. 777-8), and he died in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 234 (May-June, A. H. 849). —(*Oyûn at-Tawârikh*. *An-Nujûm az-Zâhira*. *Tabakât al-Fokahâ*. Abû 'l-Fedâ's Annals; and Reiske's note.)

(7) The *hâfiz* Abû Imrân Mûsa Ibn Hârûn was a native of Baghdad. He bore the reputation of being the first imâm of the age in the science of Traditions. He died A.H. 294 (A.D. 906-7).—(Al-Yâfi.)

(8) Koran, surat 53, verse 33.

(9) The life of Mârûf is given by Ibn Khallikân.

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## AR-RUMMANI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Isa Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah ar-Rummâni was a celebrated and learned *imâm* in the sciences of grammar and scholastic theology. He is also the author of an interpretation of the Koran. His masters in general literature were Abû Bakr Ibn Duraid and Abû Bakr (*Muhammad*) Ibn as-Sarrâj; and some of the information which he acquired was transmitted down from him by Abû 'l-Kâsim (*Muhammad*) at-Tanûkhi (1), Abû Muhammad al-Jauhari, and

others. He was born at Baghdad, A. H. 296 (A. D. 908-9), and he died on the eve of Sunday, the 11th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 384 (June, A. D. 994); according to another statement, he died A. H. 382. His family belonged to Sarr-man-râa.—*Rummâni* may here possibly signify a *seller of Rummân* or *pomegranates*, but it may also serve to designate a native of *Kasr ar-Rummân*, a well-known castle at Wâsit. A great number of persons have received this surname for one or the other reason, but which of these it was that procured it for Abû 'l-Hasan is not specified by as-Samâni.

(1) The lives of the three persons just mentioned are given by Ibn Khallikân.

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## ABU 'L-HASAN AL-HAUFI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Saìd Ibn Yûsuf al-Haufi was a learned grammarian and an able expositor of the Koran, ou which last subject he left an excellent work. He directed the studies of numerous pupils with great success, and I have remarked, in many books on philological subjects, certificates in his own handwriting to prove that the possessors of these books had read them under his tuition; in this he followed the general custom of teachers. He died on Saturday morning, the 1st of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 430 (Aug. A. D. 1039).—Relative to *Hauf*, from which the surname of *Haufi* is derived, as-Samâni says: "I imagined that it was a village in Egypt, till I saw in al-Bukhâri's historical "work that it is situated in Omân. Abû 'l-Hasan al-Haufi drew his origin from "this place: he possessed a great portion of the works composed by Abû Jaafar "an-Nahhâs (*vol. I. p.* 81)." On this I must observe that Hauf is not, as he supposes, a *village* in Egypt, but a well-known tract of country in the province of Sharkiya, the capital of which is Bilbais: they give the name of *Hauf* to all the *Rîf*, or cultivated part (1), of that country, but I do not know of any village there so called. Abû 'l-Hasan belonged to the Hauf in Egypt.—The preceding article had been finished some time when I met with a notice containing the particulars of al-Haufi's life. From this it appears that he belonged to a village called

Shubra 'n-Nakhla (2), in the province of Sharkiya; he then went to Old Cairo 460 (*Misr*), where he studied under Abû Bakr al-Adfuwi, and met with a number of learned Maghribins, from whom he derived considerable information; he then commenced as a professor of grammar, and composed a large work on that science, and another, in ten volumes, containing the grammatical analysis of the Koran. A great number of his treatises are still studied.

(1) The difficulty of reconciling the accounts, given by Arabic geographers, of the *Hauf* and the *Rîf* was first pointed out by M. de Sacy in his *Abd-Allatif*. M. Quatremère has some observations on the subject in his *Recherches sur l'Egypte*, p. 179 *et seq*. The solution of the difficulty is due to M. Reinaud. See his translation of Abû 'l-Fedâ's Geography, page 141, note.

(2) In the place of النخلة the autograph has a word which may be read اللخّجة or العجّمه.

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## AL-AKHFASH AL-ASGHAR.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Sulaimân Ibn al-Fadl, better known by the appellation of al-Akhfash al-Asghar (*al-Akhfash the less*), was a learned grammarian. The information which he communicated to his pupils was given by him on the authority of al-Mubarrad, Thâlab, and other great masters; his own authority was cited by al-Marzubâni, Abû 'l-Faraj al-Moâfa al-Jariri (1), and others. His character as a trustworthy transmitter of traditional knowledge is well established. He must not be confounded with al-Akhfash al-Akbar, or with al-Akhfash al-Ausat (*vol. I. p.* 572): al-Akhfash al-Akbar, whose real names were Abû 'l-Khattâb Abd al-Hamid Ibn Abd al-Majid, was a native of Hajar and a *mawla* to one of the tribes inhabiting that region. He was a grammarian, a philologer, and a transmitter of expressions peculiar to the Arabs of the desert, some of which were made known, for the first time, by himself. Sibawaih, Abû Obaida, and other eminent scholars of the same period, received a portion of their information from him. As I was unable to discover the date of his death, I could not devote a special article to him in this work (2). As for al-Akhfash

al-Ausat, whose name was Said Ibn Masâda, and who had been a pupil of Sibawaih, he has been already noticed (*vol. I. p.* 572).— Al-Akhfash al-Asghar and the poet Ibn ar-Rûmi were at enmity with each other, and as the latter was very superstitious, al-Akhfash used to go to his door, early in the morning, and pronounce words of ill omen: this prevented Ibn ar-Rûmi from stirring out during that day. Being provoked at length by this annoyance, the poet attacked his enemy in a number of satires, which are still extant in the collection of his works; but al-Akhfash got them off by heart and cited them with approbation in his lessons; testifying at the same time how proud he was of the honour done to him by Ibn ar-Rûmi in satirizing him. When this came to the ears of the poet, he discontinued his attacks. "The stock of poetry," says al-Marzubâni, "which al-Akhfash knew by heart and taught with the authorisation of his "preceptors, was very limited; this was also the case with his grammatical "information. He never drew up a single work, nor pronounced a line of "poetry composed by himself; and when questioned on a point of grammar, "he would lose patience and dismiss the applicant with an abrupt refusal." He died suddenly at Baghdad, in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 315 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 927-8); others say, in the month of Shaabân of that year, or in the year 316. He was interred in the cemetery at the bridge of Baradân. In the year 287 (A. D. 900) he visited Egypt, and in 306 (A. D. 918-9) he proceeded from that country to Aleppo.— *Akhfash* means *having little eyes and a bad sight.*— *Baradân* is the name of a village in the dependencies of Baghdad; it has produced a number of learned men and other remarkable persons.— "This al-"Akhfash," says Abû 'l-Hasan Thâbit Ibn Sinân (*vol. I. p.* 289), "used to pay "assiduous court to Abû Ali Ibn Mukla (3), by whom he was treated with "great attention and kindness. He one day complained to him of the extreme "indigence to which he was reduced, and requested him to acquaint the vizir "Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Isa with his situation, and pray him to inscribe his "name on the list of literary men who received pensions. Abû Ali spoke to "the vizir on the subject, informing him that al-Akhfash was in very reduced "circumstances and had hardly any means of existence; for which reason he "begged of him to settle a pension on him as on the other literary men of the "time. To this the vizir gave a positive refusal expressed in the rudest man-"ner, and that in the presence of a large company. Abû Ali felt so highly

"offended at the vizir's conduct that he retired from the assembly and went "home, repenting of having asked any thing from him. As for al-Akhfash, "he remained in his former state and became quite dispirited. His misery at "length reached to such a pitch, that he was obliged by hunger to eat raw beet-"roots. It is said that he died suddenly of a spasm of the heart."

(1) The lives of these two persons are given by Ibn Khallikân.
(2) See the author's observations in the preface, vol. I. p. 3.
(3) The life of Ibn Mukla is given by Ibn Khallikân.

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## AL-WAHIDI.

461 Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Mattûya al-Wâhidi al-Mattûwi, the author of the celebrated commentaries (*on the Koran*), was the first master of his time in the sciences of grammar and koranic exegesis. The divine grace which attended him is manifest in his works; they were universally considered as excellent, and were frequently cited by professors in their lessons. Three of them, the *Basît* (*in extenso*), the *Wasît* (*medium*), and the *Wajîz* (*compendium*), are on the interpretation of the Koran, and their titles have been adopted by Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli for three of his own works. He composed also a treatise on the motives for which the different portions of the Koran were revealed; a work called the *Takhbîr* (*indication*) (1), containing an explanation of the (*ninety-nine*) excellent names given to God; a full commentary on the poems of al-Mutanabbi, surpassing in excellence all the numerous works on the same subject, and containing many curious observations: it is thus that after explaining the following verse:

> When noble deeds, swords, spears, the daughters of Auwaj—all are assembled together,—

He adds: "*Auwaj* was a stallion of noble race, belonging to the tribe of Hilâl "Ibn Aâmir. The owner was once asked what was the greatest degree of speed

"which he ever remarked in him, and he replied: 'I was riding him and lost
" 'my way in the desert, but, seeing a flock of *katas* (2) going in quest of
" 'water, I followed them with a tight rein, and we all arrived at the spring in
" 'a single heat.' This was a most extraordinary thing, for *katas* are very swift
" of flight, and when they make towards a watering-place, their speed is much
" greater than ordinary. This, however, was not sufficient for the Arab in his
" description, and he added that he kept in his horse with a tight rein; had
" he not done so, he would have outstripped the *katas*; which is a fine specimen
" of amplification. The horse was named *Auwaj* (*the twisted*) for this reason:
" when he was a foal, a hostile troop came down to attack the tribe, on which
" they took to flight, and as the little animal had not sufficient strength to keep
" up with them, they put him into a sack and carried him off. His back got a
" twist from this treatment, and he was therefore called *Auwaj*."—The verse just cited is taken from the poem in which the author laments the death of Fâtik al-Majnûn (3).—Al-Wâhidi was a pupil of ath-Thâlabi, the author of the celebrated commentary on the Koran (*vol. I. p.* 60); he learned from him the science of koranic interpretation, and ended by surpassing him. He died of a lingering disease in the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 468 (Jan.-Feb. A. D. 1076), at Naisâpûr.—*Mattûwi* means *descended from Mattûya*.—I do not know the origin of the relative adjective *Wâhidi*, neither does as-Samâni mention it.—I have since discovered that Abû Ahmad al-Askari (*vol. I. p.* 382) derives it from *al-Wâhid*, the name of a person who was the son of ad-Dìn Ibn Mahra (4).

(1) In the autograph this title is written *Tahbîr* (*embellishment*).

(2) See page 145 of this volume, note (3).

(3) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân, and the poem will be found in M. Grangeret de Lagrange's *Anthologie Arabe*.

(4) This Mahra may perhaps be the son of Kudâa, noticed by Ibn Kutaiba. Eichhorn's *Monumenta Hist. Ar.* tab. XI

## IBN MAKULA.

The emir Abû Nasr Ali, surnamed *Saad al-Mulk* (*the good fortune of the kingdom*), and generally known by the name of Ibn Mâkûla, was the son of Hibat Allah Ibn Ali Ibn Jaafar Ibn Allakân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Dulaf Ibn Abi Dulaf al-Kâsim Ibn Isa al-Ijli : the remainder of the genealogy is given in the life of his ancestor Abû Dulaf al-Kâsim. His family belonged to Jarbâzakân, a place near Ispahân, and his father Abû 'l-Kâsim Hibat Allah was vizir to the imâm (*khalif*) al-Kâim biamr Illah. His paternal uncle Abû Abd Allah al-Hasan Ibn Ali, who filled the place of kâdi at Baghdad, had learned a great quantity of Traditions; he composed also some instructive works, after studying under the most eminent masters in Irak, Khorâsân, Syria, and other countries.—Abû Nasr (*Ibn Makûla*), a man celebrated for his talents and learning, was sedulously and successfully devoted to the research of such proper names, as were uncertain in their meaning and derivation (1).—The Khatib Abû Bakr, author of the History of Baghdad, had taken the *Mukhtalif wa Mûtalif* of ad-Dârakutni (*see page* 240), and 402 the *Mushtabih an-Nisba* of the *hâfiz* Abd al-Ghani (*vol. II. p.* 169) and combined them together, with some additions of his own; forming thus a new work to which he gave the title of *al-Mutanif Takmila tal-Mukhtalif* (*the recommenced, being the completion of the Mukhtalif*). The emir Abû Nasr augmented this *Takmila* with the names which he had discovered, and made it into a new work under the title of *al-Ikmâl* (*the completion*). This last is extremely useful for fixing the orthography and pronunciation of proper names, and clearing up the uncertainties which may subsist on these points: it is the standard authority of the persons engaged in this study and of the traditionists, in as much as it surpasses all similar productions by its intrinsic excellence. A supplement, composed with no inferior talent, was added to it afterwards by Ibn Nukta, (*a traditionist*) whose life shall be given in this work. The talent displayed by the emir Ibn Mâkûla in his *Ikmâl* is quite sufficient for his reputation; it is a monument of the extensive acquirements, solid learning, and correct information of the author. The following lines are attributed to him :

> Strike thy tent and quit the land where thou art despised; avoid humiliation; humiliation should always be avoided. Depart from the place where thy merit is not acknowledged; the aloes-wood is employed for common uses in its native land (2)

He was born at Okbara on the 5th of Shaabân, A. H. 421 (August, A. D. 1030), and he was murdered at Jurjân by his servants between the years 470 and 480. Ibn al-Jauzi mentions, in his *Kitâb al-Muntazim*, that he was killed in A. H. 475 (A. D. 1082-3), or in 487, according to some. Another authority gives 479 as the year, and Khorasân as the place of his death; but al-Ahwâz is also indicated as the country where he met with his fate. Al-Humaidi (3) says: "He set out for Khorasân with some young Turkish slaves who belonged "to him; but they murdered him at Jurjân and fled with his money. The "crime remained unpunished." The poet Surr-Durr (whose life we shall give) celebrated the praises of Ibn Màkûla, and this eulogium is still extant in his collected poetical works.—The meaning of the word *Mâkûla* is unknown to me; and I am unable to say whether the title of *emir* was given to him because he was really one, or because he was a descendant of (*the emir*) Abû Dulaf al-Ijli.— Of *Okbara* I have already spoken in the life of Abû 'l-Baka (*vol. II. p.* 66).

(1) The autograph has الالفاظ المشتبهة فى الاسماء الاعلام.

(2) Literally: The green aloes-wood in its localities is (*as common*) wood.

(3) The life of Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi is given in this work. He died A. H. 488.

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## ABU 'L-FARAJ AL-ISPAHANI.

Abù 'l-Faraj Ali, the *kâtib* and author of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni* (1), was a member of the tribe of Koraish and a descendant of Marwân Ibn Muhammad, the last of the Omaiyide khalifs. His genealogy is thus given: Abû 'l-Faraj Ali Ibn al-Husain Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Haitham Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Marwân Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Marwân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Marwân Ibn al-Hakam Ibn Abi 'l-Aâsi Ibn Omaiya Ibn Abd Shams Ibn Abd Manâf. His family inhabited Ispahân, but he passed his early youth in Baghdad, and became the most distinguished scholar and most eminent author of that city. It would be too long to enumerate the learned men from whom he received and transmitted

down his information. He was well acquainted with the *days* (or contests) of the Arabs, their genealogy and history. "Amongst the persons whom we met "with," says at-Tanûkhi (2), "and who professed Shiite opinions, was Abû 'l-"Faraj al-Ispahani. I never found a person knowing by heart such a quantity "as he did of poems, songs, historical relations, anecdotes of ancient times, au-"thentic narratives (3), and genealogies; besides which he possessed information "in other sciences, such as philology, grammar, story-telling, biography, and "the history of the Moslim conquests; he was acquainted also with the branches "of knowledge requisite for a boon-companion, such as falconry, farriery, the "preparation of beverages, a smattering of medicine and astrology, etc." His verses combine the learning of the scholar with the grace and elegance of the poet; his other works are excellent, and one of them, the *Kitâb al-Aghâni* (*book*
463 *of songs*) (4), is unanimously considered as unequalled. It is said that he was fifty years in compiling it, and that he took it to Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân, who remunerated him with one thousand pieces of gold, regretting at the same time his inability to offer a more adequate recompense. It is related that when the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p.* 212) was travelling or changing residence, he took with him for perusal thirty camel-loads of books on literary subjects; but, on receiving the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, he found he could dispense with all the others and took it alone. The other works of Abû 'l-Faraj are: the *Kitâb al-Kiyân* (*history of female musicians*); the *Kitâb al-Imâ is-Shawâer* (*history of the female slaves who were poets*); the *Kitâb ad-Diyârât* (*book of monasteries*) (5); the *Kitâb Dâwâ tit-Tijâr* (*on the mercantile profession*) (6); a collection of songs without note or comment; the Adventures of Jahza tal-Barmaki (*vol. I. p.* 118); the *Kitâb Makâtil it-Tâlibiyîn* (*account of the tragical fate of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib's descendants*); the *Kitâb al-Hânât* (*book of taverns*) (7); and the *Adâb al-Ghurabâ* (*manners or literary studies of foreigners*). A number of works composed by him for the Omaiyides of Spain are still extant in that country; he forwarded them privately to these princes, and the marks of their beneficence were transmitted to him in the same manner. Amongst these works were the following: Genealogy of the descendants of Abd Shams; Battle-days of the Arabs, containing an account of one thousand seven hundred combats; the *Kitâb at-Taadîl wa 'l-Intisâf* (*impartial examination and appreciation of the noble deeds and the opprobrious actions of the Arabs*); the *Jamhara tan-Nisab* (*comprehensive genealogical treatise*);

the Genealogy of the descendants of Shaibân; the Genealogy of the Muhallabite family; the Genealogy of the descendants of Taghlab; the Genealogy of the descendants of Kilâb; History of the slave-boys who were good singers, etc. Abû 'l-Faraj was exclusively attached to the vizir al-Muhallabi, and he composed some pieces of poetry in his praise, one of which is as follows:

When we sought for means of subsistence and took shelter under his protection, he gave relief yet spared our feelings; he was beneficent, yet vaunted not the greatness of his favours. We went to him poor, and he restored us to wealth; we had recourse to his liberality in our distress, and he placed us in the midst of abundance.

A Greek concubine belonging to the vizir having been delivered of a son, the poet congratulated him on the happy event in the following lines, forming part of a *kasîda:*

Receive a pledge of happiness in the birth of that infant, which heaven has sent thee as a blessing! The moon, pervading with its lustre the depths of night, is but an emblem of its beauty. Blessed be the propitious hour in which a virtuous mother, a daughter of the Asfars (8), brought it forth! It rejoiceth in its exaltation on the two highest pinnacles of mortal glory! sprung, as it is, from the united stocks of the Muhallabs and the Cæsars. The sun of the morning was in conjunction with the moon of the night, and their union has produced Jupiter (9).

The following lines were written by him to a man of rank who was suffering from sickness (10):

O Abû Muhammad! thou so worthy of praise! O thou who art so fair (*hasan*) in thy noble deeds and thy generosity! O swollen sea of liberality! Mayest thou be preserved from sick-bed visitors, from the remedies of illness and from the approach of pain (11)!

He composed a great deal of poetry, and his talents have rendered him illustrious. His birth took place, A.H. 284 (A.D. 897-8), the year in which the poet al-Bohtori died; he expired at Baghdad on Wednesday, the 14th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 356 (November, A. D. 967); some say, but erroneously, that he died A. H. 357. Previously to his death, his intellect became disordered. Two men of great learning and three powerful princes died in the year 356; namely: this Abû 'l-Faraj, Abû Ali 'l-Kâli, Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân, Moizz ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih, and Kâfûr al-Ikhshidi; (see their lives in this work.)



(1) A considerable portion of this article has already appeared in a French translation. See M. Quatremère's *Mémoire sur le Kitab al-Agâni* in the *Journal Asiatique* for November, 1835. It may be remarked that in rendering certain expressions and passages, I have occasionally differed from that learned scholar.

(2) Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali at-Tanûkhi and his son Abû Ali al-Muhassin were both contemporaries of Abû 'l-Faraj; it is therefore difficult to say which of them is the person cited here by Ibn Khallikân. Their lives are given in this work.

(3) Literally: Narratives with their *Isnads*.—See Introduction to vol. I. p. xxii.

(4) A complete edition of this important work, text and Latin translation, has been undertaken by professor Kosegarten. The three first parts have appeared under the title of *Alii Ispahanensis liber Cantilenarum magnus*.

(5) This was a collection of the best poems inspired by the view of Christian monasteries and the aspect of monastic life. It was a very common subject with the Moslim poets of the third and fourth century of the Hijra. See the life of as-Shâbushti in this volume.

(6) Literally: On the merchants' calling.

(7) Probably a collection of tavern anecdotes and verses in praise of wine.

(8) For the origin of the denomination *Asfar* and Banû 'l-Asfar given to the Romans by Arabic writers, see M. de Sacy's note in the *Journal Asiatique* for January, 1836.

(9) To render this verse intelligible, it should be paraphrased thus: Thou, O vizir! whose glory is resplendent as the midday sun, wast joined to a maiden whose beauty equalled the lustre of the moon, and this union has produced a child, who, like the planet Jupiter, announces by his presence happiness and joy.

(10) The poet has skilfully indicated in his verses that this person's name was Abû Muhammad al-Hasan.

(11) The merit of this last verse consists in the curious example of alliteration which it offers in the original text.

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## IBN ASAKIR THE HAFIZ.

The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Abi Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Husain, generally known by the appellation of Ibn Asâkir 464 and surnamed Thikat ad-dîn (*sincere in faith*), was a native of Damascus and chief traditionist of Syria in that age. He ranked also among the most eminent jurisconsults of the sect of as-Shâfi, but, having made of the Traditions his favourite study, he acquired in that science a degree of superiority which no other had ever attained, and it was to his proficiency therein that he was indebted for his reputation. His zeal in this pursuit and his desire of communicating personally with the teachers of the Traditions led him to visit distant countries and travel to and fro through various regions, in company with the *hâfiz* Abû

Saad Abd al-Karim as-Samâni. In committing to memory the text of each Tradition, he never neglected learning by heart the *isnâd* (1) from which it derived its authority; he was, indeed, a pious and conscientious *hâfiz*. In the year 520 (A. D. 1126) he heard the disciples of al-Barmaki, at-Tanûkhi (2), and al-Jauhari (3) deliver Traditions at Baghdad; after which he proceeded to Khorasân and visited Naisâpûr, Herât, Ispahân, and Persian Irâk; at that time, he made his extracts from different authors and composed his own instructive works. He discussed with great eloquence the traditional information which he had collected, and he displayed a most happy talent in compiling and drawing up the materials of his works. He composed a great (*biographical*) history of Damascus in eighty volumes, containing most curious information, and written on the plan of (*the Khatîb's*) History of Baghdad. I was one day with my master Abd al-Azim al-Mundiri, the chief *hâfiz* of Egypt, (may God prolong his days for our instruction!) (4) and the conversation happening to fall on this history, he brought me out a volume of it, and spoke longly on its merits and excellence: "I cannot but think," said he, "that the author must have made the resolution "of composing this history on the very day in which his intelligence could form "a reasonable conception, and that he began from that moment to collect the "materials; for the ordinary life of a man, passed in study and devoted to the "subject, would be insufficient for the task of assembling so much information "as that book contains." This observation is perfectly true, and its correctness will be admitted by every person who examines the work; for how could any man find time enough to compose one like it? and it must be also taken into consideration that the published text consists of passages selected, after verification, from an immense mass of written notes. He composed some other good and instructive works, and a considerable quantity of poetry (5), of which we may give the following passage:

> The science of Traditions forms an important part of knowledge, and its fairest branch is that of well-authenticated statements. But the most useful, in my opinion, and the finest consists in instructive information conveyed by (6) dictation. You will find that nothing gives more cértitude to science than its utterance from the lips of men. Be ardent, then, my friend! in its acquisition, and receive it with untiring zeal from the mouths of men. Take it not from books, or the faults of the copyists will overwhelm you with vexation.

The following piece also is attributed to him:

Alas, my heart! grey hairs have come! what mean thy youthful passions and those verses expressive of thy love? My youth has fled; it seems as if that time had never been! Hoary age has come; I feel as if it had always been my companion! Preoccupied by my thoughts, the strokes of fate fell upon me unawares. O that I knew with whom I shall be (*classed on the day of judgment*), and what may be the lot which God will declare to be mine for all eternity.

In the (*original Arabic*) of this last piece, the poet imposed on himself the unnecessary obligation of making the two last syllables of each verse rhyme together. The second verse is taken, with very slight alteration, as may be seen, from a poem of Ali Ibn Jabala al-Akawwak (7), where he says:

Youth, as if it had never been; and hoary age as if it had never ceased to be.

The *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir was born on the first of Muharram, A. H. 499 (Sept. A. D. 1105), and he died at Damascus on the eve of Monday, the 21st of Rajab, A.H. 571 (February, A.D. 1176). He was buried in the cemetery at the Lesser Gate (*al-Bâb as-Saghîr*), near the spot where his father and other members of his family were interred. Funeral prayers were said over him by the *shaikh* Kutb ad-dîn (*Masûd*) an-Naisapûri (8), and the sultan Salâh ad-dîn was present at the ceremony.—His son Abû Muhammad al-Kâsim, surnamed Bahâ ad-dîn (*splendour of religion*), who was also a *hâfiz*, died at Damascus on the 9th of Safar, A. H. 600 (Oct. A.D. 1203), and was buried the same day outside the gate called Bâb an-Nasr. His birth took place in that city on the eve of the 15th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 527 (April, A. D. 1133).—His brother Hibat Allah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Hibat Allah, surnamed Sâin ad-dîn (*custodiens fidem*), was a learned jurisconsult and traditionist; he died at Damascus on Sunday, the 23rd of Shaabân, A. H. 563 (June, A.D. 1168), and was buried, the next morning, at the Lesser-Gate Cemetery. According to the statement of his brother the *hâfiz*, he was born on one of the first ten days of the month of Rajab, A. H. 488 (July, A. D. 1095); he went to Baghdad, A. H. 520 (A. D. 1126), and after studying under Asaad al-Mîhani (*vol. I. p.* 189) and Ibn Barhân (*vol. I. p.* 80), he returned to Damascus and gave lessons in the western Maksûra (9) of the Great Mosque. He gave also opinions, as a *mufti*, on points of law, and taught the Traditions.

(1) See vol. I. Introduction, p. xxii.

(2) The life of Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali at-Tanûkhi will be found in this volume.

(3) Abû Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad, surnamed al-Jauhari, was the first *hâfiz* مسند of the age in Irak, and resided in Shîrâz, but removed afterwards to Baghdad. Born A. H. 364 (A.D. 974-5); died A.H. 454 (A.D. 1062.)— *Nujûm*.)

(4) The autograph which contains this passage was written at Cairo, A. H. 655. Abd al-Azîm al-Mundiri died the ensuing year. See vol. I. p. 89.

(5) The text has شعر لا باس به literally, in French: *pas mal de vers.*

(6) The autograph has ق not و.

(7) The life of al-Akawwak is given in this work.

(8) His life is given by our author.

(9) Every great mosque has a large pew (*maksûra*) on the left side of the *mihrâb* for the chaunters, and another on the right side for the sultan, if it be an imperial mosque. It must have been in the sultan's Maksûra, that Hibat Allah gave his lessons.

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## AS-SIMSIMANI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abd al-Ghaffâr as-Simsimâni was celebrated for his abilities as a philologer, and the books on literary subjects which contain notes in his handwriting are sought after with avidity. All I know respecting his personal history is, that he received lessons from Abû Bakr Ibn Shâdân and Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Mâmûn. His veracity as a transmitter of traditional information was generally acknowledged.—The *Khatîb* mentions him in the History of Baghdad and says: "I took notes when he dictated his "lessons; he wrote a great deal, and his penmanship was extremely elegant and "correct. He commenced his career as a professor at Baghdad by transmitting "orally to his pupils the pieces of general literature which he had received in "the same manner from his own masters, and by instructing them in a portion "of the same science which had been already committed to writing (1). The "greater part of his books were written out by himself, and, on his death, they "came into the possession of the learned scholar Ibn Dînâr al-Wâsiti, but "most of them were destroyed by an inundation." He died on Wednesday, the 4th of Muharram, A. H. 415 (March, A. D. 1024).—I did not know the origin of the surname *Sîmsimâni*, till I found the following passage in al-Hariri's *Durra*



*tal-Ghawâss*: "When they (*the vulgar*) wish to employ the relative adjectives "derived from *fâkiha* (*fruit*), *bâkillâ* (*greens*), and *simsim* (*sesame*), they say "*fakihâni* (*fruiterer*), *bakillâni* (*greengrocer*), and *simsimâni* (*seller of sesame*); but "they are wrong."— He then points out the nature of the fault, and continues: "The proper form of locution is *simsimi*, to designate a seller of sesame;" he then adds further observations with which he concludes his dissertation. When I met this passage, I became aware that Abû 'l-Hasan's surname *Simsimâni* was derived from *simsim*, and that it was a word employed conventionally by the vulgar.

(1) The Arabic says simply: by relating, and by teaching to read literature.

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## THE SHARIF AL-MURTADA.

The *sharîf* Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali, surnamed al-Murtada (*gratum habitus*), and *nakîb*, or chief, of that class of Moslims who drew their descent from Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, was the brother of the *sharîf* ar-Rida, whose life we shall give, and the son of at-Tâhir Zû 'l-Manâkib, the son of Abû Ahmad al-Husain, the son of Musa, the son of Muhammad, the son of Ibrahîm, the son of Mûsa al-Kâzim, the son of Jaafar as-Sâdik, the son of Muhammad al-Bâkir, the son of Ali Zain al-Aâbidîn, the son of al-Husain, the son of Ali, the son of Abi Tâlib. He possessed the highest abilities in scholastic theology, general literature, and poetry, and is author of some works on the system of doctrine held by the Shiites; he composed also a discourse on the fundamentals of the Moslim religion, and a great quantity of poetry, which has been collected into a *diwân*. In describing the *tâif*, or image of the beloved seen by the lover in his dreams (1), he displays great talent, and he recurs to the subject very frequently. It is a controverted point whether the book entitled *Nahj al-Balâgha* (*high-road of precision in discourse*), and containing a collection of sayings by the imâm Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, was 466 compiled by al-Murtada or by his brother ar-Rida: it has been even stated that

these sayings were never uttered by Ali, and that the person who collected them and attributed them to that imâm was himself the author of them: of this God is the best judge! He wrote also a work under the title of *al-Ghurar wa 'd-Durar* (*stars and pearls*), consisting of discourses which he had pronounced at assemblies presided by himself; they embrace a variety of subjects connected with general literature, and contain observations on points of grammar, philology, etc. It is an instructive work and indicates not only the great talent of the author, but his extensive information in the sciences. Ibn Bassâm speaks of him towards the end of the *Dakhîra*; "This *sharîf*," says he, "was generally considered as the "greatest imâm of Irâk; to him the learned of that country had recourse, and "from him its great men received instruction. He was the master of its schools, "and the possessor of the rare (*information*) and the familiar (*knowledge*) there "subsisting. He was one of those whose reputation spread abroad, whose name "gained publicity for his verses, whose virtues and deeds found praise in the "sight of God. Add to this, his compositions on religious subjects and his "works on the principles of Moslim science; treatises which declare him a "branch of that (*noble*) stem and a member of that illustrious (*family, the*) "house (*of Ali*)." He gives also some pieces of verse by al-Murtada, one of which is as follows:

She granted me favours with reluctance in my waking hours, but when I slept, she bestowed them in abundance (2). Then we met, and I enjoyed my wishes; it was happiness unalloyed, had it not been all a dream. Since night is then the time of lovers' meetings, night is surely better than day (3).

This thought is borrowed from the lines of Abû Tammâm at-Tâi, in which he says:

My imagination called on her to visit my sleeping hours, and she came in secret and unseen. O what a meeting is that wherein the souls enjoy delight whilst the bodies are not aware! Such interviews as these have for us but one defect—we are then under the influence of a dream.

Another of al-Murtada's pieces is the following:

My two dearest friends! chief ornaments of the tribe of Kais! love subdues man's character to mildness. Let me turn my thoughts towards you, so that I may for a moment forget my cares; 'tis thus you will delight me: and let me quench my thirst with repeated draughts from the cup which my tears have filled. Let sleep not approach my eyelids; I bestow it upon lovers (*who require it*).

When these lines came to the knowledge of the poet al-Busrawi, he observed that al-Murtada bestowed what he did not possess on persons who would not receive it (4).—He says in another piece:

> When a distant journey willed that we should separate, that moment discovered whose love was sincere and whose affected; and on the evening of the caravan's departure, I seemed, from my restless agitation, like a man distracted.

The idea expressed in the first of these verses is taken from a poem rhyming in *K*, which was composed by al-Mutanabbi in praise of Adud ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih. As the poet was then on the point of leaving the court of the prince and proceeding from Shîrâz to Irâk, he addressed him this poem as a farewell. It was in this journey that al-Mutanabbi lost his life, as we have already observed (*vol. I. p.* 105). The following is the passage to which we allude:

> Amongst the lovers was one distinguished by the ardour of his passion and another who pretended to partake therein; but when the visages were drowned in tears, he that really wept was easily distinguished from the pretender.

467 I extract the following verses from the *Jinân al-Janân*, in which they are given as al-Murtadi's by the kâdi ar-Rashîd Ahmad Ibn az-Zubair, the author of that work (*vol. I. p.* 143):

> I and those who blamed me for loving are at daggers-drawing: I am a *Khârijite* (5) in love (*and hold that*) none but the fairest have a right to power.

The same writer attributes to him also the lines which follow:

> Mistress of my heart! full-moon (*of beauty*) resplendent in the darkest shades of night! take me by the hand and draw me from the abyss into which I have fallen. The miracles wrought by thy beauty never cease; like the sea, we may speak (6) of its marvels without restraint. I conjure thee, in the name of Him who formed thy cheeks and gave them sovereign power over our hearts, to stretch forth thy dear hands, as I do mine, and pray that I may be delivered from the passion which thou hast awakened in my bosom.

He gives also as al-Murtadi's the following verses:

> Bear from me this message to one whose cheeks have been wounded by (*our indiscreet*) glances (*and are suffused with blushes*): "Let those features, wounded as they are, "beam kindness upon me. O thou whose eyes are languishing, but not from feeble "health! blame me not if I die of the malady which they have caused. I have adven- "tured into (*the ocean of*) thy love, with a heart which has embarked on the same sea, "to reach thee or to perish (7)."



The following anecdote is related by the *khatîb* Abû Zakariyâ Yahya at-Tabrîzi, the philologer: "Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Sallak al-Fâli, "a man well-versed in the belles-lettres, possessed an extremely correct copy of "Ibn Duraid's *Jamhara*, which poverty compelled him to sell. It was bought "by the *sharîf* al-Murtada for sixty dinars (8), and on turning over the leaves, "he found in it the following lines in the handwriting of al-Fâli, the person who "sold it:

> 'It was my companion for twenty years, and yet I sold it! my sorrow and regret will 'long endure under that privation. I could never have thought that I should have sold 'it, even had my debts retained me for ever in prison. But I was constrained to it by 'misery and poverty and the state of my children, over whom I wept in sadness. Un-'able to suppress my gushing tears, I said (*to my wife*) like one heart-broken (9) and 'afflicted: 'O Omm Mâlik! necessity forces the most precious objects from even the 'miser's hands.'' "

This *al-Fâli* drew his surname from *Fâla*, a town in Khûzestân near Aidaj (10). He had been a long time an inhabitant of Basra and had studied there under Abû Amr Ibn Abd al-Wâhid al-Hâshimi and other eminent masters of the epoch; he then removed to Baghdad, where he settled and taught the Traditions.—His grandfather's name is to be pronounced *Sallak*, but, in another place, I found it written *Silk*.—Al-Murtada was equally distinguished for the elegance of his genius and for his virtues. He was born A. H. 355 (A. D. 965-6), and he died at Baghdad on Sunday, the 25th of the first Rabî, A. H. 436 (Sept. A. D. 1044). He was interred in (*the court of*) his house on the evening of the same day.—Abû 'l-Hasan al-Fâli died on the eve of Friday, the 8th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 448 (January, A.D. 1057), and was buried in the cemetery at the Jâmi (or *mosque*) of al-Mansûr. He was an elegant scholar and a poet. Some historical relations are given on his authority by the *khatîb* Abû Bakr in his History of Baghdad, by Abû 'l-Husain [Ibn] at-Tuyûri, and others. 468

(1) See vol. I Introduction, page xxxvi.

(2) For كثيرة read كثيره.—The poet's meaning in this piece will be better understood on a perusal of the observations relative to the *Tâif al-Khiâl*, inserted in the Introduction to vol. I. p. xxxvi.

(3) The Arabic words signify also: "Evil fortune is better than good." The point of the verses lies in this double meaning which allows the poet to advance a paradox unexpectedly.

(4) He means that al-Murtada's affection for his absent friends put sleep out of his power, and that true

lovers had nothing to do with sleep. But al-Busrawi should have recollected that every lover desires sleep, so that he may dream of his mistress.

(5) *Khârijite* signifies *heretic* and *exteriorist*. The poet employs this equivocal word designedly, but his real meaning is: "I love her for her body, not for her mind." See a similar quibble in the life of Ibn Hazm az-Zâhiri; page 269 of this volume.

(6) Literally: Like the sea, the history of which has no bounds. If, in place of حدث, the reading حدّث be adopted, the sense is: Speak of it without restraint.

(7) The words اما واما signify "either one way or the other;" that is, "I shall risk the alternative."

(8) Twenty-five or thirty pounds sterling, at the lowest evaluation.

(9) Literally: *Branded on the heart*, or *heart-burned*.

(10) The town of Aidaj lies, or lay, at four days' journey east of Askar Mukram.

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## AL-KHILAI.

The kâdi 'l-Abû 'l-Husain (1) Ali Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Husain Ibn Muhammad, surnamed al-Khilâi, and the author of the (*work on the Traditions, called after him*) *al-Khilâiyât*, was a follower of the sect of as-Shâfi and an inhabitant of Egypt, but his family belonged to Mosul. He studied under Abû 'l-Hasan al-Haufi (*vol. II. p.* 243), Abû Muhammad Ibn an-Nahhâs, Abû 'l-Fath al-Addâs, Abû Saad al-Mâlini (2), Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Ahwâzi, and other masters. The kâdi Iyâd al-Yahsubi (3) relates as follows: "I asked Abû Ali as-Sadafi respecting al-" Khilâi whom he had met with in his journey to the East (4), and he " replied: 'He was a jurisconsult and composed some good works; having " 'been appointed kâdi, he filled the duties of this office for one day only, and " 'obtained permission to resign; he then retired into a hermitage in the Ka-" 'râfa. On the death of al-Habbâl (5) he became chief traditionist (6) of " 'Egypt.'" Mention is made of him also by the kâdi Abû Bakr Ibn al-Arabi (7), who says: "This *shaikh* lived, retired from the world, in the Karâfa; " He was the sole transmitter of certain Traditions founded on the highest au-" thority, and also the sole possessor of some curious and useful information on " a variety of points. Al-Humaidi (8) gave Traditions on his authority and " designated him by the surname of *al-Karâfi*." Another writer says: "Al-

"Khilâi held the post of kâdi at Fâmiya, and Abû Nasr Ahmad Ibn al-Hasan "as-Shîrâzi selected some portions of the information which he had heard at "his lectures (*and taught them to others*). The last survivor of those who trans- "mitted the same information on Abû Nasr's authority was Abû Rifâa. I ob- "tained from these notes the knowledge of a fact which was thus handed down "by al-Asmâi: 'The seal of Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ bore the following inscrip- "'tion:

> 'The man whose worldly prospects are his chief concern, clings to a rope that will 'surely fail him.

"'I asked Abû Amr about it, and he told me that as he was one day, at noon, "'taking a walk round his farm, he heard a voice reciting this verse, but "'could see no person. He then had it engraved on his ring.'" Abû 'l-Abbâs Thâlab attributes the verse to Hâni Ibn Tauba Ibn Suhaim Ibn Murra, generally known by the surname of as-Shuwaier al-Hanafi.—The *hâfiz* Abû Tâhir as-Silafi says: "When Abû 'l-Husain al-Khilâi was teaching the Traditions, "he concluded the sitting with the following prayer: 'O God! complete the "'favours which thou hast granted; take not away the graces which thou hast "'bestowed; discover not the faults over which thou hast cast a veil, and "'pardon those which thou hast rendered public.'" Al-Khilâi was born at Misr (*Old Cairo*) in the month of Muharram, A.H. 405 (July, A.D. 1014), and he died there on Saturday, the 18th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 492 (December, A. D. 1099); others say that his death took place on the 26th of the month.—His father died in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 448 (December, A. D. 1056).—*Khilâi* is derived from *khilâ* (*pelisses*); Abû 'l-Husain was so surnamed because he sold pelisses to the princes of Misr.—The *Karâfas* are two in number, the Greater and the Less; the former lies outside Misr (*Old Cairo*), and the latter outside Cairo; this last contains the tomb of the imâm as-Shâfi.—The *Banû Karâfa*, a branch of the tribe of al-Maâfir Ibn Yafur had settled in these two places which were therefore named after them.—*Fâmiya*, or, as it is sometimes written, *Afâmiya* is the name of a castle and canton in the province of Aleppo (9).

(1) In the autograph this name was originally written *al-Hasan;* but in remodelling the article, the author substituted *al-Husain*. Towards the end, he has left the name uncorrected.



(2) According to the *Nujûm*, a *hâfiz* and *Sûfi* whose name was Abû Saad Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Mâlîni and who had travelled through different countries, died A. H. 412 (A. D. 1021-2.) — *Mâlîni* means *native of Mâlîn*, a collection of villages so called in the neighbourhood of Herât.

(3) His life will be found in this volume.

(4) It is necessary to observe that the kâdi Iyâd was a native of Ceuta in North Africa.

(5) Abû Ishâk Ibrahîm Ibn Saîd an-Nomâni, surnamed *al-Habbâl* (*the rope-maker*), was a *hâfiz* of great learning and eminence. After travelling through various countries and receiving traditional information from a great number of masters, he proceeded to Egypt, where he settled, and died A.H. 482 (A.D. 1089-90), at the age of ninety years.—(*Nujûm*.)

(6) The original manuscript has سنذ, which is here a noun in the accusative case.

(7) His life will be found in this work.

(8) The life of al-Humaidi is given in this work.

(9) Fâmia, the *Apamea* of the ancients, is placed, in Brockhaus' map of Syria, in lat. 35° 18′, and long. 34° 12′ E. from Paris.

## AS-SHABUSHTI.

The *katib* Abû 'l-Husain (1) Ali Ibn Muhammad as-Shâbushti, an elegant scholar and a man of talent, was attached to the service of al-Azîz Ibn al-Moizz 469 the Obaidite (*Fatimite*), sovereign of Egypt, as private librarian and reader (*defter khuân*); and his agreeable conversation and pleasing manners rendered him the companion of his master's social and convivial parties. He wrote some good works, one of which, entitled *Kitâb ad-Diârât* (*book of convents*), contains the indication of every convent in Irâk, Mosul, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, with all the poems composed on each of them and an account of what passed in them. This book is drawn up on the plan of the similar works, bearing the same title, which were composed by the two *Khâlidites* (2) and by Abû 'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni: a great number of books have been written on this subject. His other works are the *Kitâb al-Yusr baad al-Osr* (*ease after pain*); the *Marâtib al-Fokahâ* (*classified list of jurisconsults*); the *Kitâb at-Taukîf wa 't-Takhwîf* (*attention arrested and apprehension inspired*), and a number of letters and epistolary essays, containing passages of poetry and moral maxims. He composed also some treatises on literary and other subjects. His death took place A. H. 390 (A. D. 1000), or, according to the emir al-Mukhtâr al-Musabbihi, in 388; another author names the day,



which was Tuesday eve, the 15th of Safar. He died in Old Cairo.—I repeatedly made researches to discover the origin of the surname *Shâbushti*, but all my pains were fruitless, till I found, some years afterwards, in Abû Ishak as-Sâbi's work, the *Tâji* (*see vol. I. p.* 31), that the chamberlain to the Dailamite prince Washmaguir Ibn Ziâr was called as-Shâbushti, and that he was killed, near Ispahân, A. H. 326 (A. D. 937-8). It appears therefore that this is a Dailamite name, and that it resembles a relative adjective in no other point but its form. It is possible that the *kâtib* Abû 'l-Husain may have been a descendant of this person, and was therefore designated by the appellation of *Shâbushti*, which patronymic he transmitted to his descendants.—The Washmaguir just mentioned was the father of the emir Kâbûs, whose life will be found farther on.

(1) I follow the autograph for the orthography of this name.

(2) The *two Khâlidites*, whose names were Abû Bakr Muhammad and Abû Othmân Saad, were poets highly distinguished by Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân, sovereign of Aleppo. Farther notice shall be taken of them in another part of this work. See also vol. I. p. 557.

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## IBN AL-KABISI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khalaf al-Maâfiri al-Karawi (*a member of the tribe of Maâfir, a native of Kairawân*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Kâbisi (*son of the native of Kâbis*), was a master of high authority in the science of the Traditions, their *isnâds* (1), and every thing connected with them; and great reliance was placed on his veracity. He composed a work entitled *al-Mulakhkhas* (*chosen selection*), containing all those Traditions, supported by an unbroken chain of authorities, which are contained in Ibn Kâsim's edition of Mâlik's *Muwatta* (2). This treatise, though short, is one of the best on the subject. Ibn al-Kâbisi was born on Monday, the 7th of Rajab, A. H. 324 (June, A. D. 936); he set out for the East on Saturday, the 10th of Ramadân, A. H. 352 (October, A. D. 963), and in A. H. 353, he made the pilgrimage to Mekka, where he heard al-Bukhâri's *Sahîh* explained by Abû Zaid (3). He then re-

turned to Kairawân, where he arrived on Wednesday morning, the 1st or 2nd of Shaabân, A. H. 357. This we give on the authority of Abû Abd Allah Mâlik Ibn Wuhaib (4). It is related by the *hâfiz* as-Silafi, in his work the *Mojam as-Safar* (5), that a person said at an assembly presided by Ibn al-Kâbisi at Kairawân: "Al-Mutanabbi has expressed the following thought with no inferior "talent:

'Our heart is required to forget thee, but nature resists the efforts of him who would 'change its ways.'"

On this, Ibn al-Kâbisi replied: "I pity your intelligence! what has prevented "you from recollecting these words of God (*where the thought is expressed much* "*better*): '*No change* (can be wrought) *on what God has created; that is* (a prin- "'ciple of) *the right religion; but the greater part of mankind know it not* (6).'" Ibn al-Kâbisi died on the eve of Wednesday, the 3rd of the latter Rabî, A. H. 403 (October, A. D. 1012), and was interred on the afternoon of the following day at Kairawân. A multitude of people passed the night at his tomb; tents were erected in the neighbourhood, and poets came forward, reciting elegies on his death.—When far advanced in age, he used to repeat the following verse of az-Zuhair Ibn Abi Sulma's (*the author of the* Muallaka):

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I suffer the afflictions of existence; but know that he who has lived eighty years must undergo afflictions.

—*Kâbisi* means *belonging to Kâbis*, which is a city in the province of Africa, near al-Mahdiya. When it fell into the possession of Tamîm Ibn al-Moizz Ibn Bâdis (*vol. I. p.* 281), Abû Muhammad, the *khatîb*, or preacher, of Sûsa, pronounced a long *kasîda*, which began thus:

Fortune, though called the frowning, smiled (*upon thee*) when the vigour of thy resolution forced Kâbis to open its gates. Thou hast espoused it, a virgin fortress, and the dowry it received consisted in spears, swords, and horsemen. It was the will of God that thou shouldst gather the fruit of the tree which had been planted by thy father (7). He that presses his suit with the point of the spear obtains stately castles (8) for brides.

(1) See vol. I. Introduction, page xxii.

(2) See vol. II. page 86.

(3) The full name of this Abû Zaid is Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Marwazi al-Fâshâni. His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(4) Read وهيب in the printed text. Abû Abd Allah Mâlik Ibn Wahîb, a native of Spain and one of the vizirs in the service of Ali Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn, the emperor of Morocco, was a member of the committee of doctors appointed by that prince to examine the Mahdi Ibn Tûmart, and the only man among them who penetrated into his projects. He is the author of a work entitled *Kurâda tad-Dahab* (*grains of gold*), containing accounts of the most despicable characters among the Arabs both before and after Islamism. This treatise, said to be very curious, was seen by the Shaikh Muhi ad-dîn Abd al-Wâhid in the library belonging to the Abd al-Mûmin family. He remarked also a copy of Ptolemy's *Almagest* in the handwriting of Ibn Wahîb.—(P. 183 of Abd al-Wâhid al-Marrakshi's *Kitâb al-Mojîb*, MS. of the Leyden Library, Cat. No. 1798. M. Weyer has given a notice on this MS. in the *Prolegomena ad ed. Ibn Abdûni*, p. 6.)

(5) This was probably a series of biographical notices on the doctors and other learned men with whom as-Silafi became acquainted in his travels, or from whom he took lessons.

(6) *Koran*; surat 30, verse 29.

(7) This is perhaps an allusion to the embellishments which Kâbis received from al-Moizz.

(8) The words here rendered *stately castles* signify also *fair ladies dwelling in castles*. In the original Arabic, the double meaning of these words helps out the metaphor.

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## IBN AL-KATTAA.

The philologer Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali, surnamed Ibn al-Kattâa, a member of the tribe of Saad, a Sicilian by birth, but an Egyptian by residence and death, was the son of Ali Ibn Jaafar Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ziâdat Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Aghlab as-Saadi Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn al-Aghlab Ibn Sâlam Ibn Ikâl Ibn Khafâja Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abbâd Ibn Mahrath Ibn Saad Ibn Harâm (1) Ibn Saad Ibn Mâlik Ibn Saad Ibn Zaid Manât Ibn Tamîm Ibn Murr Ibn Udd Ibn Tâbikha Ibn al-Yâs Ibn Modar Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maadd Ibn Adnân (2). Such is the genealogy which I found in my own handwriting among my rough notes, but I do not know from what source I drew it, and there exists another list copied from the handwriting of Ibn al-Kattâa himself; it is as follows: Ali the son of Jaafar Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Husain as-Saadi as-Shantarini (*belonging to Santarem*), a descendant of the tribe of Saad Ibn Zaid Manât Ibn Tamîm. I am unable to say which is the more correct.—Ibn al-Kattâa held a high rank by his acquirements in literature, and especially in philology. He composed some instructive works, such as the *Book of Verbs*, which is admirably executed and surpasses the former work, that of Ibn al-Kûtiya (3), on the same subject. Another work of his, contain-

ing a most complete collection of the *Forms of Nouns*, remains a proof of his extensive information. He wrote also a good and elegant treatise on prosody; a work containing extracts from the productions of the poets who were natives of the Island (4), and entitled *ad-Durra tal-Khatîra* (*the precious pearl*); and the *Lumah al-Mulah*, or *glimpses at beauties*, containing a collection of (*notices on*) many of the poets of Spain. He was born in Sicily on the 10th of Safar, A. H. 433 (October, A. D. 1041), and he studied the belles-lettres under the most eminent masters in that island, such as Ibn al-Barr the philologer and others. He acquired also a complete mastery of grammar. When Sicily was on the point of falling into the possession of the (*Norman*) Franks, he left the country, and in A. H. 500 (A. D. 1106-7) he arrived in Egypt, where he was received with every mark of honour. As an oral transmitter of pieces of literature preserved by tradition, he was accused of incorrectness and carelessness. In the year 446 he began to compose verses, of which the following may serve as specimens.—On a young female who had an impediment in her speech:

Behold a gazelle whose tongue is knotted, but yet undoes my knots (*dissolves my forces*) and weakens my fortitude. Those who knew not her worth reproached me for loving her, but I said to them: "Have you never heard of the (*enchantments wrought by*) "breathing on knots?" (5).

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From one of his *kasîdas*:

Consume not thy life in the pursuits of love; let not (*the cruelty of*) Sôda or (*of*) Nôm afflict thee any longer. Lament not over the ruined cottage on the edge of the desert, where Maiya (6) once resided; and shed not the drops of thy eyelids over mouldering walls (7). The true object of man's life is to obtain one necessary thing (8), but (*the memory of his*) culpable discourses and conduct subsists after him (9).

A great deal of poetry was composed by him. He died at Old Cairo in the month of Safar, A. H. 515 (April-May, A. D. 1121).

(1) The autograph has حرام.

(2) We have here an instance of the utility which may sometimes be derived from the long genealogies given by Ibn Khallikân. Had he curtailed this list, we should not have known the ancestry of the Aghlabite family and the links of their genealogical chain up to Adnân.

(3) His life will be found in this volume.

(4) I do not know whether Spain or Sicily be meant by *the island* in this case, but it is generally the former which is so designated.

(5) An allusion to a verse of the Koran, surat 113.

(6) Sôda, Nôm, and Maiya are names of females, and occur frequently in poems.

(7) This verse is not given in the autograph.

(8) Salvation is probably meant.

(9) I omit translating the piece which follows, for motives already stated. In the second verse is a play upon the word حمرة which is a proper name, and جمرة which signifies *burning coals.*

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## IBN HAZM AR-ZAHIRI.

Abû Muhammad Ali (*generally known by the appellation of Ibn Hazm az-Zâhiri*) was the son of Ahmad Ibn Saîd Ibn Hazm Ibn Ghâlib Ibn Sâlih Ibn Khalaf Ibn Maadân Ibn Sofyân Ibn Yazîd. His ancestor Yazîd was a *mawla* to Yazîd Ibn Abi Sofyân Sakhr Ibn Harb Ibn Omaiya Ibn Abd Shams the Omaiyide, and the first of the family who embraced Islamism. They were originally from Persia, and Khalaf was the first of his forefathers who went to Spain. Ibn Hazm was born in the eastern quarter of Cordova (1), on Wednesday morning, before sunrise, the 30th of Ramadân, A. H. 384 (November, A. D. 994). He was a learned *hâfiz*, versed in all the sciences connected with the Traditions and in their application to jurisprudence; he possessed also great skill in deducing from them and from the Koran the solution of questions touching the secondary principles of the law. He had been at first a follower of the Shafite sect, but abandoned it for that of the *Zâhirites* (2). His knowledge was of the most varied kind, and although he, as his father before him, had held an exalted post in the vizirate and the administration of the empire, he manifested the utmost indifference to worldly advantages. His profound humility equalled the greatness of his talents; the number of works composed by him was very considerable; and, possessing a large collection of books, formed by himself, on the Traditions, traditional information, and original subjects, he had also a memory richly stocked with such information as could only be supplied by oral transmission. He composed a work on the application of the Traditions to jurisprudence, and entitled *Kitâb al-Isâl ila fahmi Kitâb il-Khisâl, etc.* (*guidance to the understanding of*



*the book called* al-Khisâl), being a collection of laws on the duties of Moslims, on what is lawful and what unlawful, on the *Sunna*, on the *Ijmâ* (3), and containing, besides, the opinions of the companions, of the *Tâbis*, and of the *imâms* of Islamism their successors, on questions relating to jurisprudence and the rites of the pilgrimage. This is an extensive compilation, and contains the arguments employed by the different orthodox sects for and against the points in which they disagree. His *Kitâb al-Ikhâm li Usûl il-Akhâm* (4) is a treatise drawn up with great care, containing the proofs (*on which the author founded his principles*). His other works are, the *Kitâb al-Fasl* (*a distinctive view of religions, and of the philosophical and religious sects*); a treatise on the *Ijmâ*; Questions on points in the different sections of jurisprudence; the *Marâtib al-Olûm*, being a classification of the sciences, an indication of the manner in which they are to be stu-
472 died, and an exposition of their mutual connection; the *Izhâr Tabdîl il-Yahûd wa 'n-Nasâra* (*exposure of the alterations made by the Jews and the Christians in the Pentateuch and the Gospel, and indication of those passages still extant with them which they cannot explain away*) (5); he was the first who ever treated this subject. His other works are, the *Takrîb*, etc. (*study made easy*), being an introduction to logic, written in the plainest language, and illustrated by examples drawn from the science of jurisprudence; this treatise is drawn up on an original plan, as it was the author's intention to make known the real nature of the science and remove the prejudices which were entertained against it as a futile study (6). "His master in logic was a native of Cordova named Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan "al-Madhiji, generally known by the name of Ibn al-Kattâni (7), who was a "good scholar, a poet, a physician, and the author of some treatises on medi-"cine and the belles-lettres. He died later than A. H. 400 (A. D. 1009)." Such are the observations given, on the authority of Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi, by Ibn Mâkûla in his *Ikmâl* (8), under the head of *al-Kattâni*, where he notices two persons of the name. A little volume of Ibn Hazm's, entitled *Nukat al-Arûs* (9), furnishes much information and contains a great quantity of curious and interesting matter. Ibn Bashkuwâl speaks of him in these terms: "Of all "the natives of Spain, Ibn Hazm was the most eminent by the universality and "the depth of his learning in the sciences cultivated by the Moslims; add to "this his profound acquaintance with the (*Arabic*) tongue, and his vast abilities "as an elegant writer, a poet, a biographer, and an historian. It was stated

" by his son Abû Râfi al-Fadl that he possessed about four hundred volumes, " containing nearly eighty thousand leaves, which had been composed and " written out by his father."—"We never saw his like," says the *hâfiz* Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi, " for penetration, promptitude in learning by heart, noble- " ness of character and piety. I never met a person who could extemporise " poetry more rapidly than he.—He recited to me the following verses as his " own :

' Though now on a distant journey and absent from thee in body, my soul abideth near ' thee for ever; nay, a faint image (*of thyself*) still fleets before the sense of sight, ' and (*my*) eyes, struck by that aspect, pour forth a stream of tears.' "

Ibn Hazm has thus again expressed the same thought :

My brother said: " Thou art afflicted because thou shalt be absent from us in body, " but thy soul will never leave us." I replied: "The sense of sight alone is worthy " of trust, and therefore one friend always desires the sight of another."

In one of his pieces he says :

A severe censor blamed me on account of one whose beauty had made me captive, and he long reproached me for my love: "How," said he, "can you have fallen a victim " to the beauty of the only (*female*) face you ever saw, and yet you know not how her " body may be?" I answered: "The excess of thy blame proceeds from injustice; and, " if I pleased, I could make a long defence; seest thou not that I am a Zâhirite (*exte-* " *riorist*), and place my trust in what is visible, till farther proof be given?"

The following verses are given as his by the *hâfiz* al-Humaidi :

We remained a moment together and then departed, but a moment's interview can give no solace to the heart inflamed with passionate desire. The coming of lovers together seemeth not a meeting, if their reunion is again to be dissolved by separation.

Al-Humaidi mentions also that the following lines were recited to him by Ibn Hazm, as having been composed by Abd al-Malik Ibn Jahwar (10):

Though persons of genius may be dwelling far apart, their souls can still hold converse. How often have pen and paper enabled the hearts of separated lovers to meet again! 475

Ibn Hazm had arguments and discussions with Abû 'l-Walid al-Bâji (*vol. I. p.* 593), too long to be explained here. He was so ardent in his attacks against

the learned men who preceded him, that hardly a single one could escape the virulence of his tongue. By this conduct he estranged the hearts of his contemporaries and became an object of hostility to the jurisconsults of the epoch. These persons, animated by their enmity, concurred in refuting his opinions, exposing them as false, treating him as a reprobate, cautioning their rulers against the dangers of his proceedings, and forbidding the public to have any intercourse with him or to listen to his lessons. In consequence of this, the sovereigns of the different (*Spanish*) provinces expelled him from their states, and he was driven to the open country near Labla (*Niebla*), where he breathed his last on Sunday afternoon, the 27th of Shaabân, A. H. 456 (August, A.D. 1064); some say, however, that he died at Manta Lîsham, a village of which he was the possessor. It was of him that Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn al-Arîf (*vol. I. p.* 150) said: "The tongue of Ibn Hazm and the sword of al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf were brothers." His reason for making this remark was the frequency of Ibn Hazm's attacks upon the imâms (11).—His father Abû Omar Ahmad was a vizir under (*the hâjib al-Mansûr, the founder of*) the Aâmirite dynasty, an accomplished scholar, an elegant writer, a man of learning and holy life. He died in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 402 (June, A. D. 1012). The following verse is mentioned by Abû Muhammad Ibn Hazm as forming part of the admonitions addressed to him by his father the vizir:

> If you wish to pass your life in wealth, adopt such a mode of life as will not cause you discontent if reduced to an inferior station.

Al-Humaidi (12) relates the following anecdote in his *Jadwa tal-Muktabis*: The vizir Abû Omar Ahmad was sitting at a public audience given by his master al-Mansûr Abû Aâmir Muhammad Ibn Abi Aâmir, when a supplication was presented to him by a woman in favour of her son who had incurred al-Mansûr's anger by some heinous crime which he had committed, and was then detained in prison by his order. The perusal of the paper excited al-Mansûr's wrath to an extreme, and he exclaimed: "By Allah! thou has reminded me of "him." He then took a pen with the intention of writing on the document the word *yuslab* (*let him be crucified*), after which he handed the paper to the vizir, who immediately drew up a regular order conformable to the decision, and addressed to the commander of the *shorta*, or police guards. "What have

"you written there?" said al-Mansûr to him. "An order for his liberty," replied Abû Omar.—"And who directed you to do so?" exclaimed al-Mansûr in a passion. The vizir handed him the supplication on which al-Mansûr had written by mistake the word *yutlak* (*let him be set free*). "By Allah!" said al-Mansûr, on seeing it, "I meant to write *let him be crucified*." He then struck out the word with the intention of writing *yuslab*, but he again traced the word *yutlak*. The vizir then took the paper, and was drawing up an order for the prisoner's liberation, when al-Mansûr remarked it, and exclaimed, in a more violent passion than at first: "Who bid you do so?" The vizir showed him the decision in his own handwriting, and the prince effaced it, but again committed the same mistake. The vizir then commenced a new order of liberation addressed to the *wâli*, or commander, and al-Mansûr, who observed him, flew into a greater rage than ever. Abû Omar then showed him the paper on which, for the third time, he had written *yutlak*. Struck with the singularity of the circumstance, al-Mansûr exclaimed: "Be it so! let him be set at liberty in spite of me; for "when God wills that a man should be set free, I cannot prevent it."—Abû Muhammad (*Ibn Hazm*) had a son, gifted with a noble character and great talents, whose name was Abû Râfi al-Fadl; he was employed in the service of al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd, the sovereign of Seville and other cities of Spain. It happened that the suspicions and anger of al-Motamid were excited against one of his uncles, Abû Tâlib Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Abbâd, and he thought of putting him to death. The vizirs were therefore called in, and he said to them: "Does any of you know if there was ever a khalif or a prince who "put his uncle to death for conspiracy against him?" On this Abû Râfi stepped forward and said: "May God's assistance never fail you! we know of none who "ever did so, but we know of one who pardoned his uncle who had revolted "against him, al-Mamûn, namely, who forgave Ibrahim Ibn al-Mahdi" (*vol. I. p.* 16). When al-Motamid heard these words, he kissed the speaker between the eyes and gave him thanks, after which he sent for his uncle and treated him with affability and kindness. Abû Râfi was slain at the battle of az-Zallâka, on Friday, the 15th of Rajab, A. H. 479 (October, A. D. 1086). We have given a full account of this engagement in the life of Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn.—*Labla* (*Niebla*) is a town in Spain.—*Manta Lîsham* is a village in the dependencies of Labla; it belonged to Ibn Hazm and he visited it from time to time.

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(1) He means the suburb on the left bank of the Guadalquivir.

(2) The sect of the *Zâhirites*, or *exteriorists*, was founded by Dâwûd Ibn Ali al-Ispahâni (*see vol. I. p.* 501). They were so denominated because they understood the words of the Koran in their plain literal sense, and rejected the *tâwil*, or allegorical interpretation to which other sects have recourse in certain cases. They differed completely from the Hanifite sect in rejecting the *kiâs* (*see vol. I. Introd. p.* xxvi *and p.* 534).

(3) See vol. I. page 534.

(4) It would appear from the title that this work treated of judicial astrology.

(5) He means the texts in which the Moslims pretend that the mission of Muhammad is foretold.

(6) The autograph gives the true reading المخزرقين.

(7) Read here and lower down الكتاني.

(8) See vol. II. page 248.

(9) This title may signify *bridegroom*—or perhaps *bridal—anecdotes.*

(10) Abû Marwân Abd al-Malik Ibn Jahwar, an eminent vizir, a *kâtib*, a poet, and an accomplished scholar, lived in the reign of Abd ar-Rahmân an-Nâsir, the Omaiyide. This prince died A. H. 350 (A. D. 961).—(*Bughya tal-Multamis.*)

(11) See vol. I. page 150.

(12) His life is given by our author.

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## IBN SIDA.

The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ismail, surnamed Ibn Sîda, and a native of Murcia, was highly distinguished by his learning in philology and grammar, and by his acquirements in such portions of these sciences as were preserved by oral transmission. On this matter he composed some works, one of which, the *Muhkam* (*fixed*), is very voluminous and contains information on the various branches of philology. Another extensive work of his on the same subject is entitled *al-Mukhassis* (*the specifier*). He composed also a commentary, in six volumes, on the *Hamâsa*, entitled *Kitâb al-Anîk* (1), and a number of other instructive treatises. Ibn Sîda was a blind man, as his father also; he made his first studies in philology under his father, who was well versed in that science, and he then received lessons from Ṣâid al-Baghdâdi (*vol. I. page* 632) and Ali Ibn Omar at-Talamanki. The latter reverts to this circumstance in the following anecdote: "When I went to Murcia, the inhabitants requested me most ear-"nestly to explain the *Gharîb al-Musannaf* (2), on which I told them to look for "a person to read the book to them, and that I would follow him in my own

" copy of it. On this, they brought me a blind man, called Ibn Sîda, who " repeated its contents from the beginning to the end, and I was much struck at " the excellence of his memory." Ibn Sîda possessed considerable abilities as a poet. He died at Denia on Sunday evening, the 25th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 458 (March, A. D. 1066), at the age of about sixty years. I read on the cover of a copy of the *Muhkam* a note written by some learned native of Spain, in which it is said that Ibn Sîda was in good health previously to the morning prayer of the Friday (*before his death*), and that he continued so till the hour of evening prayer, when he entered the water-closet and came out with his tongue paralyzed, and unable to utter a word; he remained in that state till the afternoon of the Sunday above mentioned, when he died. Some place his death in the year 448 (A. D. 1056), but the former date is more authentic and is generally admitted. *Murcia* is a city in the east of Spain.—*Talamanki* means *belonging to Talamanka* (*Salamanca?*), which is a city in the west of Spain.—*Denia* is a city in the east of the same country.

(1) This title means *liber pulchri*, which may perhaps signify *livre du bel esprit*.

(2) Hajji Khalifa notices two works bearing this title; one by Abû Amr as-Shaibâni (*see Ibn Khallikân, vol. I. p.* 182), and the other by Abû Obaid al-Kâsim Ibn Sallâm, a learned scholar whose life will be found in this dictionary.

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## ABU 'L-HASAN AL-HUSRI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abd al-Ghani al-Husri al-Fihri (*a member of the tribe of Koraish*), and a native of Kairawân, was a poet of celebrity, and, although afflicted with blindness, a teacher of the Koran-*readings*. Ibn Bassâm, the author of the *Dakhîra*, speaks of him in these terms: " He was a sea of eloquence, the master **475** " of his art and the chief of the company (*of poets*). He proceeded to Spain to" wards the middle of the fifth century of the Hijra, on the ruin of Kairawân (1), " the place of his abode. In those days polite literature was highly encouraged " and sedulously cultivated in our country; he was therefore caressed by the

"provincial sovereigns, as the meadows are caressed by the zephyr; they were "all desirous of possessing him, as houses are desirous of possessing inhabitants; "although, as I have been informed, he was of a disagreeable character, noto-"rious for his evil tongue, and as keen for satire as a thirsty man for water. "They give in, however, to his humour, and supported with patience the fre-"quency of his caprices and the rarity of his affable moments (2). When those "sovereigns were deprived of their possessions (*by Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn*) he settled "at Tanger, much reduced in circumstances and relapsed into (*the former mo-"roseness of*) his character." Abû 'l-Hasan, the subject of this article, was cousin by the mother's side to Abû Ishak al-Husri (*vol. I. p.* 34), the author of the *Zahr al-Adâb*. Ibn Bashkuwâl makes mention of him in the *Silat*, and al-Humaidi says that he was well acquainted with the *readings* of the Koran and the mode by which each of them had been transmitted down; that he gave public lessons in Koran-*reading* at Ceuta and elsewhere, and that he composed a *kasîda* in two hundred and ninety verses, setting forth the points peculiar to Nâfi's system of Koran-*reading*. His collected poetical works are still extant, and one of his pieces is the widely diffused *kasîda* which begins thus:

O night of the afflicted lover! when will thy morning arrive? Is it deferred to the day of judgment? The friends who passed the evening in conversation are now asleep, but he, separated from his beloved, is kept awake by the visits of grief.

This poem is so well known that it is unnecessary to insert it; and a counterpart of it, in the same rhyme and measure, has been composed by my friend Najm ad-dîn Mùsa al-Kamrâwi (3) the jurisconsult, in which he says:

Bear to my beloved this message: "The friends of him whom thou hast reduced to "sickness are weary of visiting his couch, and those who envied thy captive lover now "deplore his misery. Thy cruelty has left him only that breath of life which each sigh "raises from his breast. Hârût (4) himself acknowledges that the power of magic is "derived solely from thy eyes (5). When thou sheathest thy glances in thy eyelids, they "inflict deadly wounds: what must they be when thou drawest them from their scab-"bards! How often has thy cheek been smoothed to an expresson of benignity, whilst "thy eyebrow formed an arch above it. My heart acknowledged no other power but "thine; why then (6) condemn it eternally to the flames of separation?"

The lines which follow are by al-Husri:

When she offered me the cup of welcome on which her lips had impressed a seal of musk, I said to her: "Was this ruby liquor extracted from thy cheeks?"—"No," she replied; "When was wine ever extracted from the rose?"





At the time in which he resided at Tanger, he sent his servant-boy to al-Motamid Ibd Abbâd, the sovereign of Seville, which city was called Hims (*Emessa*) by the people of that country; he then waited in fruitless expectation of the boy's return, and having been informed that al-Motamid took no notice of him, he composed these lines:

> Awake the drowsy caravan and reproach Fortune with her cruelty! Hims is a paradise, and it said to my boy: "Thou shalt not return from this!" May God have mercy on my boy! he has died of hunger in paradise!

In the original Arabic, the poet makes each of these verses end in a double rhyme, although the rules of prosody by no means placed him under such a restraint. — The following relation was delivered by Tâj al-Ola Abû Zaid, surnamed an-Nassâba (*the genealogist*): "I was told by Abû 'l-Asbagh Nubâta Ibn "al-Asbagh Ibn Zaid Ibn Muhammad al-Hârithi al-Andalusi that he heard his "grandfather Zaid Ibn Muhammad relate as follows: Al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd, **476** "the sovereign of Seville, sent five hundred pieces of gold to Abû 'l-Arab az-"Zubairi with the order to come to him, and employ the sum for his travelling "expenses." — Abû 'l-Arab was then in Sicily, his native country. His names were Abû 'l-Arab Musâb Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Furât al-Korashi (*of the tribe of Koraish*) az-Zubairi as-Sakalli (*native of Sicily*), the poet. — "He sent also "a similar sum to Abû 'l-Hasan al-Husri, who was then at Kairawân. In reply "to his invitation, Abû 'l-Arab wrote him these verses:

> 'Wonder not at my head, how grief has turned it grey; but wonder that the pupils 'of my eyes are not turned grey (*and blinded with weeping*). The sea is in the power of 'the Christians (*Rûm*), and no ship can sail on it without danger, but the land belongs 'to the Arabs (7).'

"As for al-Husri, he replied in these terms:

> 'You order me to take ship and cross the sea; make that proposal to some other, 'and blessings be upon you! You are not a Noah to save me in his ark, nor a Messiah 'with whom I may walk upon the waters.'

"Some time after, he went to Spain and sung the praises of al-Motamid and "other princes." He died at Tanger, A. H. 488 (A. D. 1095). The birth of al-Kamrâwi (*the person incidentally mentioned in this article*) may be placed, by approximation, in A. H. 591 (A. D. 1194-5); he died towards the end of the month



of Safar, A. H. 651 (April, A. D. 1253), on his return from Yemen, at a place called Râs ad-Dawâir, situated between Aidâb and Sawâkin, on the coast of the Sea of Aidâb (*the Red Sea*). *Kamrâwi* means *belonging to Kamrâ*, which is a landed estate in the province of Sarkhad, in Syria.—Of *Husri* we have already spoken (*vol. I. p.* 34).—*Tanja* (*Tanger*) is a town in the West Country (*al-Gharb*), at two days' journey from Sibta (*Ceuta*), another town in the same region.—Abû 'l-Arab az-Zubairi was born in Sicily, A. H. 423 (A. D. 1032); on its conquest by the (*Norman*) Christians (*Rûm*) in A. H. 464 (A. D. 1072), he emigrated to Spain and sought the protection of al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd. "I have "been informed," says Ibn as-Sairafi (8), "that he was still alive, in Spain, in "A.H. 507 (A. D. 1113-4)."

(1) In A.H. 449 (A.D. 1057-8), Kairawân fell into the power of the nomadic Arabs who had left Upper Egypt a few years before. See Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 442; and my edition of Ibn Khaldûn's *History of the Berbers*, in Arabic, page 17.

(2) Literally: The intervals of his drought and the rarity of his rain.

(3) Farther notice will be taken of al-Kamrâwi towards the end of the article.

(4) See vol. I. page 670, note (2).

(5) عنعن, the root of the word يُعنعِن is not to be found in the dictionaries. The reading in the printed text might be supposed to be inexact, were it not confirmed by the autograph. From its being here employed conjointly with the verb أسند it must have the signification of *to attribute the origin of a person or thing to...*

(6) Read فلم in the printed text.

(7) He probably means to justify his non-compliance with al-Motamid's wishes, by making a pun on h own name, and giving him to understand that the *Arab* prefers remaining on *terra firma*.

(8) The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Munjib Ibn Sulaimân as-Sairafi (الصيرفي) was a native of Egypt, and composed a history of the vizirs, frequently cited by Ibn Khallikân. He must have written later than A.H. 507, since he mentions in his work that Abû 'l-Arab was still alive in that year.

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## IBN KHARUF.

Abû Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Hadrami, a native of Seville, in Spain, and generally known by the name of Ibn Kharûf, possessed high abilities

as a grammarian. The works which he composed on this subject afford a testimony of his great talents and extensive information; such are his excellent commentary on Sibawaih's *Kitâb*, and his able elucidation of Abû 'l-Kâsim az-Zajjâji's treatise, the *Jumal* (1). The master under whom he completed his studies was a native of Spain, surnamed al-Khidabb (2) Ibn Tâhir. He died at Seville, A. H. 610 (A. D. 1213-4); some say A. H. 609.—*Hadrami* means *native of Hadramaut*.—He must not be confounded with another Ibn Kharûf, who was a poet, and addressed an epistle to Bahâ ad-dîn Ibn Shaddâd, in which he alludes to the resemblance of the names. This epistle will be noticed in the life of Ibn Shaddâd.

(1) See vol. II. page 93.
(2) The autograph has الخذب; this word signifies *stout, able-bodied.*

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## AR-RABAI THE GRAMMARIAN.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Isa Ibn al-Faraj Ibn Sâlih ar-Rabâi al-Baghdâdi, a native of Shîrâz, but settled at Baghdad, and a grammarian of the first rank by his perfect knowledge of the science, is author of a good commentary on Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi's *Idâh* (*vol. I. p.* 379). He studied at Baghdad under as-Sîrâfi (*v. I. p.* 377), and then proceeded to Shîrâz, where he passed twenty years under the tuition of Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi, after which he returned to the former city. Abû Ali once said: "Tell Ali al-Baghdâdi that, if he were to travel from the East to the West, "he would not meet with an abler grammarian than himself." He observed also, when his pupil was quitting him, that there did not remain a single point on which he would need to ask information. Ar-Rabâi composed a number of works on grammar, one of which was a commentary on al-Jarmi's *Abridgment* (*vol. I. p.* 630). The number of pupils who profited by his lessons was very great. Ibn al-Anbâri mentions him in the *Tabakât al-Udabâ*. He was born, A. H. 328 (A. D. 939-40), and he died at Baghdad on the eve of Saturday, the

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20th of Muharram, A. H. 420 (February, A. D. 1029).—*Rabâi* mains *descended from Rabîa*, but I do not know whether it be Rabia, the son of Nizâr (1), who was his ancestor, or some other person of the name; for there were many Rabias whose descendants all bore the surname of Rabâi.

(1) See Eichhorn's *Monumenta*, tab. I.

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## AL-FASIHI.

The grammarian Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abi Zaid Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Istirâbâdi, better known by the appellation of al-Fasihi, studied grammar with such success under Abd al-Kâhir al-Jurjâni, the author of the Lesser *Jumal* (1), that he became the most learned man of the age in that science. Having proceeded to Baghdad, he settled there and taught grammar, for some time, in the *Nizâmiya* College. He transcribed a great number of books on general literature, and was a most correct copyist. Amongst the numerous pupils who pursued their studies under him was Malik an-Nuhât Ibn Sâfi (*vol. I. p.* 389), and some traditional information was delivered on his authority by the *hâfiz* as-Silafi (*vol. I. p.*86). "I was sitting with him at Baghdad," says this *hâfiz*, "and I questioned "him on some points of grammar, to which he replied by citing the following "verses which were composed by a grammarian:

> Know that grammar is a disastrous study, and drives prosperity out of doors. Better than grammar and its professors is a slice of bread seasoned with olive oil.

Al-Fasihi died at Baghdad on Wednesday, the 13th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 516 (February, A. D. 1123).—He may have received the surname of *Fasîhi* because (*he made a particular study*) of Thâlab's work, the *Fasîh* (*vol. I. p.* 84), but of this I have no certainty.—*Istirâbâdi* means *belonging to Istirâbâd*, a village in the province of Mâzandarân, situated between Sâria and Jurjân.

(1) See vol. I. p. 674; note to p. 390. The Greater *Jumal* was composed by Abû 'l-Kâsim az-Zajjâji; see vol. II. p. 93.

## IBN AL-ASSAR.

The philologer Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abi 'l-Husain Abd ar-Rahim Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Ibrahim as-Sulami (*a member of the tribe of Sulaim*), surnamed Muhaddab ad-dîn, and generally known by the name of Ibn al-Assâr (*son of the oil-press man*), was a native of Baghdad by birth and by residence, but his family belonged to the town of ar-Rakka (*in Mesopotamia*). He held a high reputation as an accomplished scholar, and he possessed (*by heart*) some of the rarest (*pieces of ancient Arabic literature*). His masters in that science were the *Sharîf* Abû 's-Saâdât Ibn as-Shajari and Abû Mansûr al-Jawâliki (1), under whose tuition he attained great proficiency. He then gave lessons for some time, after which he went to Egypt, where he met Abû Muhammad Ibn Bari (*vol. II. p.* 70) and al-Muwaffak (*Yûsuf*) Ibn al-Khallâl, the secretary of state (2). He knew by heart and understood perfectly the poems of al-Mutanabbi, and he explained them to numerous pupils in Irâk, Syria, and Egypt. A great quantity 178 of books, treating of philology or containing poems by the Arabs of the desert, was transcribed by him, but faults are occasionally observable in these copies, notwithstanding all his care and attention. It is said that his genius was not of the brightest order, and that he evinced less talent as a grammarian than as a philologer. The style of his penmanship was remarkable for elegance, and (*books in*) his handwriting are in great request and bear high prices. He was a curious collector of receipts and other scraps of information, and it was his custom to write them down in his books. I met with a number of persons who saw him and studied under him. He was born A. H. 508 (A. D. 1114-5), and he died at Baghdad, A. H. 576, on Sunday, the 3rd of Muharram (May, A. D. 1180), just as the afternoon prayer was ended. The next day, he was interred in the Shûnîzi cemetery, close to his father's grave.

(1) See vol. II. page 96, note (1).

(2) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

## SHUMAIM AL-HILLI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Antar Ibn Thâbit al-Hilli (*native of Hilla in Irâk*), surnamed Muhaddab ad-din, and generally known by the appellation of Shumaim, was an eminent scholar, deeply versed in grammar, philology, and the poems of the desert Arabs; he composed also in verse with great elegance. His first studies were made at Baghdad under Ibn al-Khashshâb (*vol. II. p.* 66) and other eminent scholars of that period; he then visited Diâr Bakr and Syria, celebrating in his poems the praises of the great and obtaining gifts from them in return. He finally settled at Mosul. A number of works were written by him, and he drew up, out of his own poetry, a book in ten sections, which he named the *Hamâsa*, in imitation of Abû Tammâm's compilation bearing the same title. He was possessed of great talents, but he had an evil tongue and was continually attacking the character of others, without acknowledging or respecting merit where it really existed. Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mustaufi has given him a place in his History of Arbela, and commences his notice with a series of anecdotes respecting him, and which would imply that he had but little religion, that he neglected the prescribed prayers, impugned the sacred Koran and laughed at the public. He gives also some fragments of his poetry, which certainly betray a malignant disposition. "He was once asked," says Ibn al-Mustaufi, "why he "had obtained the surname of *Shumaim* (1), and he returned this answer: 'At " 'one time I used to eat every day a quantity of clay (2), and, when I passed it, " 'I would examine if it had any odour, but could perceive none. It was for " 'this reason I received the name of Shumaim.' " He died at Mosul on the eve of Wednesday, the 28th of the latter Rabi, A. H. 601 (December, A. D. 1204), and was interred in the cemetery which is called after al-Muâfa Ibn Imrân (3). The word *shumaim* is derived from the root *shamm* (*to smell*).

(1) This word seems to signify *little smeller*.

(2) Read الطين in the printed text.

(3) See vol. I. page 259, note (7).

## ALAM AD-DIN AS-SAKHAWI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd as-Samad Ibn Abd al-Ahad Ibn Abd al-Ghâlib al-Hamdâni (*a member of the tribe of Hamdân*) as-Sakhâwi, surnamed Alam ad-dîn (*beacon of religion*), was a native of Egypt, a teacher of the Koran-*readings*, and a grammarian. He studied at Cairo under the *shaikh* Abû Muhammad al-Kâsim as-Shâtibi (*whose life will be found farther on*), and he acquired under his tuition a sound knowledge of the Koran-*readings*, grammar, and philology; another of his masters there, was Abû 'l-Jaud Ghiâth Ibn Fâris Ibn Makki (1), a teacher of these *readings*. At Alexandria he took lessons from as-Silafi (*vol. I. p.* 86) and Ibn Auf (*vol. II. p.* 197, *note* (2)), and at Old Cairo from al-Bûsîri (2) and Ibn Yâsîn (3). He then proceeded to Damascus, where he surpassed all the learned men who cultivated the sciences which were the subject of his own studies; and, with the rapid progress of his reputation, he acquired a most exalted place in public opinion. He composed a commentary, in four volumes, on az-Zamakhshari's *Mufassal* and another on the *Shâtibiyan Kasîda*, which poem he had studied under the author (4). He left also some sermons (*khotbas*) and poems. The highest respect was shown to him during his life, and when I was at Damascus, I saw the people crowding round him in the great mosque, for the purpose of reading the Koran under his tuition, and they they had to wait a considerable time till their turn came. I more than once saw him riding up to the Mountain of the Saints (*Jabal as-Sâlihiyin*) (5), accompanied by two or three persons, all reading their lessons to him at the same time, and each in a different part of the book, whilst he made his observations first to one and then to another. He continued in the assiduous discharge of his duty to the last, and he died on the eve of Sunday, the 12th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 643 (November, A. D. 1245); he had then passed his ninetieth year. When his death drew near, he recited these verses, composed by himself:

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> They said that on to-morrow I should arrive at the grounds reserved by the tribe (6); that the caravan would stop at their place of dwelling; and that all who obeyed them would receive a welcome to rejoice them. I replied: "I am culpable towards them; "what pretext can I allege in my excuse? how shall I dare to meet them?" They answered: "Is it not their nature to show forgiveness, and especially to those who placed "in them their hope?"

I have since discovered that he was born A. H. 558 (A. D. 1163), at Sakha. —*Sakhâwi* means *belonging to Sakha*, which is a village in Gharbiya, a province of Egypt. *Sakhawi* would be the regular form, but all agree in employing the word *Sakhâwi*.

(1) Abû 'l-Jaud Ghiâth Ibn Fâris al-Lakhmi al-Mundiri (*a member of the tribe of Lakhm and descended from the royal family of the Mundirites*), was a native of Egypt, an eminent teacher of the Koran-*readings*, a calculator of inheritance-shares, and a grammarian. He died A. H. 605 (A. D. 1208-9).—(*Husn al-Muhâdira.*)

(2) The life of al-Bûstri is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(3) The imâm Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Yâsîn, a member of the tribe of Kinâna, a native of Askalon and an inhabitant of Egypt, was celebrated as a master of the Koran-*readings* and as a grammarian. He studied the *readings* under Abû 'l-Jaud Ghiâth (*see note* (1)), and grammar under Ibn Bari (*v. II. p.*70). It was in the mosque called the Jâmi al-Atîk at Old Cairo, that Ibn Yâsîn gave his lessons. He died in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 636 (June, A. D. 1239).—(*Husn al-Muhâdira.*)

(4) The *Shâtibiya* is a poem in which the different systems of Koran-*reading* are set forth. The life of the author, al-Kâsim Ibn Firro, is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(5) This mountain, which is also called *Jabal as-Salihiya*, lies two miles north of Damascus. It is about one thousand English feet above the level of the city.

(6) See vol. I. page 123, note (13).

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## IBN AL-BAWWAB THE KATIB.

Abû Hasan Ali Ibn Hilâl, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Bawwâb, was a celebrated *kâtib*, possessing a skill in penmanship to which no person ever attained in ancient or modern times. It was Abû Ali Ibn Mukla who first took the present system (*of written characters*) from the (*style of*) writing employed by the people of Kûfa, and brought it out under its actual form. He had therefore the merit of priority, and it may be added that his handwriting was very elegant; but to Ibn al-Bawwâb pertains the honour of rendering the character more regular and simple, and of clothing it in grace and beauty (1). [But it is said that the author of the written character (*called*) *al-Mansûb* (2) was not Abû Ali, but his brother Abû Abd Allah al-Hasan, of whom mention is

made in the life of Abû Ali; it will be found among those of the persons whose names were Muhammad. When Abû Obaid al-Bakri (3), the native of Spain and the author of the works (*which are so well known*), cast his eyes on the handwriting of Ibn Mukla, he recited this line:

When a man feeds his eyes (*mukla*) with the sight of Ibn Mukla's handwriting, all the members of his body would like to be eyes.]

It is agreed by all that Abû 'l-Hasan (*Ibn al-Bawwâb*) stood apart (*in his superiority*); it is his system which is yet followed (4), but none have ever reached or pretended to reach his pitch of excellence, and yet there are people in the world who lay claim to (*talents*) which they do not possess. We may add, that for a person to maintain such a pretension is a thing which we never saw nor heard of; all agree that he surpassed competition and that he never had a rival. He was called also Ibn as-Sitri (*the son of the curtain-man*), because his father was a *bawwâb* (*porter* or *usher*), whose duty it is to stay by the curtain (*sitr*) which is drawn across the door-way (*of the hall of audience*). [His master in writing was Ibn Asad the celebrated *kâtib*, whose names are Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Asad Ibn Ali Ibn Saîd al-Kâri (*the koran-reader*) al-Kâtib (*the penman*) al-Bazzâz (*the linen-merchant*) al-Baghdadi (*native of Baghdad*). The traditional information which he possessed was received by him from the lips of Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Sulaimân an-Najjâd (5), Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn az-Zubair al-Kûfi, Jaafar al-Khuldi, Abd al-Malik Ibn al-Hasan as-Sakati, and others of the same standing; he was himself considered as a trustworthy (*transmitter of such information*).—Muhammad Ibn Asad died on Sunday, the 2nd of Muharram, A.H. 410 (May, A.D. 1019), and was interred in the Shûnîzi Cemetery.] Ibn al-Bawwâb died at Baghdad on Thursday, the second of the first Jumâda, A.H. 423 (April, A.D. 1032); some say, A.H. 413. He was interred **480** near the grave of Ahmad Ibn al-Hanbal. The two verses which follow were recited to me by one of our learned men, and he informed me at the same time they were composed as an elegy on Ibn al-Bawwâb's death:

Thy loss was felt by the writers of former times, and each successive day justifies their grief. The ink-bottles are therefore black with sorrow, and the pens are rent through affliction.

The idea contained in these verses is very fine.—When I was at Aleppo, a

jurisconsult asked me the meaning of the following verse, which is contained in a poem composed by a modern, wherein he describes a letter:

> 'Twas a letter like a meadow enamelled with flowers; its lines were traced by the hand of Ibn Hilâl, and its contents taken from the lips of Ibn Hilâl.

I answered him that the poet's meaning was, that its writing equalled in beauty the penmanship of Ibn al-Bawwâb, and that in elegance of style it resembled the epistles of as-Sàbi. We have already mentioned (*vol. I. p.* 31) that the latter was an Ibn Hilâl (*son of Hilâl*). I then asked the jurisconsult what was the rest of the piece, and he repeated it to me, as follows:

> When I received thy letter adorned with the jewels of lawful magic—that of style; —it seemed to me like a mansion peopled with every excellence, and I contemplated it (*with sadness*) as I would a dwelling where my friends resided no longer. Tears trickled from my eyes; I impressed repeated kisses on the paper, and asked of the characters traced upon it an answer to my hopes (6). I pondered over it (7) till I thought its words were the stars of night, or strings of pearls. 'Twas a letter like a meadow enamelled with flowers; its lines were traced by the hand of Ibn Hilâl, and its contents taken from the lips of Ibn Hilâl.

Relative to the art of writing, (*it is said*) that Ismaîl (*the patriarch*) was the first who wrote in Arabic; but what the learned hold to be the truth is, that Murâmir Ibn Marwa, a native of al-Anbâr, was the first who did so. It is said that he belonged to the tribe of Murra (8). And from al-Anbâr the art of writing spread through the people. Al-Asmâi states that it was related of the tribe of Koraish that, on being asked whence they had received the art of writing, they answered: from Hîra. The same question, says he, was then addressed to the inhabitants of Hîra, and they replied: from al-Anbâr. [It is related by Ibn al-Kalbi and al-Haitham Ibn Adi (9) that the person who introduced the art of writing from Hîra to Hijàz was Harb the son of Omaiya, the son of Abd Shams, the son of Abd Manâf, of the tribe of Koraish. He had visited Hîra and brought back with him this art to Mekka. The two *hâfiz* just mentioned relate also that Abû Sofyân, the son of Harb, was asked from whom his father had learned the art of writing, and he answered: "From Aslam Ibn Sidra," and he (*Harb*) stated that he had addressed the same question to Aslam, and that he replied: "From "its inventor, Murâmir Ibn Murra." It hence appears that this (*art of Arabic*) writing came into existence at but a very short time before Islamism.. (*The tribe*

*of*) Himyar had a sort of writing called *al-Musnad*, the letters of which were separated, not joined together (10); they prevented the common people from learning it, and none dared to employ it without their permission. Then came the religion of Islamism, and there was not, in all Yemen, a person who could read or write. The systems of writing among the nations of the east and west amount to twelve: the Arabic, the Himyarite, the Ionian (*or Greek*), the Persian, the Syrian, the Hebrew, the Roman, the Coptic, the Berber, the Andalusian (11), the Indian, and the Chinese. Of these five are extinct, their usage having ceased, and the persons who knew them being no longer in existence; the Himyarite, namely, and the Ionian, and the Coptic, and the Berber (12), and the Andalusian. Three still exist in the countries where they are employed, but no one in the land of Islamism is acquainted with them: these are the Roman, the 481 Indian, and the Chinese; the remaining four, namely, the Arabic, the Persian, the Syrian, and the Hebrew, are employed in Islamic countries.]

(1) Throughout this article I shall indicate the author's later additions by placing them between crotchets.

(2) Some observations on the character called *al-Khatt al-Mansûb* will be found subjoined to the notice on al-Mubârak Ibn al-Mubârak. This notice forms one of the notes which accompany the life of Abû 'l-Fadâil Ali Ibn al-Aamidi.

(3) See vol. I. page 319.

(4) Literally: It is on his loom they weave.

(5) Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Sulaimân, surnamed an-Najjâd, was an eminent doctor of the sect of Ibn Hanbal and a native of Baghdad. He studied under a great number of masters distinguished for their learning, and then opened two classes in the Mosque of al-Mansûr, in one of which he gave his opinions on points of law للفتيا, and in the other he made dictations (*see vol. II. p.* 159). These classes were held on Fridays, before the hour of prayer. He composed a great work on the *Sunan*, or written collections of the Traditions, and another in which he discussed and defended the doctrines peculiar to his sect كتابا في الخلاف. He fasted during the whole course of the year, and at night he eat a single cake, a small morsel of which he put aside: every Friday, he took no other food than seven of these morsels. His birth is placed in A. H. 253 (A.D 867), and his death in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 347 (Feb.-Mar. A. D. 959).—(Ad-Dahabi's *Târîkh al-Islâm.*)

(6) Literally: "I asked of its traces to answer my question;" an expression which, in Arabic, is just as applicable to a letter as to a deserted dwelling. See Introduction to vol. I. p. xxxiv.

(7) Literally: I hovered round it.

(8) See Eichhorn's *Monumenta Hist. Arab.* tab. III.

(9) The lives of these two *hâfiz* are given by Ibn Khallikân.

(10) In this important passage the autograph manuscript concurs with the printed text.

(11) Probably the Celtiberian.

(12) Read البربرية in the printed text.

## SHAIKH AL-ISLAM AL-HAKKARI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Jaafar Ibn Arafa al-Hakkâri, surnamed *Shaikh al-Islâm* (*the shaikh of Islamism*), drew his descent from Otba the son of Abû Sofyân Sakhr Ibn Harb Ibn Omaiya. He was a man of great virtue and piety, and had travelled through many countries for the purpose of gathering Traditions from the lips of *shaikhs* and other learned men. Having returned to his native place, he renounced the world and gained (*by his character*) the respect and confidence of the people. In one of his journeys he saw Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri and took lessons from him. When they separated, he was asked by one of his companions what he thought of that poet's conduct and religious belief; to which he replied that Abû 'l-Alâ was a Moslim (1). I have been informed that a man in high rank said to al-Hakkâri : "Are you *Shaikh al-Islâm?*" and that he replied : "No, but I am a *shaikh* in Islamism." A number of his sons and grandchildren were jurisconsults or emirs, and rose to high favour in the service of different princes. He was born A. H. 409 (A. D. 1018-9), and he died on the 1st of Muharram, A. H. 486 (February, A. D. 1093).—*Hakkâri* means *belonging to* the Kurdish tribe of *Hakkâr*, which possesses numerous fortresses, castles, and villages in the country to the east of Mosul.

(1) See vol. I. page 98, note (10).

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## ALI AL-HARAWI AS-SAIH.

The celebrated traveller (1) Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abi Bakr Ali, surnamed al-Harawi because his family belonged to Herât, was born at Mosul and settled at length at Aleppo. He visited numerous regions, made frequent pilgrimages (2), and covered the face of the earth with his peregrinations. There was neither sea nor land, plain nor mountain, to which access could be obtained, which he had not seen; and in every place to which he went, he wrote his name upon the

walls, as I myself have observed in all the cities which I visited, and their number is certainly very great. To this he was indebted for his reputation, and his name as a traveller became proverbial. I saw two verses composed by one of our contemporaries, Jaafar Ibn Shams al-Khilâfa (*vol. I. p.* 328), on a pertinacious writer of begging-poems, and containing an allusion to the circumstance just mentioned; they ran as follows:

> These lying sheets are in the house of every man, and though the rhyme may differ, the meaning is always the same. The earth, both hill and plain, is filled with them, as with the scribblings of the vagabond al-Harawi.

Al-Hasan was not, however, devoid of talent; and, by the skill which he possessed in natural magic (3), he obtained the favour of the lord of Aleppo, al-Malik az-Zâhir, the son of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn. That prince lodged him in his palace, and having conceived a great regard for him, he founded a college outside Aleppo and placed it under the direction of his favourite. This establishment now encloses a mausoleum erected over the grave of al-Harawi. It contains a number of rooms filled with books, and an appropriate inscription has been placed by him on the door of each. I remarked that he had even written the following inscription on the door of the water-closet: *Bait al-Mâl fi Bait il-Mâ* (4). I saw also in the mausoleum a branch of a tree hung at the head of his tomb; this branch or rod had naturally assumed the form of a hoop, (*the ends being completely united*) without the assistance of human art; it is a very curious object, and is said to have been discovered by him in one of his journeys. His last injunctions were that it should be suspended in that place to excite the astonishment of spectators. He composed the following works: *Kitâb al-Ishârât fi Mârifa tiz-Ziârât* (*indications to make known the places of pilgrimage*); *Kitâb al-Khutab al-Harawiya* (*book of khotbas*, or sermons, *by al-Harawi*), etc. I saw two verses inscribed in a fair hand on the wall of the room in the college where he gave his lessons; they appear to have been written by some well-educated person, who had stopped there on his way to Egypt, and their merit induces me to insert them here:

> May the mercy of God be shown to him who offers up a prayer for the welfare of people who stopped here, on their way to Egypt. When they halted at this place, their cheeks were pale (*with fatigue*); but when the hour of departure drew near, they were red with weeping.



Al-Harawi died in the above-mentioned college between the 10th and the 20th of the month of Ramadân, A. H. 611 (January, A. D. 1215). He was buried in the mausoleum of which we have spoken.—*Harawi* means *belonging to Herât*, which is one of the four capitals of Khorâsân; the others are Naisapûr, Balkh, and Marw. This extensive kingdom contains a number of other great cities, but none of them equal to these. Herât was built by Alexander zû 'l-Karnain on his expedition to the East (5).

(1) The word here rendered by *traveller* is *Sâih*, which signifies *a rambler, a wanderer.*

(2) These pilgrimages were made to tombs of saints and other holy places.

(3) By natural magic, or *sîmyâ* as the Arabs call it, is meant legerdemain and phantasmagoria.

(4) Literally: The public treasury in the water-closet. I acknowledge my inability to discover the wit of this inscription.

(5) Herât appears to be the Aria of the Greeks. Alexander the Great founded a city there, which was called Alexandria after him.

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## IZZ AD-DIN IBN AL-ATHIR AL-JAZARI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abi 'l-Karam Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Karîm Ibn Abd al-Wâhid as-Shaibâni (*a member of the tribe of Shaibân*), generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Athîr al-Jazari and surnamed Izz ad-dîn (*majesty of religion*), was born at al-Jazîra, and his first years were spent in that place. Having accompanied his two brothers and his father to Mosul, he took lessons in that city from the *khatîb* Abû 'l-Fadl Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad at-Tûsi (*a native of Tûs*) and from other eminent masters of that epoch. He went to Baghdad repeatedly, either as a pilgrim (*to Mekka*) or as an envoy from the governor of Mosul; and, during these visits, he received lessons from Abû 'l-Kasim Yaîsh Ibn Sadaka the Shafite doctor, Abû Ahmad Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Ali the *Sûfi*, and other learned men. Having then proceeded to Syria and Jerusalem, he pursued his studies under different masters, after which he returned to Mosul, where he confined himself within doors, and devoted all his moments to study and to the composition of his works. His house then became a centre of

union for the learned men of the city and for strangers. His knowledge of the Traditions and his acquaintance with that science in its various branches placed him in the first rank, and his learning as an historian of the ancients and moderns was not less extensive; he was perfectly familiar with the genealogy of the Arabs, their adventures, combats, and history; whilst his great work, the *Kâmil*, or *complete*, embracing the history of the world from the earliest period to the year 628 of the Hijra, merits its reputation as one of the best productions of the kind. He composed also an abridgment, in three volumes, of Abû 's-Saad as-Samâni's *Ansâb* (1), in which he points out the errors of that author and repairs his omissions. It is an extremely useful book and is now very common; but the original work, forming eight volumes, is so extremely rare that I never saw it but once, and that was at Aleppo; it has never reached Egypt, where its contents are only known by the abridgment. Another of Ibn al-Athîr's works is the *Akhbâr as-Sahâba* (*history of the most eminent among the Companions of Muhammad*), in six volumes. On my arrival at Aleppo, towards the close of the year 626 (November, A. D. 1229), Ibn al-Athîr was receiving the kindest attention and every mark of esteem and honour from the Tawâshi (*eunuch*) Shihâb ad-dîn Toghrîl, the *atâbek*, or guardian, of the prince of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Azîz the son of al-Malik az-Zâhir, and was living with him as a guest. I then met him frequently, and found him to be a man of the highest accomplishments and the most excellent qualities, but extremely modest. I was his constant visitor, and, as a close intimacy had subsisted between him and my lamented father, he 483 received me with the utmost regard and kindness. He afterwards made a journey to Damascus, A. H. 627 (A. D. 1229-30), and, on his return to Aleppo in the following year, I continued to cultivate his society with unceasing assiduity, but, after a short stay, he removed to Mosul. Ibn al-Athîr was born on the 4th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 555 (May, A. D. 1160), at Jazîra tibni Omar, the native place of his family; and he died at Mosul, in the month of Shaâban, A. H. 630 (May-June, A. D. 1233). I shall take occasion to speak again of his brothers Majd ad-dîn al-Mubârak and Diâ ad-dîn Nasr Allah.—The *Jazîra*, or isle abovementioned, is generally considered to be the same which is called *Jazîra tibni Omar* (*the isle of the son of Omar*), but I do not know who this Ibn Omar was; some, it is true, say that it was so called after Yûsuf Ibn Omar ath-Thakafi, the emir of the two Irâks.—I have since discovered the true reason, namely, this

town was built by Abd al-Aziz Ibn Omar, a native of Barkâid in the province of Mosul, and was therefore called after him. In some historical works I find it named *Jazîra tibnai Omar Aûs wa Kâmil* (*the island of the two sons of Omar, Aûs and Kâmil*), but who these were I know not.—I have since read in Ibn al-Mustaufi's History (*of Arbela*), where he gives the life of al-Mubârak, the brother of this Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn al-Athir, that he belonged to the Island of Aûs and Kâmil, the sons of Omar (*Ibnai Omar*) Ibn Aûs at-Taghlibi (2).

(1) See page 157 of this volume.
(2) Read التغلبي in the printed text.

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## AL-AKAWWAK.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Jabala Ibn Muslim Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân, generally known by the appellation of al-Akawwak, was a poet of eminent abilities. Al-Jâhiz (1) declares that, for reciting poetry (*extempore*), he was the most admirable of God's creatures, and that he never saw his equal among the Arabs of the desert or those of the towns. He belonged to the class of *mawlas*, and was born blind; his complexion was black and his skin spotted with leprosy. A well known piece of his is that which follows:

> For her who came in disguise to see me, and whom every object filled with apprehension, I would sacrifice my father's life! But that visitor was betrayed by her beauty; how could the night conceal the (*refulgence of such a*) rising moon? She awaited the moment when the spies forgot their duty; she watched the people at their evening conversations, till they yielded to sleep; and then she faced every danger to visit me; but no sooner had she offered the salutation of meeting, than she bid me farewell.

He composed a number of splendid eulogiums on Abû Dulaf al-Kâsim Ibn Isa al-Ijli (2) and on Abû Ghânim Humaid Ibn Abd al-Hamid at-Tûsi (3). One of his finest *kasîdas* on Abû Dulaf begins thus:

> He (*the poet*) repelled from his bosom the approaches of wanton folly; he turned from his errors, though pleasure was his occupation.

In that part of the poem where the eulogium is introduced, he says:

> Let Abû Dulaf be marching against the foe, or enjoying repose at home, his presence (*is for us*) the world. If Abû Dulaf turn away (*from us*), the world (*and Fortune turn from us, to*) follow in his steps. Every Arab upon earth, both the dwellers in the desert and those who sojourn in towns, must borrow from him their noble qualities to form therewith a raiment, on the day in which they enter the lists of glory.

It is a long poem of fifty-eight verses, and so beautiful that I should insert it here, did I not wish to avoid prolixity. Sharaf ad-dìn Ibn Onain, a poet **484** whose life shall be given in this work, and an excellent judge of poetry, was once asked which merited preference, the *kasîda* of al-Akawwak or the charming poem composed by Abû Nuwâs in the same rhyme and measure, and which begins thus:

> O thou who sufferest from the visits of adversity (4), thou canst no longer pretend to the love of Laila or of Samara.

Ibn Onain abstained from giving a direct answer to this question and merely said: "To judge between these two poems would require a person equal in talent "to the poets who composed them." I read some observations written by Abû 'l-Abbâs at-Mubarrad on this *kasîda* of Abû Nuwâs, wherein he says, after inserting the piece: "I do not think that any poet, either of the times before or "after Islamism, ever reached such a pitch of elegance and majesty, much less "that he surpassed it." It is related that al-Akawwak, after he had celebrated the noble qualities of Abû Dulaf in this poem, composed another in praise of Humaid Ibn Abd al-Hamid, who said to him: "What is it possible for you now "to say of me? what merit do you leave for me to claim as mine? you who have "spoken of Abû Dulaf in these terms: *The presence of Abû Dulaf is for us the* "*world; if Abû Dulaf turn away, the world follows in his steps!*" To this the poet replied: "May God direct the emir! I can say of you something better than "that." He then recited these verses:

> Humaid and his vast beneficence are (*for us*) the world. If Humaid turn away from us, adieu to the world!

On hearing these lines, Humaid smiled, but remained silent, whilst every person of the assembly who knew what good poetry was, declared them finer than those on Abû Dulaf Humaid then bestowed an ample reward on the author.



The narration which follows is made by Ibn al-Motazz in his *Tabakât as-Shuarâ* (5): "When al-Mâmûn was told of this *kasîda*, his wrath was excessive, and "he ordered the poet to be sought for and brought before him. As al-Akawwak "was then residing on the mountain, they were unable to find him, and when "the intelligence reached him, he fled to Mesopotamia. Written orders to ar- "rest him being now dispatched in every direction, his apprehensions led him "to fly from Mesopotamia, and he had got into the region called as-Shâmât (6), "when he was discovered and taken prisoner. Having bound him in chains, "they took him before al-Mâmûn, who exclaimed, on seeing him: 'Son of a "'prostitute! it was you who said in a poem addressed to al-Kâsim Ibn Isa: "'*Every Arab upon earth, etc.*'—He here repeated the two verses.—'You have "'thus placed me among those who must borrow from him their noble qualities "'and their titles to glory!'—'Commander of the faithful!' replied al-Akaw- "wak, 'you belong to a family with which no other can be put in comparison; "'God chose yours as his own from amongst the human race, and gave it "'the sacred book, and supreme authority, and a vast empire. But what I "'said was solely applied to those who were on an equality with al-Kâsim Ibn "'Isa.'—'By Allah!' exclaimed al-Mâmûn, 'you made no exceptions, but in- "'cluded us in the number, however I shall not spill your blood on account "'of these lines, but I shall order your death for the impiety of your verses, "'in which you assimilate a vile and miserable creature to the Almighty and "'represent him as the partner of his power: you have said:

> "The events of each day are accomplished under thy control, and fortune is directed "by thee in her changes. A look of thine was never cast on mortal, but he received a "lasting favour or a certain death (7).—

"'But it is God alone who can do so; pluck out his tongue by the root!' "The order was immediately executed, and al-Akawwak thus perished. This "event took place at Baghdad, A. H. 213 (A. D. 828-9); he was born A. H. 160 "(A. D. 776-7). It is said that he lost his sight by the small-pox at the age of "seven years, but this is in contradiction with what has been stated previously." Such are the terms in which Ibn al-Motazz speaks respecting this *kasîda*, and a 488 similar account is also given by Abû 'l-Faraj in his *Kitâb al-Aghâni*. I met these two verses accompanied by another in Abû Abd Allah Ibn al-Munajjim's *Kitâb*

*al Bârî* (8), a work containing a history of the later poets, but he attributes them to Khalaf Ibn Marwân, a *mawla* of Ali Ibn Raita; the third verse is as follows:

> When thou visitest with thy wrath, thy sword returns well pleased; and when thou smilest, the eyes of (*thy*) riches melt into tears.

In one of his eulogiums on Humaid, he says:

> Humaid provides nourishment for all who inhabit the world, and they have thus become his family. It would seem as if his forefather Adam had enjoined him to feed the human race, and he therefore gives them food.

In another of his pieces he says:

> The Tigris quenches the people's thirst, and you, Abû Ghânim, furnish them with food. The people are the body, the (*khalif*) imâm of the true direction is the head, and you are the eye of the head.

Humaid died on the festival of the fast-breaking (*1st of Shawwâl*), A. H. 210 (January, A. D. 826), and his loss was deplored by our poet in a *kasîda*, of which one of the verses was:

> We also have received that moral lesson which others received before us (*in the death of the great and good*); but alas! we have no room left for patience under grief.

Abû 'l-Atâhiya (9) also lamented the death of Humaid in these lines:

> O Abû Ghânim! vast was the court of thy (*hospitable*) dwelling, and numerous are the (*grateful*) visitors who now surround thy lofty tomb! But a tomb frequented by visitors availeth not the person whose body lies mouldering within it.

Numerous anecdotes are related of al-Akawwak, but we must confine ourselves to the above.—The word *akawwak* means *a fat and short man, but stout.*—The date which we have here given of Humaid at-Tûsi's death is that mentioned by at-Tabari in his history, and I am strongly inclined to believe that he breathed his last at Famm as-Salh, to which place he had accompanied al-Mâmûn when that khalif went to consummate his marriage with Bûrân (*vol. I. p.* 269).

(1) The life of al-Jâhiz is given in this volume.

(2) His life will be found in this work.

(3) See vol. I. page 271, where his name is incorrectly written Hamid.

(4) The autograph has عفزه.

(5) See page 42 of this volume.

(6) The author of the *Kitâb al-Ikd* (see Ibn Khallikân, vol. I. p. 92), states that *Shâm*, or Syria, is divided into five *Shâmât*, or Syrias; the indication of these provinces is given by Ibn al-Wardi. See *Excerptum ex Ibn al-Wardi*, page 176, in Koehler's *Abulfedæ Tabula Syriæ*.

(7) One of the highest eulogiums which an Arabian poet could bestow on a patron was, that he did good to friends and evil to foes. The Moslims give similar characteristics to the Divinity; in the list of the ninety-nine holy names, or attributes, we find him styled نافع *the useful*, and ضار *the hurtful*.

(8) The life of Abû Abd Allah Harûn Ibn al-Munajjim will be found in this work.

(9) His life is given in vol. I. page 202.

## ALI IBN AL-JAHM.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Jahm, a poet of well-deserved celebrity, drew his descent from Sâma Ibn Luwâi of the tribe of Koraish, and bore the surname of as-Sâmi for that reason. His genealogy is thus set forth by the Khatib (1), in the History of Baghdad, when giving the life of al-Jahm, Abû 'l-Hasan's father: Ali Ibn al-Jahm Ibn Badr Ibn al-Jahm Ibn Masûd Ibn Asîd Ibn Ozaina Ibn Karrâr (2) Ibn Kaab Ibn Jâbir Ibn Mâlik Ibn Otba Ibn Jâbir Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Katan Ibn Mudlij (3) Ibn Katan Ibn Ahram (4) Ibn Dohl Ibn Amr Ibn Malik Ibn Obaida Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Sâma Ibn Luwai Ibn Ghâlib. The same historian has an article on Ali, the son of al-Jahm, in which he says: "His collected poetical works are "well known; he was a good poet, skilled in all the branches of the art, and a "favourite with (*the khalif*) Jaafar al-Mutawakkil; he was not less conspicuous "for his piety than for his talents." His enmity to Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib and his ostentatious display of attachment to the *Sunnite* doctrines (*may detract in some degree from his character*), but, as a poet, he certainly possessed a natural genius and great abilities, whilst his style and expression were remarkable for sweetness. 486 He was one of those who passed (*with al-Mâmûn*) from Khorâsân to Irâk, but in the year 232 (A.D. 846-7), or, by another account, in 239, he was sent back again by al-Mutawakkil whom he had attacked in a satire. The khalif wrote at the same time to Tâhir Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir (5), directing him to tie up Ali Ibn

al-Jahm on a cross the moment he arrived, and keep him in that position for the space of a day. When Ali reached Shâdiyâkh in the dependencies of Naisâpûr, he was imprisoned by Tâhir, and afterwards brought forth and exposed naked on a cross during an entire day. In allusion to this circumstance Ali pronounced the following verses :

> It was not a person of inferior merit or a man unknown whom they crucified on Monday morning at Shâdiyâkh. They had their hearts' content in that exposition; but, thanks be to God! their victim was a man of honour and noble soul (6).

The piece contains many more verses, but it is too well known to require insertion here.—The poet then returned to Irâk and proceeded from thence to Syria. Some time afterwards, (*the khalif*) al-Mustain received a letter from the master of the post-horse establishment at Aleppo, informing him that Ali Ibn al-Jahm had set out from that city for Irâk in company with some other persons, and that they had sustained a desperate conflict with some horsemen of the tribe of Kalb, by whom they were attacked on the way. When succour came up, Ali was found wounded and at his last gasp, but he was able to pronounce these words :

> Has fresh darkness been added to the night? or has the morning been removed from its station (7)! I thought of the people at Dujail! but O, how far am I from Dujail!

It must be here remarked that his place of residence in Baghdad was in the *Shâri*, or street, of Dujail. The above-mentioned letter was received in the month of Shaabân, A.H. 249 (Sept.-Oct. A.D. 863), and that suffices to mark the epoch of his death. When his body was stripped, a paper was found on it containing the following verses :

> May the mercy of God be on the stranger in a distant land! what a misfortune has he brought upon himself! He has left his friends, and neither he nor they shall again enjoy the pleasures of life.

A close friendship subsisted between him and Abû Tammâm, and the latter addressed him some farewell lines beginning thus :

> It is to-day the departure of one whose acquaintance was an honour; and for to-morrow are reserved the tears which flow not now.



Ali Ibn al-Jahm's collected poetical works form a small volume; they contain this fine thought:

> An affliction not to be equalled is the enmity of a man without honour or religion. He freely abandons you his own reputation, and attacks yours which you so carefully preserve.

These verses were directed by him against Marwân Ibn Abi Hafsa (8), who had composed on him the following epigram:

> Jahm Ibn Badr was surely not a poet, and yet this son of his pretends to make verses. It is true, my father was a neighbour to his mother; and when Ali claims to be a poet, he makes me suspect something.

This idea was taken from Kuthaiyir, the lover of Azza (9), who, having one time recited some verses to the poet al-Farazdak by whom they were approved, was then addressed by him in these terms: "Tell me, Abû Sakhr! did your "mother ever go to Basra?"—"No," replied Kuthayir, "but my father did "frequently (10)." When Ibn al-Jahm was in prison, he composed the well-known verses which begin thus:

> "Thou art now in prison!" said they, but I answered: "The prison harms not my "body; where is the sword which has not been confined in a scabbard?"

This is the best piece ever written on such a subject, and I would give it all here were it not so long. The lines which follow are also of his composition:

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> O (*cruel fair!*) thou who rejoicest in the torments I endure! thou art as a king, acting like a tyrant because he has the power. Were it not for love, I should match thee (*in haughtiness*); but if ever I recover from that passion, thou shalt experience more than thou expectest!

—*Sâmi* means *descended from Sâma*, the son of Luwâi: many persons write this name Shâmi, but they are mistaken.—*Dujail*, the diminutive form of the word *Dijla* (*Tigris*), is the name given to a canal situated higher up the river than Baghdad. It derives its waters from the Tigris and branches off from it on the west bank, opposite to al-Kâdisiya, between Tikrît and Baghdad; a number of towns and villages are situated on its banks. It must not be confounded with the Dujail (*in the province*) of al-Ahwâz, which also waters a number of towns

and villages, but flows from the neighbourhood of Ispahàn; this last was dug by Ardashir Ibn Babek Ibn Sasân, the first of the (*Sasanide*) monarchs of Persia.

(1) See vol. I. page 75.

(2) The autograph has كرّار.

(3) The autograph has مُدلج.

(4) Here the autograph has احرم.

(5) This Tâhir succeeded his father Abd Allah, as governor of Khorâsân, in A. H. 230.

(6) Such I believe to be the meaning of this verse, in which the words شرَفا and تبجيلا must be substituted for شرقا and تبخيلا. I consider ملّ قلوبهم and ملّ صدورهم as equivalent to لملّ قلوبهم and لملّ صدورهم.

(7) Literally: Has the torrent carried off the morning.

(8) See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. III. p. 518.

(9) See vol. I. page 333.

(10) It must be observed that Basra was al-Farazdak's native place.

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## IBN AR-RUMI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, surnamed Ibn ar-Rûmi (*the son of the Christian*), was the son of al-Abbâs, the son of Juraij, or of Jûrjis (*Georgius*) as some say, and a *mawla* to Obaid Allah Ibn Isa Ibn Jaafar Ibn al-Mansûr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib. This celebrated poet, whose verses are so admirable for beauty of expression and originality of thought, was a diver (*it might be said*) for novel ideas, bringing them forth from their secret recesses and producing them to the best advantage. Every thought which he treated was developed to the utmost, and not a shade of it was left by him unnoticed. His poems, which were transmitted down orally by al-Mutanabbi, who learned them from himself, were devoid of order till Abû Bakr as-Sûli undertook the task of arranging them according to the letters in which they rhymed; and Abû 't-Taiyib, the book-copyist of Ibn Abdûs (1), collected them again from all the copies then existing, both those containing the poems arranged by the

letter of the rhyme and those where they were given indiscriminately, and he augmented the whole by the addition of about one thousand verses. Ibn ar-Rûmi composed not only long *kasîdas*, but short pieces also of admirable beauty, and he has employed in some of them every tone which satire or praise can assume. It is thus that he says :

Those generous men bestowed without rebuking, or, if they rebuked, they deferred not their gifts. How many there are, possessing great wealth yet avaricious; whilst others make presents, although obliged to borrow.

In the following lines he expresses a thought which, he says, had never occurred to any poet before him :

Your counsels and your faces and your swords shine like stars when misfortune sheds darkness around. They are signals of guidance, and beacons to dispel the shades of night, when the results of our enterprises are merely objects of conjecture.

Another singular idea of his is expressed thus :

When a man praises another to obtain his gifts and lengthens his eulogium, his intentions are satirical. Had he not judged the water to be low in the well, he would not have taken so long a rope to draw it up.

In the following lines he blames the custom of dyeing the hair black ; and, according to Abû 'l-Husain Jaafar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Hamdâni, they contain an idea never expressed before :

When a man's hair continues black, though his youth is worn out, that dark tint will be thought artificial. How then can an old man expect that the factitious blackness of his hair should be considered natural, or that he himself should be taken for a youth?

488 He once asked a man of rank to render him a service, and although he did not expect any good of him, his request was granted ; on this occasion he expressed his feelings in these lines :

I once asked a service of you, and you granted it generously, though I imagined that you would not. By this favour you impose on me the duty of gratitude, and that is more painful for me than to undergo a refusal from you. I never thought that, throughout all the vicissitudes of time, I should see a favour asked of a man like you. Though what I have received from you gives me pleasure, yet to think that it is on such men as you that hopes are to be placed, gives me pain.



These verses are attributed to Ibn Waki at-Tinnîsi (*vol. I. p.* 396). To avoid lengthening this article we shall merely state that his poetical works abound with beauties. His birth took place at Baghdad on a Wednesday morning after sunrise, which was the 2nd day of the month of Rajab, A. H. 221 (June, A. D. 836): the house in which he was born is situated in the place which bears the two names of al-Akikiya (2), and the street of al-Khataliya (*Darb al-Khataliya*); this house lies opposite to the palace (*kasr*) of Isa Ibn Jaafar, grandson of al-Mansûr. —In one of his journeys he composed these lines on Baghdad :

In that city, youth and its passions were my consorts, and there I wore the robe of life in its newness. When I call up its image to my mind, I see therein the youthful beauties whom I once loved, and their slender waists gracefully bending (3).

He died at Baghdad on Wednesday, the 28th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 283 (July, A. D. 896); some however placed his death in 284 or 276. He was interred in the cemetery at the Garden Gate (*Bâb al-Bustân*). The cause of his death is thus related: Al-Kâsim Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Wahb, the vizir of the imâm (*khalif*) al-Motadid dreaded incurring the satirical attacks of Ibn ar-Rûmi and the outbursts of his malignant tongue; he therefore suborned (*a person called*) Ibn Firâs (4), who gave him a poisoned biscuit, whilst he was sitting in company with the vizir. When Ibn ar-Rûmi had eaten it, he perceived that he was poisoned, and rose to withdraw, on which the vizir said to him : "Where are you going?"—"To the place," replied Ibn ar-Rûmi, "where you sent me."—"Well," observed the vizir, "you will present my "respects to my father."—"I am not taking the road to hell;" retorted the poet. He then retired to his house and died some days afterwards. The physician who attended him administered medicines to counteract the effects of the poison, but it was reported that he employed by mistake a wrong drug. It is related by Ibrahîm Ibn Muhammad Niftawaih (*vol. I. p.* 26) that he saw Ibn ar-Rûmi at the point of death and asked him how he was, and that the poet answered by reciting these verses:

The physician has made a mistake to my cost,—a mistake like that of the man who went down into the well for water and could not get up again. People will say it was a blunder of the doctor's, but doctors' blunders are strokes well aimed by fate.

The relation which follows was made by the poet Abû Othmân an-Nâjim: "I

"went to see Ibn ar-Rûmi in his illness, and I found him at the last extremity;
"on rising to take leave of him, he said to me:

'Abû Othmân! you deserve the praises of your people, and your beneficence is readier 'for your friends than your reproaches. Behold thy brother and take thy fill of the 'sight; for I am thinking that he shall not see you again, nor you him, once this day is 'past.'"

The vizir Ibn Obaid Allah was a man greatly feared, and always displaying an excessive propensity to bloodshed; high and low were in dread of him, for he never discovered a man to be rich without making him suffer for it. He died 489 on the eve of Wednesday, the 10th of the latter Râbî, A. H. 291 (March, A. D. 904), in the khalifate of al-Muktafi (*billah*), being then somewhat more than thirty years of age. The following verses were made on his death by Abd Allah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Saad:

We tasted of joy on the evening of the vizir's death, and we shall continue to taste of it for three evenings longer (5). May God grant no mercy to his bones and no blessing to his heir.

This vizir had a brother named Abû Muhammad al-Hasan, whom he and his father outlived, and some verses (*which we shall give lower down*) were composed on this event by Abû 'l-Hàrith an-Naufali, or rather by al-Bassâmi, a poet whose life will be found immediately after this.—I have since read in as-Samâni's *Zail* (*supplement*), where he gives the life of the chamberlain (*al-bawwâb*) Ali Ibn Mukallad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Karâma, that Abû 'l-Harith an-Naufali said: "I detested al-Kâsim Ibn Obaid Allah for an injustice which he had done me, and, "on the death of his brother al-Hasan, I composed these verses and placed "them in the mouth of Ibn Bassâm al-Bassâmi." Before this passage, as-Samâni inserts these words: "Abû Bakr as-Sûli (6), who was so remarkable for "his social talents, mentions that he had seen Abû 'l-Hârith and that he was a "man of veracity."—The verses are:

Say to the father of al-Kâsim, now suffering under his loss: "Fortune has shown thee "strange events; thou losest a son who was an ornament to the world, and another sur- "vives, filled with turpitude and vices. The life of this one is as bad as the death of "that; in neither case hast thou escaped misfortune."

The following verses were composed also on the same subject by a poet whom I have since discovered to be this same Abû 'l-Harith:

Speak to the father of al-Kâsim, now suffering under his loss, and exclaim aloud: "O "thou who hast met a double misfortune! thou hast lost a son who was an ornament, but "turpitude survives (*in the other*), and what turpitude! The life of this one is as the "death of that: strike thy head with thy hands (*in despair*)."

(1) This Ibn Abdûs is probably the same who bore the surname of al-Jihshiâri. See vol. II. p. 137. The author of the *Fihrist* makes mention also of an Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abdûs, a grammarian and a native of Kûfa, who composed some works on poetry, prosody, and grammar. (*Fihrist*, fol. 120.) A third Ibn Abdûs was a Koran-reader (see vol. I. p. 28); and a fourth was concerned in Ibn as-Shalmaghâni's affair (see vol. I. page 437).

(2) In the autograph this name is written العقيقة.

(3) Literally: I see it, and over it waving the branches of youth.

(4) The autograph has فراس.

(5) It is possible that I may have mistaken the meaning of this verse.

(6) The life of Abû Bakr Muhammad as-Sûli will be found in this work.

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## AL-BASSAMI THE POET.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Nasr Ibn Mansûr Ibn Bassâm, generally known by the surname of al-Bassâmi, was a poet of great celebrity (1). His mother Umâma was daughter to Hamdûn an-Nadim (2). His (*poetry*) was transmitted down orally by Abû Bakr as-Sûli, Abû Sahl Ibn Ziâd, and others who had learned portions of it by heart. The elegance of his verses and the subtilty of his genius entitled him to an eminent rank amongst the poets, but he was particularly noted for the keenness of his tongue and his natural turn for satire: none indeed could escape him; princes and vizirs, high and low, nay even his own father, brothers, and other members of the family had to suffer from his attacks. To his father he addressed the following lines:

Were you to live the lives of twenty eagles, do you think I could die and let you survive? If I outlive you a single day, I shall show my grief by rending the bosom of—thy purse.

In another of his pieces he says:

When greyness cast a veil over my head, I abandoned the pursuit of vain amusements and of love. O for the days of my youth and their pleasures! O that the days of youth could be retrieved with money! Renounce all amorous follies, O my heart! and forget the passion which warmed thee; now, that grey hairs are come, thou art good for nothing! Cast a parting look on the world; the time for journeying forth approaches and the hour of farewell is come. Misfortunes keep guard over man; and, after his misfortunes, he leaves only a transient reputation behind.

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He once asked the vizir Ibn al-Marzubân (3) for the present of a horse, but was refused, on which he pronounced these lines:

Your avarice refused me a vile broken-down horse, and you shall never see me ask for him again. You may say that you reserve him for your own use, but that which you ride was never created by God to be reserved (4).

The following verses were composed by him on the *kâtib* Asad Ibn Jahwar:

Curses light on Fortune! she has brought strange things to pass! and having effaced the last vestiges of polite learning and refined taste, she gives us *kâtibs* whom I should send back to school, could I lay my hands on them. Behold an example of this in Asad Ibn Jahwar who assumes the air of an able *kâtib*.

In another piece he says:

When at Sarât (5), we purloined some nights (*of pleasure*) from the vigilance of adverse fortune, and they now serve as dates in the sad pages of our life (6), and as titles announcing future joys and hopes to be fulfilled.

His father Muhammad Ibn Nasr enjoyed a large fortune and lived in a style of princely magnificence (7); he was remarkable for his manly and generous character, the elegance of his person, the delicacy of his table, the splendour of his dress, and the richness of the furniture which embellished his palace.—It is related that the vizir al-Kâsim Ibn Obaid Allah went one day to al-Motadid, whom he found playing at chess, and overheard him repeating this verse:

The life of this one is as the death of that; in neither case hast thou escaped misfortune.

(*See vol. II. p.* 300). The khalif then raised his eyes, and perceiving, with some confusion, that al-Kâsim was present, he said to him: "O Kâsim! cut Ibn Bassâm's tongue off, so that it wound you no more (8)." Al-Kâsim immediately hastened away to cut out the poet's tongue, but al-Motadid, being informed of

his intention, called him back and said: "Do him no harm, but cut his tongue "off by showing him kindness and giving him some lucrative employment." In consequence of this order, al-Kâsim appointed him director of the post-horse establishment in al-Awâsim and the *Jund* of Kinnisrìn, and receiver-general of the tolls arising from the bridges of these districts. Ibn Bassâm died in the month of Safar, A.H. 302 (Aug.-Sept. A.D. 914); some say, A.H. 303. He was then aged upwards of seventy.—The praises of his grandfather Nasr Ibn Mansùr were celebrated by (*the poet*) Abù Tammâm.—*Al-Awâsim* is a large district in Syria, and its capital is Antioch. Abù 'l-Alà al-Maarri mentions it in this verse:

> When Baghdad and its people ask concerning me, I ask concerning the people of al-Awâsim.

The poet expressed himself thus because his native place, Maarra tan-Nomân, lay in the territory of al-Awâsim. At-Tabari mentions in his history that, in the year 170 (A.D. 786-7), Hârùn ar-Rashid constituted all the (*northern*) frontier of Mesopotamia and Kinnisrìn into a separate district, under the name of al-Awâsim (*the protecting fortresses*).—When al-Mutawakkil destroyed the tomb of al-Husain, the son of Ali Ibn Abi Tàlib, in A.H. 236 (A.D. 850-1), al-Bassâmi composed the following verses on the occasion:

> If the Omaiyides impiously murdered the son of the Prophet's daughter, their descendants have committed as foul a deed—behold the tomb of al-Husain reduced to ruins! They regretted to have borne no share in his murder, and they therefore wreaked their hatred on his ashes.

This tomb, with the adjoining edifices and dependencies, was razed to the foundations by al-Mutawakkil, through detestation for the memory of Ali and his sons al-Hasan and al-Husain; he even ordered the spot on which the tomb was erected to be sown with grain and irrigated, and no person was permitted to visit it. This is stated as a fact by historians, but whether it be true or not is known to God alone.—Ibn Bassâm composed some works, such as a history of Omar Ibn Abi Rabìa (9), which is the fullest and most satisfactory treatise ever written on the subject; the History of al-Ahwas (10); the *Munâkidât as-Shuarâ* (*contradictions of the poets*); an edition of his own epistles, etc. 491



(1) This Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Bassâm is erroneously considered by Hajji Khalifa as the author of the work entitled *ad-Dakhîra fi Mahâsin Ahl il-Jazîra* (*the treasure, on the excellencies of the people of the Island*), by which island is meant the Spanish peninsula. This mistake has not escaped the notice of M. de Sacy; see his *Anthologie Grammaticale*, p. 448. It appears from some of the extracts given from the *Dakhîra* by Ibn Khallikân and from the declaration of al-Makkari (see MS. No. 704, fol. 104), that Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Bassâm as-Shantarîni (*native of Santarem*), the author of the *Dakhîra*, lived in the sixth century of the Hijra and that he was a contemporary of al-Fath Ibn Khâkân, the author of the *Kalâid al Ikiyân*. M. de Gayangos states, I know not on what authority, that Ibn Bassâm died A. H. 542 (A. D. 1147-8). See his *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, vol. 1, p. 370; where he announces also that he will treat more at length about him and his writings. I have made many but fruitless searches to find some account of him, and am much surprised at the silence of al-Makkari, Ibn Bashkuwâl, Abû 'l-Mahâsin, Ibn Khâkân, Imâd ad-dîn, and other authors, on the subject.

(2) "The *kâtib* Hamdûn Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Dâwûd was the first of his family who followed the profession of a "*nadîm*, or boon companion. His son Ahmad Ibn Hamdûn was an oral transmitter of poetry and historical "narrations."—(*Fihrist*, No. 874, fol. 195.)

(3) It appears from al-Makîn (*Elmacin*) that Ibn al-Marzubân was chamberlain to the khalif al-Mutawakkil. —(See *Historia Saracenica*, page 151.)

(4) This is the more obvious meaning; but another is intended, namely: nothing which God has created can remain pure if you touch it.

(5) As-Sarât is the name of one of those canals or rivers which united the Euphrates and Tigris.

(6) Literally: As a date to the nights.

(7) The autograph has السرو not السرور.

(8) Literally: Cut his tongue off from you. An anecdote similar to this is related of Muhammad and al-Abbâs Ibn Mirdâs.

(9) The life of Omar Ibn Abi Rabîa is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(10) Al-Ahwas Ibn Jaafar, the chief of the tribes descended from Hawâzin, is principally known for the active part which he took in the celebrated combat of Shîb Jabala.—(See Rasmussen's *Hist. Arab. anteislam.* p. 71, and Fresnel's *Première lettre sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, p. 47.)

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## AL-KADI 'T-TANUKHI.

The kàdi Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali at-Tanûkhi (1) was a native of Antioch and drew his descent from Kudâa by the following line: his father Muhammad was the son of Abû 'l-Fahm Dâwûd Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Tamîm Ibn Jâbir Ibn Hâni Ibn Zaid Ibn Obaid Ibn Mâlik Ibn Murît Ibn Sarh Ibn Nizâr Ibn Amr Ibn al-Harith Ibn Subh Ibn Amr Ibn al-Harith—this last was one of the ancient kings of the tribe of Tanûkh)—Ibn Fahm Ibn Taim Allah Ibn Asad Ibn Wabara Ibn Taghlib Ibn



Hulwân Ibn Imrân Ibn al-Hâf Ibn Kudâa. Abû 'l-Kâsim at-Tanûkhi was deeply learned in the doctrines of the Motazelites and in astrology. Ath-Thaâlibi speaks of him in these terms: "He ranked among the men the most distinguished "for their learning (*in the law*) and their acquaintance with general literature; "his noble character and excellent qualities placed him in a class apart, and the "following description, which I read in a chapter of the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd's "works might be applied to him with justice: 'If you desire it, I shall be (*seri-* "'*ous as*) the rosary of a devotee; and, if you like, I shall be (*sweet as*) the apple "'of Fâtik (2); if you require it, I shall be (*grave as*) the frock of a monk, or, "'if you prefer it, I shall be (*exhilarating as*) the choicest wine of the drinker.' "He filled the place of kâdi at Basra and al-Ahwâz for some years, and, on "his removal from that office, he proceeded to the court of Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn "Hamdân as a visitor and eulogist. That prince gave him an honourable "reception, and having granted him a considerable sum for his support, he "wrote to the court of Baghdad requesting the kâdi's reinstatement. Abû 'l- "Kâsim then obtained an increase of salary and high preferment; the vizir al- "Muhallabi and other powerful men of Irâk took him into favour and became "the ardent partisans of one whom they considered as the standard of elegant "taste and the sweetest flower of their convivial meetings. He was one of the "band of kâdis and jurisconsults who formed the vizir al-Muhallabi's social par- "ties which met on two evenings of each week; all reserve was then discarded, "and they freely indulged in the pleasures of the table and gave loose to gaiety. "Such were the kâdi Abû Bakr Ibn Kuraiya, Ibn Marûf (3), Abû 'l-Kâsim "at-Tanûkhi, and others, not one of whom but had a long grey beard; and this "was also the case with al-Muhallabi himself. At these meetings, when once a "perfect familiarity was established and sociability prevailed, their ears were "gratified with the charms of music, and, yielding to the excitement of gaiety, "they divested themselves of the robe of gravity to indulge in wine; then, as they "passed through all the degrees of enjoyment, from hilarity to extravagance, "a golden cup, weighing one thousand *mithkals* (4), and filled with the delicious "liquor of Kutrubbul (5) or of Okbara (6), was placed in the hand of each; in "these they dipped, or rather steeped their beards, till the contents were nearly "all absorbed, and they then sprinkled each other by shaking off the drops. "During this, they danced about in variegated dresses and in necklaces formed

"of white violets and the odoriferous seeds of the gum-acacia (7). The next "morning, their habitual gravity and guarded conduct were resumed with the "emblems of their judicial functions and the reserved deportment of venerable "doctors." Ath-Thaâlibi then gives numerous passages of his poetry, and from these we select the following:

> A liquor composed of sunbeams (8) is presented in a vase formed of the light of day; or of air, were it not solid—or else of water, were it not devoid of fluidity. When the page who bears it round to the right or to the left, leans forward to pour forth its contents, he seems to be clothed in a jasmine (*white*) robe, with one single sleeve of (*a red colour like*) the pomegranate blossom.

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> How highly should I prize thy beauty, did thy kindness towards me correspond to it! Thou art a full moon; but, alas! the sky in which thou risest is not the sky of love.

> Youth to which hoary age succeeds not, such is thy friendship; an evil for which there is no physician, such is thy hatred. A portion of every soul seems combined in thine, and thou art therefore a friend to every soul.

Al-Masûdi states, in his *Murûj ad-Dahab*, that Abû 'l-Kâsim at-Tanûki composed a *kasîda* in imitation of Ibn Duraid's *Maksûra*, and he then quotes some lines from it in praise of Tanûkh and Kudâa, the tribe to which the author belonged. Another writer relates the following anecdote which he had received from Abû Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Askar, a *Sûfi*, and a native of Wâsit: "In "the year 521 (A.D. 1127) I happened to be at Baghdad, and was sitting on the "stone seat of the Abraz Gate for recreation, when three females came and sat "down beside me. I immediately recited the following verse, meaning to apply "it to them:

> "Air, were it not solid; water, were it not devoid of fluidity.

"One of them then asked me if I knew the rest of the piece, and I replied "that I knew that verse only. On this she said: 'If any one were to recite to "'you the lines which precede, and those which terminate the piece, what "'would you give that person?' I replied that I had nothing to give, but that "I would kiss the person on the mouth. She then recited to me the verses "already mentioned, but after the first she introduced these:

> "When you consider it and its contents, you have before your eyes a white flower "enclosing a fire. One is the extreme of whiteness, and the other of redness.

"When I had got the verses by heart, she said in jesting: 'Where is your "'promise?' meaning the kiss."—The Khatîb states that Abû 'l-Kâsim at-Tanûkhi was born at Antioch on Sunday, the 25th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A.H. 278 (March, A.D. 892); that he went to Baghdad, where he learned Traditions and studied Hânifite jurisprudence, and that he died at Basra on Tuesday, the 7th of the first Rabi, A.H. 342 (July, A.D. 953). He was interred the next morning in a mausoleum, situated in the street of al-Mirbad, which was bought for him (9). Mention shall be made of his son al-Muhassin in the letter *M*. Both of them have left a *diwân*, or collection of poetry.

(1) It has been already observed by our author, vol. I. p. 97, that *Tanûkh* was a general denomination for those tribes which had settled at Bahrain.

(2) This is probably an allusion to an apple of amber on which the name of Fâtik was engraved, and which had been presented to the poet al-Mutanabbi by the direction of that emir. A celebrated poem, composed by al-Mutanabbi on this occasion, will be found in M. Grangeret de Lagrange's *Anthologie arabe*.

(3) See vol. I. p. 379.—The life of Ibn Kuraiya is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(4) The cup must therefore have weighed from six to seven pounds.

(5) The village of Kutrubbul, so celebrated for the excellence of its wine, lay between Baghdad and Okbara. It was much frequented by the people of the former city in their parties of pleasure and debauch.

(6) See vol. II. page 66.

(7) This passage may perhaps have some other meaning, which I am unable to discover.

(8) In this piece the poet intends to describe a large white vase containing red wine.

(9) The autograph has: بشارع المِرْبَد.

## AN-NASHI 'L-ASGHAR.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Wasîf al-Hallâ, surnamed an-Nâshi al-Asghar (*or the less*), was a poet of merited celebrity for his talents, and the author of numerous *kasîdas* on the family of the Prophet. He displayed also great abilities in scholastic theology, which science he had learned from Abû Sahl Ismail Ibn Ali Ibn Nûbakht, and he held an eminent rank among the *Shîites*. Numerous works were composed by him. His grandfather Wasîf was a slave, and his father Abd Allah a druggist. The surname of *al-Hallâ* was given to him

493 because he made trinkets (*hilya*) of brass. Abû Bakr al-Khuwârezmi states that the following charming verses, composed by an-Nâshi al-Asghar, were recited to him at Aleppo by their author:

> When I rebuked my friend (*whom unrequited love had rendered*) weary of the world (1), I might as well have written on water. Had he even renounced his passion after my reprimand, that love which was at first a spontaneous movement would have still remained a duty (2).

In the year 325 (A. D. 936-7) he went to Kûfa and taught his own poetry in the great mosque; al-Mutanabbi, who was then a boy, attended his lessons and took them down in writing. The following passage from one of an-Nâshi's *kasîdas* was written down by al-Mutanabbi under the author's dictation:

> As a secret thought is the point of his spear, it is always buried deep in the heart (3). His sword is like the pact made with *him* at Ghadîr Khumm (4); the necks of mankind are formed to receive it (5).

The same thought has been thus versified by al-Mutanabbi:

> In the tumult of battle the enemy's heads are as eyes, and thy sword then seems to have been formed out of sleep (6). Thy lances also are made of thoughts, for it is into the hearts alone that they enter.

An-Nâshi had visited the court of Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân at Aleppo, and that prince overwhelmed him with the marks of his generosity. When he decided on taking his departure, he addressed the following farewell lines to his patron:

> I bid farewell, but that reluctantly; and, forced by fate, I make a sacrifice to which I should never have willingly consented. I depart in grief, which is now the only companion of my soul; if indeed I can depart and not leave my soul behind. You removed from me a weight of misery in loading me with favours and with honours; and these we refer to God alone for retribution. May He protect you whose religion is protected by thy sword! May He conduct you to a garden of happy life, ever green and ever flourishing.

The lines which follow are attributed to him by ath-Thaâlibi, but in a subquent part of this writer's work, he gives them as the production of Abû Muhammad Ibn al-Munajjim (7):

> If you cannot attain the honours which are coveted by noble minds, cease your efforts and seek a foreign land. How often has a life of ease become irksome! and how often have fatigues and toils yielded repose!

This piece also is by an-Nâshi:

If the feelings of a friend be alienated from me wrongfully (8), I try to give him reasons to justify his conduct; I expostulate not, lest I should irritate him more, and I make him feel that my silence is a reproach sufficient. And if I am tormented by an ignorant pretender to knowledge, ever ready to assert the wrong for the right, I honour him with my silence, for silence often answers for an answer.

His poetry contains a number of fine thoughts. He died A. H. 366 (A. D. 976-7), but some say that he expired on Wednesday, the 5th of Safar, A. H. 365 (October, A.D. 975), at Baghdad. His birth took place, A.H. 271 (A.D. 884-5).

(1) For الملوك read الملول.

(2) The poet means to say that the real merit of the lady would be acknowledged even on cool reflection.

(3) Literally: It has no departure from the hearts. The verses are in praise of Ali Ibn Tâlib, as is proved by the first hemistich of the second verse, which is written thus in the autograph and in one of my own manuscripts: وصارمه كبيعته بخم.

(4) See vol. I. page 162, note (8).

(5) In Arabic, the idea of being bound by a pact is expressed thus: They have placed the pact of the other party as a collar around their necks, تقلدوا ببيعتهم.

(6) That is: Thy sword falls upon the foeman's head as naturally as sleep upon the eye.

(7) Ath-Thaâlibi mentions at least four different persons bearing the name of Ibn al-Munajjim; they all composed verses and flourished, it would appear, in the time of Saif ad-Dawlat. They were distinguished by the additional surnames of Abû Muhammad, Abû 'l-Fath, Abû 'l-Hasan Bâbek Ibn Ali, Abû Isa, and Hibat Allah. Ibn Khallikân gives the lives of two others a few pages farther on.

(8) The autograph has تجنيا.

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## AZ-ZAHI THE POET.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Ishak Ibn Khalaf, generally known by the surname of az-Zâhi, was a celebrated poet and a native of Baghdad. He excelled in description, and his productions abound with beauties. The Khatib speaks of him in the History of Baghdad, and, after mentioning that his poetry offers many fine examples of simile and other figures of rhetoric, he states his belief that his poetical compositions are not numerous, and he then gives us to understand that 494

he was a seller of cottons and kept a shop in the Grant of ar-Rabi (1). Amid ad-Dawlat Abû Saad Ibn Abd ar-Rahîm (2) gives him a place in his *Tabakât as-Shuarâ*, and says: "He was born on Monday, the 19th of Safar, A. H. 318 "(March, A. D. 930); he died at Baghdad on Wednesday, the 19th of the latter "Jumâda, A. H. 352 (July, A. D. 963), and was buried in the cemetery of the "Koraish. His poetical works fill four volumes, and the greater part are in "honour of the family of Muhammad, or in praise of Saif ad-Dawlat, the vizir "al-Muhallabi, and other great men of the epoch." He adds that az-Zâhi composed pieces in all the various styles of poetry, and quotes the following lines as his:

Thy aversion for my love has torn the veil off my passion, and my tears serve only to expose me more. I did not reject the control of prudence, till I saw the beauty of the ringlets which adorned thy cheeks. Yet I often before saw handsome faces, but, to my misfortune, my choice fell on thine.

In describing the violet, az-Zâhi employs the following comparison:

Azure flowers from the garden, surpassing the sapphire in colour and borne on stems too feeble to support them (3); they appear like the first flame given out by a match tipped with sulphur.

By the same:

A wine so transparent in the cup that it resembles the light which dawns over the domain of man. It is so clear (4) and limpid in the glass that it appears not, and the vase which contains it seems to be empty.

The following is one of the beautiful passages offered by his poems:

Fair ladies, the glances of whose eyes are such, that they seem to brandish swords and unsheath daggers. They accosted me one day in the recess of the valley, and they deluded my heart, which was deluding itself with assumed insensibility. When they unveiled, they were full moons; when they drew their veil, they were crescents; when they moved with dignity, their waists were pliant wands; and when they turned their heads, they displayed the tender looks of the gazelle. From their necks encircled with pearls, their heads seemed to rise like stars; they were formed to do harm to our hearts (5).

This mode of enumerating female charms has been often employed by poets, but was never given under so admirable a form as this. Al-Mutanabbi has said on the subject:

In her aspect, a moon; in her movements, a branch of willow; in odour, ambergris; in looks, a gazelle.

And ath-Thaâlibi quotes the following description of a musician by a contemporary poet, which is in the same style :

I devote my life for thee, O most charming of mortals and fittest object of a lover's attachment! Thy countenance is, by its beauty, the solace of our eyes; and thy voice, by its sweetness, the delight of our ears. When ladies asked me to describe thee, I told them the strangest tale: "In looks," said I, "she is a gazelle, in song a nightingale, in "countenance an anemone, and in graceful port a wand." 495

To avoid lengthening this notice, we shall abstain from giving other examples of the same kind (6).—"*Zâhi*," says as-Samâni, "is a relative adjective derived "from (*Zâh*) the name of a village in the dependencies of Naisâpûr, to which "place a number of persons are indebted for their surname." He then adds : "But as for Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ishak Ibn Khalaf al-Baghdâdi, who was sur- "named az-Zâhi, I cannot say whether he derived that appellation from the "village of which we are speaking or not; all I know of him is, that he was a "native of Baghdad and a good poet."

(1) See vol. I. page 526.

(2) According to Hajji Khalifa, in his bibliographical dictionary under the head of *Tabakât as-Shuarâ*, a work bearing this title was composed by the vizir Abû *Saîd* Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibd Abd ar-Rahîm, who died A.H. 338. This date cannot be exact, for an extract from that vizir's work, quoted by Ibn Khallikân in the life of Ibn Nûbakht (page 319 of this volume), proves that he wrote subsequently to A.H. 431. Abû 'l-Mahâsin is more satisfactory; he says in the *Nujûm*, under the year 439: "In this year died Abû *Saîd* Mu- "hammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Abd ar-Rahîm, vizir to Jalâl ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih. Having lost heavy "sums by the exactions of the Turkish troops, he was placed under the necessity of quitting Baghdad "and seeking concealment in Jazîra tibni Omar, where he remained till his death, which occurred in the "month of Zû 'l-Kaada (April-May, A.D. 1048)."—Ibn Khallikân writes his surname Abû *Saad*, and as such I have printed it in the life of Bishr Ibn Ghaiâth al-Marîsi, where we find attributed to him another work, entitled (*an-Nutaf wa 't-Turaf*). In all the other works which I have examined, his surname is written Abû *Saîd*. For the turbulent conduct of the Turkish troops under Jalâl ad-Dawlat, see Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 423, and Wilken's edition of Mirkhond's History of the Buides, page 95.

(3) Read in the printed text ضعفن.

(4) The autograph has رقت.

(5) Literally: As detriments to the heart's core.

(6) Before this, in the Arabic text, a piece of two verses is inserted, which the author had added at a later period. They are not fit for translation.



## IBN AL-MUNAJJIM AN-NADIM.

Abù 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Yahya Ibn Abi Mansûr al-Munajjim was the boon companion (*nadîm*) of al-Mutawakkil and a member of his intimate society. On the death of his patron, he continued in the highest favour with the khalifs who succeeded; being permitted to sit in their presence when they gave audience from the throne, and enjoying their confidence to such a degree that they entrusted him with the knowledge of all their secret intentions and proceedings. The favour in which they held him, high as it was, continued without intermission to the last. Before his connection with the khalifs, he had placed himself under the patronage of Muhammad Ibn Ishak Ibn Ibrahim al-Musâbi(1); he then became acquainted with al-Fath Ibn Khâkân (2), for whose use he formed a library consisting chiefly of philosophical treatises; and he augmented that vizir's collection of books manifold by the immense number of works which he had copied for the express purpose, and none of which existed therein before. He knew by heart and could repeat correctly a great quantity of ancient poems and historical narrations, but his skill lay principally in vocal music, (*and the airs which he sung were*) obtained by him from Ishak Ibn Ibrahîm al-Mausili (*vol. I. p.* 183), with whom he had been personally acquainted. He is the author of some works, such as an account of the anteislamic and the Moslim poets, a life of Ishak Ibn Ibrahîm al-Mausili, a treatise on boiled wine (3), etc. That he had a talent for poetry is proved by the following verses of his on the *taif al-khiâl* (4):

> Dearer to me, by Allah! than my father, is that object which appeared to me in the darkness, like the smile of the glimmering morn. Its aspect increased my passion and filled my heart with flames. Who can cure a heart smitten and enamoured, which beats yet stronger the more I strive to calm it? The image of my beloved made me a visit (*in my dream*), but that has only served (5) to destroy my repose for ever.

Some other elegant passages in verse composed by the *Nadîm* are still extant. He lived long enough to pay his court to al-Motamid, and he died in the latter part of that khalif's reign. It was at Sarra-man-râa that he breathed his last, A. H. 275 (A. D. 888-9). He left a number of sons, all of them distinguished for their honourable character and convivial talents: notices of some of them will be found in this work under the proper heads.



(1) Muhammad Ibn Ishak al-Musâbi was governor of the province of Fars.

(2) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(3) See vol. II. page 46, note (9).

(4) See vol. I. *Introd*. page xxxvi.

(5) I read زاد for زار in the second hemistich; the autograph has زادنی; but the measure of the verse does not seem to allow this reading.

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## IBN AL-MUNAJJIM THE POET.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abi Abd Allah Harûn Ibn Ali Ibn Yahya Ibn Abi Mansûr al-Munajjim, the celebrated poet, belonged to a family which produced many 496 elegant scholars, men of refined taste, whose agreeable qualities rendered them the companions of khalifs and vizirs in their parties of pleasure. The *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd admitted him into his society, and composed the following verses in his honour:

> The descendants of al-Munajjim are gifted with a vivid intellect, and their literary talents are conspicuous in Persian and in Arabic. I persevered in praising them and extolling their merit, till I was accused for excessive partiality.

Among the number of charming verses composed by Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn al-Munajjim are some which have been set to music. One of his pieces is as follows:

> Motives for affection subsist between thee and me; and the relationship which we bear each other is that of love (1). (*Sighing for thee*,) I blame time for its delay, and my reproaches shall long continue, unless they effect an amendment by which that delay may be annulled. Ô thou who refusest me thy presence and thy letters! tell me if I am to hope that this double privation may cease? Were it not for the allurements of hope, a heart arrayed in the garb of suffering had been broken on thy account. But let us not despair of divine favour; the separated are sometimes reunited, and the absent may perhaps return again.

He addressed the following lines to Ibn al-Khuwârezmi, who had hurt his foot by a fall:

> How could a stumble hurt the man who, in affairs of importance, never made a false step but he recovered from it? How could harm reach a foot which always trod in the path of honour (2)?





He composed a great deal of poetry, and numerous amusing anecdotes are told of him. His other works are, a treatise on the month of Ramadân, drawn up by him for the khalif ar-Râdi; the *Kitâb an-Nîrûz wa 'l-Mihrigân* (*book of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes*); a refutation of al-Khalil (*Ibn Ahmad's*) system of prosody; a work commencing with the genealogy of his own family, undertaken at the request of the vizir al-Muhallabi, but left unfinished; an essay on the difference between the style of Ibrahîm Ibn al-Mahdi and that of Ishak al-Mausili in the art of vocal music; the *Kitâb al-Lafz al-Muhît, etc.* (*the comprehensive declaration, being a refutation of the assertions made by al-Lakît*) (3); this is an answer to Abû 'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni's work, entitled *al-Fark wa 'l-Mîyâr bain al-Aughâd wa 'l-Ahrâr* (*difference between the noble and the rabble and appreciation of their relative worth*). This Ibn al-Munajjim was son to the author of the *Kitâb al-Bârî* (4), a work containing a choice of extracts from the productions of the later poets, and grandson to the Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn al-Munajjim of whom an account has been given in the preceding article. His birth took place on the 9th of Safar, A. H. 276 (June, A. D. 889); some say in 277; he died on Wednesday, the 16th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 352 (July, A. D. 963). He persevered till the end of his life in the custom of wearing his hair dyed (5).

(1) This verse is not given in the autograph.

(2) Literally: Which never trod but towards an honourable station.

(3) The word *Lakît* signifies a foundling. It does not appear why this appellation should have been given to the author of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*.

(4) The life of Harûn Ibn Ali al-Munajjim is given in this dictionary.

(5) See vol. I. page 46, note (3).

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## ABU 'L-FATH AL-BUSTI.

Abû 'l-Fath Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Busti, a *kâtib* and a poet of great celebrity, was the author of (*the work entitled*): *at-Tarîka tal-Anîka fi 't-Tajnîs* (1), *al-Anîs al-Badî at-Tâsîs* (*the pleasing path, designed as a treatise on paronomasia and as a delight-*

*ful companion by the solidity of the principles which it lays down*) (2). As specimens of the elegance which he attained (*in expression and thought*), we shall quote the following phrases: "He that does good to the man that wrongs him confounds "the man that is jealous of him."—"He who yields to his anger loses his civi- "lity."—"The fashions of lords are lords of the fashions."—"A sign of your "good fortune is your keeping within bounds."—"Bribes are the means of "success."—"The most foolish of men is he who is scornful to his brethren "and presumptuous towards his sovereign."—"The mind is a sun, and the un- "derstanding its rays."—"Fate mocks at wishes."—"Definition of temperance: "To be content with a strict sufficiency."—"There is no mending a torn darn." We shall here give some striking passages from his poetry:

When he flourishes his pen on going to use it, he makes you forget the bravest warrior **497** that ever flourished a spear (3). When he rests his fingers upon the paper, all the writers in the world confess themselves his slaves (4).

Some men clothe themselves in silk, whilst a wretched body is concealed beneath. It is thus that people paint their cheeks when suffering from a tumour in the lungs.

When you try to amuse people in talking of past events and those which are to come, avoid repetitions, for their minds are placed in hostility to repetitions (5).

Endure thy brother's temper, be it what it may; you cannot hope to amend it. How could you expect to succeed, since his body contains four humours placed in it by nature?

That part of his poetry composed in the alliterative style called *tajnîs* is very copious. He died at Bukhâra, A.H. 400 (A.D. 1109-10); some say A.H. 401. —We have given the explanation of the word *Busti* (*vol. I. p.* 477). I read, at the beginning of his collected poetical works, that he bore the names of Abû 'l-Fath Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Azîz, and this may, perhaps, have been the case.

(1) The autograph has في التجنيس.

(2) I follow the authority of Abû 'l-Fedâ (see *Annals*, year 400) in taking *Tarîka*, as here mentioned, for the title of a book, but must acknowledge having doubts on the subject, as no such work is noticed by Hajji Khalîfa. It it be really a title, some quibble is intended by the words *Tajnîs* and *Tâsîs*, one of which is a term of rhetoric and the other of prosody. It strikes me however that the whole passage may apply to the

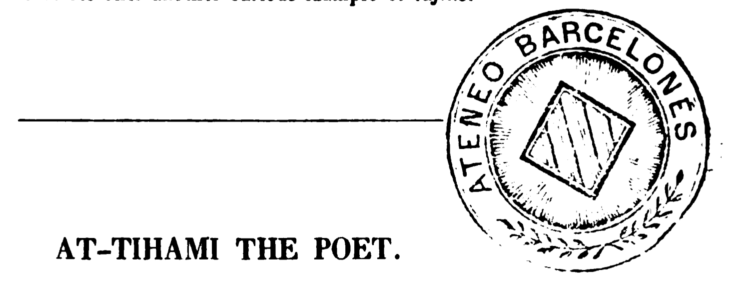


man himself, as it might be rendered thus: "A poet of great celebrity, was noted for the pleasing way in "which he employed paronomasias (or alliteration), and was a delightful companion by the solidity of the "principles which he laid down."

(3) For ذابلة read ماطلة. Both words are identic in signification.

(4) As these verses abound in the figure of Arabic rhetoric called *tajnîs*, or *alliteration*, their merit is lost in the translation.

(5) In the original Arabic these verses offer another curious example of *tajnîs*.




## AT-TIHAMI THE POET.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad at-Tihâmi, a celebrated poet, is spoken of in these terms by Ibn Bassâm in his *Dakhîra*: "He was renowned for his abi-"lities and possessed a cutting tongue; between him and all the varied modes "of expression the path was free; his poetry indicated as clearly (*the talents*) "which had fallen to his lot, as the coolness of the zephyr denotes the presence "of the morn, and it disclosed his exalted station in science as plainly as the "tear reveals the secret of love." His collected poetical works form a small volume, but the greater portion of the pieces is exquisite; one of his most graceful passages is contained in a long *kasîda*, composed in praise of the vizir Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn al-Maghribi (1), where he says:

> When the lips of the flowers on the hills and those of our (*mortal*) beauties were smiling, I asked my friend which were the fairest to the sight: "I know not," said he; "all of them are anthemis blossoms (2)."

A similar thought is expressed in the following lines, attributed to (*Hibat Allah*) Ibn Sanâ 'l-Mulk, a poet whose life will be found in this work:

> I hesitated, thinking the teeth (*of my beloved*) Sulaima to be anthemis buds, and taking these for teeth. I therefore kissed them all, to dispel my doubts; and every person who feels earnest (*in such matters*) would do the same.

In one of his eulogistic passages he has surpassed all competition, where he says:

His gifts are ample; yet he thinks them small, though the copious rains of autumn are shamed (*by their abundance*). Compared with the beneficence which he sheds around, the swollen cloud would be called a vapour, and oceans, rivulets.

He composed a most beautiful elegy on the loss of his son, who died a boy; 498 and I am only prevented from giving it here because people say that it brings ill luck; but as two of the verses, descriptive of envious men, contain an unusual (*but elegant*) idea; I shall insert them :

I pity those who envy me, because hatred burns within their bosoms. They see God's kindness towards me, and thus their eyes are in paradise whilst their hearts are in hell.

In the same piece he thus expresses his contempt for the world :

It is composed of turbid elements, yet you hope to find it free from dregs and lees ! He who requires of time what is contrary to its nature, is as the man who seeks in water for a brand of fire. He who expects what is impossible, builds his hopes on the brink of a tottering sand-bank.

In this piece also he says :

I reside in the vicinity of foes, but he (*whom I have lost*) sojourns near his lord; how different that neighbourhood from mine! The parching heat which consumes my heart has changed my hair to grey, and this light colour is the flame of that inward fire.

The idea expressed in the last verse is taken from a piece by Abû Nasr Said Ibn as-Shâh, where he says :

"Thy cheeks," said she, "are darkened with hair, and that spoils the fairest faces." I replied: "Thou hast kindled a fire in my heart, and the smoke has settled on my "cheeks."

The following verses belong to one of his long *kasîdas*:

How often have I warned you against the land of Hijâz, for its gazelles (*maidens*) are accustomed to make its lions (*heroes*) their prey. You wished to pursue the hinds (3) of Hijâz; but, unfavoured by fate, 'twas you who became their prey.

One of his best-known pieces is this:

In the company of noble-minded men there is always room for another; friendship, it is true, renders difficulties easy. A house may be too small for eight persons, yet friendship will make it hold a ninth.



A fine verse from one of his *kasîdas* is the following:

If Time, who is the father of mortals, treats you ill, reproach not then his children when they do the same.

"At-Tihâmi arrived secretly in Egypt with a great number of letters which "he was bearing to the Banû Kurra from Hassan Ibn Mufarrij (4) Ibn Daghfal "al-Badawi (5); and being arrested, he represented himself as a member of the "tribe of Tamîm. On a closer examination, he was discovered to be at-Tihâmi "the poet, and they cast him into the prison of Cairo called *Khazâna tal-Bunûd*. "This occurred on the 25th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 416 (June, A. D. 1025). "On the 9th of the first Jumâda in the same year, he was put to death secretly, "in the place where he was confined. He was of a tawny complexion." I extracted the foregoing passage from an historical work by a native of Egypt, in which he gives an account, day by day, of the events which passed in that country. I have seen only one volume of it, and do not know how many it con-

499 sisted of.—Some time after at-Tihâmi's death, he was seen in a dream (6) by one of his friends, who asked him how God had treated him? to which he replied: "He has pardoned me."—"For which of your deeds?" said the friend. —"For having said in an elegy on the death of a little boy of mine:

'I reside in the vicinity of foes, but he sojourns near his Lord; how different that 'neighbourhood from mine!'"

—*Tihâmi* is the relative adjective derived from *Tihâma*, a name given to Mekka. It is for this reason that the blessed Prophet was surnamed *at-Tihâmi*. The same name is also given to the mountains and other regions which form the extensive province between Hijâz and the frontiers of Yemen. I do not know whether it was from the city or from the province that the poet took his surname.

(1) See vol. I. page 450.

(2) The flower of the anthemis being white, Arabic poets compare ladies' teeth to it.

(3) For من صيد read صيد مها.

(4) I follow the orthography of the autograph.

(5) The Arabic tribe of the Banû Korra inhabited the province of Barka and took up arms for Abû Rakwa the Omaiyide, when he attempted to expel the Fatimites from Egypt. See an account of this revolt in M. de Sacy's *Exposé de l'histoire des Druzes*, tom. I. p. cccxvii *et seq*. It was their former hostility to al-Hâkim

which now induced Hassân Ibn Mufarrij, the chief of the tribe of Tai, to court their alliance against that khalif's son, az-Zâhir; at-Tihâmi was the secret agent in this affair, which totally failed. Hassân had already revolted against al-Hâkim some years before. See *Druzes*, p. cccl.

(6) See vol. I. p. 46, note (7).

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## IBN NUBAKHT THE POET.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Nûbakht, a good poet, but unkindly used by fortune, led a life of uninterrupted misery and privation, and died at Misr in the month of Shaabân, A.H. 416 (October, A.D. 1025). He was interred at the expense of the *kâtib* and poet Wali ad-Dawlat Abû Muhammad Ahmad Ibn Ali, surnamed Ibn Khairân, who was recorder of the diplomas and commissions issued by az-Zâhir Ibn al-Hâkim, sovereign of Egypt. He also left a small volume of poetry, in which are found these well-known lines:

> You listen to slanderers traducing me, and you hold me in such slight esteem that you contradict not their false reports. But were thy image to visit me in the sweetest of dreams and slander thee, I should even renounce sleep!

I mention Ibn Khairân here, without allotting him a separate article, because the date of his death is unknown to me, and in this work I confined my notice to persons the time of whose decease is ascertained.—I have since discovered an account of his life, with some extracts from his poetry, in the *Tabakât as-Shuarâ* of the vizir Abû Saad Amîd ad-Dawlat (1): "He was a handsome young man," says this writer, "and intelligence of his death was brought to us in the month "of Ramadân, A. H. 431 (May-June, A. D. 1040)." I became acquainted with this passage when at Cairo, towards the end of the year 674 (A.D. 1276).

(1) See note (2), page 311 of this volume.

## SARI AD-DILA.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abd al-Wâhid, a jurisconsult of Baghdad and a poet of considerable reputation, was generally known by the appellations of Sari ad-Dilâ (*the slain by blandishments*), Katil al-Ghawâshi (*the victim of sudden misfortunes*), and Zû 'r-Rakàatain (*the afflicted with double madness*) (1). Ar-Rashîd Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn az-Zubair, the same whose life has been given (*vol. I. p.*143), names him in the *Kitâb al-Jinân*, and then says: "In poetry he trod the same "path as Abû 'r-Rakâmak (*vol. I. p.* 116), and a humorous *kasîda* was com- "posed by him, the concluding verse of which is such that, if he had never "made another on the same subject, it would have sufficed to place him in the "highest degree of eminence and obtain for him the palm of victory. It is the "following:

> 'He who has missed acquiring either knowledge or riches is on a level with the dogs.'

500 "He came to Egypt, A. H. 412 (A. D. 1021-2), and celebrated the praises of "(*the khalif*) az-Zâhir li-Izâz dîn Illah." I read, in a copy of his collected poetical works, that his (*Sarî ad-Dilâ's*) names were Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wâhid al-Kassâr al-Basri (*the fuller of Basra*); God best knows which of us is right! This poet died suddenly, A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021-2), of an obstruction of the windpipe, which took him at the house of the *Sharîf* al-Bat'hâi (2). I am inclined to think that this occurred at Misr (*Old Cairo*), for I took the date of his death from the diary of which I have spoken in the life of at-Tihâmi (*see p.* 318). My opinion is confirmed also by Ibn az-Zubair's statement that he came to Egypt in that very year. It was of him that Abû 'l-Alâ says in one of his poems:

> Thou wast called *Sâri* (*the vanquisher*), but this word underwent the intensitive permutation and assumed the form of *fail* (3).

In the piece from which this line is taken, Abû 'l-Alâ excuses himself for not furnishing Sari ad-Dilâ with wine and other requisites for a social party, but informs him that he has sent him a small sum to defray the expenses.



(1) These were probably admired expressions which first occurred in his verses and were then applied to him by the public as surnames. For a similar reason the poet Muslim Ibn al-Walîd was surnamed *the vanquished by the fair*. See vol. I. of this work, p. 25, note (3).

(2) It must be remarked here that Ibn Khallikân is mistaken in supposing this verse to have been addressed to the poet *Sari ad-Dilâ*, for it appears from the text of Abû 'l-Alâ's poem, and from the commentary, that the person to whom he wrote bore the surname of *Sari al-Bain*. As for the verse itself, it contains an allusion which can be best understood by persons acquainted with the native system of Arabic grammar. The meaning is equivalent to this: "You were called the *vanquisher* (صارع *sâri*) because your amusing conversation vanquished the pains of *absence* (البين *al-bain*) felt by disconsolate lovers. But that name " assumed the intensitive form, characterised, in grammar, by the type *fail* (فعيل), and it thus became *sari* " (صريع *the great vanquisher*)." It must be observed that *sari* signifies both *vanquisher* and *vanquished*; Abû 'l-Alâ takes it here in the former meaning, but the commentary on his works informs us that it was a mere licence on his part, since the name *Sari al-Bain*, when applied to this particular individual, means *vanquished by (the pains of) absence*.

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## SURR-DURR.

The *râis* and *kâtib* (1) Abû Mansûr Ali Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn al-Fadl, generally known by surname of Surr-Durr, was one of the most eminent poets of his time. He combined in his compositions excellence of expression with beauty of thought, and his verses bear the stamp of grace and brilliancy. His collected poetical works form a small volume, and how exquisitely has he said in one of these *kasîdas*:

> We ask how are the ferns of Najd (2), but the willow of the sands (3) knows best what we mean. The mask is now thrown off, and we care no longer whether we name thee openly or designate thee by a surname (4). Nay, were I to exclaim: O Sulaima! people would tell me that I only mean Lubaina. How dear to me is thy image, visiting my dreams and pouring forth illusions and false happiness from the cup of sleep. Throughout the night my eyelids were its steed; why then should it complain to thee of fatigue and pain (5). Thus, by night we seemed never to have parted, and by day never to have met.

In describing his grey hairs he says:

> I weep not the departure of my youth, but I weep because my appointed time draws near. Hair are the leaves of the human tree, and when they wither, the branches are soon dried up.

Speaking of a dark-complexioned girl, he has the following pretty thought:

> I loved her for her darkness and smoothness; the dark spot of my heart (6) was an image of her colour. It was only to resemble her that the full moon ever consented to suffer an eclipse. It is in honour of her that the epochs of time are dated by nights (7).

His father's avarice procured him the nickname of Surr-Baar (*bag of dung*), but the son, having unexpectedly displayed a superior talent for poetry, received the surname of Surr-Durr (*bag of pearls*). A poet of that age, and whose life we shall give, Abû Jaafar Masûd al-Bayâdi, attacked him in these lines:

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> For his avarice your father was named Bag of Dung; but you ungratefully scatter abroad what he treasured up, and call it poetry.

I must say, however, that this satirist is unjust, for Surr-Durr's poetry is charming; but an enemy cares not what he says. Surr-Durr lost his life accidentally A. H. 465 (A. D. 1072-3); a pitfall for taking lions had been dug at a village on the road to Khorasân, and into this he fell. He was born somewhat earlier than the year 400 (A. D. 1009). We shall speak of him again in the life of the vizir Fakhr ad-Dawlat Muhammad Ibn Jahîr.

(1) From the titles of *râis* and *kâtib* I should infer that Surr-Durr held a high place in the civil service.

(2) The province of Najd is the Arcadia of the Arabic poets. As the nomadic Arabs employed a species of fern in covering their huts and closing the chinks, the word is often used by the poets to designate the dwellings of a friendly tribe and also those who reside in them.

(3) *The willow of the sands;* a slender-waisted Arab maiden living with her tribe in the desert.

(4) Lovers made it a point of discretion not to tell who their mistress was.

(5) "Cette image était censée venir de la part de la maîtresse pour avoir des nouvelles de l'amant." Notice on the *Taif al-Khiâl*, inserted by me in the *Journal Asiatique* for April, 1838.

(6) The Moslims suppose that there is a black spot or stain in the centre of the heart,—the sign, it seems, of original sin.

(7) In Arabic dates it is not the day, but the night of the month which is assigned.

## AL-BAKHARZI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abi 't-Taiyib al-Bâkharzi, an illustrious poet, was the pearl of his age for talent and genius, and bore away the palm in prose and verse. When a young man, he studied the Shafite system of jurisprudence, and attended with assiduity the lectures of Abû Muhammad al-Juwaini, the father of the Imâm al-Haramain; he next cultivated the art of penmanship, and obtained occasional employment in the office of the secretary of state. He passed his life in an alternation of riches and poverty, and experienced surprising vicissitudes of fortune in his travels and sojournings. His taste for literature having prevailed over his inclination for the law, he gained the reputation of an elegant scholar, and devoted his time to the double task of learning Traditions respecting the Prophet and of composing verses. He drew up a continuation to ath-Thaâlibi's *Yatîma tad-Dahr*, and entitled it *Dumyat tal-Kasr wa Osra tahl il-Asr* (*statue of the palace, and the essence extracted from our contemporaries*). This work, which includes a great number (*of poets*), received a supplement, entitled *Wishâh ad-Dumya* (*girdle of the statue*), from the pen of Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Zaid al-Baihaki: it is thus that as-Samâni gives the author's name in his treatise, the *Zail*, or Supplement (1), but Imâd ad-dîn, in his *Kharîda*, calls him Sharaf ad-dîn Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Hasan al-Baihaki. The latter writer gives also some extracts from his poems (2). The *diwân*, or collection of al-Bâkharzi's poetical works, forms a large volume, and the majority of the pieces is very good. An original idea of his is the following:

> I complain of the wounds (*inflicted on my heart*) by those cheeks which are encircled by scorpions (*ringlets*) (3). I, who have a father living, weep for the pearls of thy mouth; how then can it, which is an orphan (*an exquisite object*), be always smiling?

Describing an intense frost, he says:

> How many have been the true believers who, torn by the claws of winter, envied the inhabitants of hell! Behold the water-fowl in their nestling-places, ready to prefer the heat of the fire and the spit! If you throw up into the air the drops which remain in your wine-cup, they will return to you hardened into beads of cornelian. O you that possess the two woods (4)! neglect them not, but let music strike up from one and flame from the other (5).

One of his pieces contains the following passage:

> O Thou who hast disclosed the brightness of morning from the pearly teeth (*of my beloved*), and caused the night to dwell in her ringlets! Thou hast made me the slave of an idol formed by thyself; by it thou hast tempted me, and long hast thou excited my sadness! No wonder that the fire of passion consumeth my heart; (*hell*-)fire is the meet desert of him who serveth idols.

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Al-Bâkharzi was murdered at Bâkharz, whilst engaged in a party of pleasure; this occurred in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A.H. 467 (June-July, A.D. 1075), and the crime remained unpunished.—*Bâkharz* is the name of a tract of country near Naisâpûr, including a number of villages and grounds under cultivation; it has produced many eminent men.

(1) See vol. II. page 157.

(2) Ibn Khallikân quotes here two verses as a specimen. They both finish with the same word to which a different meaning is given in each case, but their profanity and indecence repel translation.

(3) See vol. I. Introduction, page xxxvi.

(4) By *the two woods* he means firewood and a lute, which in Arabic is called *the wood* (*al-ûd*); whence the European name.

(5) Literally: Strike a wood and burn a wood (*harrik ûdan wa harrig ûdan*).

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## IBN AFLAH THE POET.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Aflah al-Absi, surnamed Jamâl al-Mulk (*the beauty of the kingdom*), was a poet of considerable reputation, fully justified by the elegance of his genius, the beauty of his eulogiums, and the number of his satires. He celebrated the praises not only of the khalifs, but of the persons holding a subordinate rank; and having travelled to the different provinces of the empire, he visited the princes and the men in high station (*obtaining solid tokens of their satisfaction in return for his panegyrics*). I have seen the *diwân*, or collection, of his poetical works; it is a middle-sized volume, drawn up by himself and accompanied by an introduction and a postscript of his own composition. He there

mentions the precise number which it contains of verses having the same rhyme, and the whole is digested with much care and attention. I extracted from it the following lines in which he addresses his beloved:

O thou who knowest not the force of that love which torments me—who conceivest not my fruitless pains and sufferings! Thou showest equal indifference towards the lover captivated by thy charms (1), and him whose heart is free from thy power and without a wound. Had I known that thy character was such, I had not rejected my friend's advice when he warned me against thee. It was never my intention to forget thee, till forced thereto by the excess of thy cruelty.

On a *girl* who was far from being handsome:

It was not because I disliked the handsome and preferred the ugly that I loved her with a passion so fantastic; but I was too jealous to love a fair one, seeing that all men love the fair.

Ibn al-Motazz (*vol. II. p.* 41) has the following lines on a similar subject:

My heart leans from this one to that one, and sees nothing to dislike; it is passionate for beauty, as it should be; but it pities her bereft of charms, and loves her (2).

On a *girl* who was lame, by Ibn Aflah:

How dearly I cherish her whom I perceive there wavering in her gait! what stiffness, yet what freedom in her movements (3)! Her beauty raises envy, and they say she halts; but handsome persons are always envied. She is a branch (*of willow*), and the beauty of a tender branch is in its bending.

The following lines were addressed by him to a great man whose porter had refused him admittance:

I am grateful to your porter for refusing to admit me, and I leave to others whom he has repulsed the task of abusing him. For he has rendered me a service which merits my highest praise; he saved me from a rude reception and from your inordinate 503 pride.

His compositions abound with striking passages. He died at Baghdad on Thursday, the second of Shaabân, A. H. 535 (March, A. D. 1141), aged sixty-four years, three months, and fourteen days. Some place his death a year, or two years, later. He was interred on the west side (*of the Tigris*), in the Koraish cemetery.—



*Absi* (عبسى) means *belonging to Abs*; a number of tribes bear this name, and I know not to which of them Ibn Aflah belonged. This surname is sometimes confounded with that of *Ansi* (عنسى), derived from *Ans*, which is also the name of a tribe.

(1) The autograph has بكث instead of بل

(2) Here the following passage has been inserted in the margin of the autograph: "And a verse of his "which is currently known is the following, from one of his poems:

"On the day in which we parted at the tamarisks of Mina, our separation was without our will."

بيننا يومَ أثيلات مِنا كان عن غير تراضٍ بيننا

(3) Literally: And from her flexibility she is untied and knotted.

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## IBN MUS'HIR AL-MAUSILI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abi 'l-Wafâ Saad Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abd al-Wâhid Ibn Abd al-Kâhir Ibn Ahmad Ibn Mus'hir al-Mausili (*native of Mosul*), surnamed Muhaddab ad-dîn, was an excellent poet and held a high rank under government, having successively filled the greater part of the places connected with the administration of Mosul. He composed panegyrics on the khalifs, the princes, and the emirs. I met with the collection of his poetical works forming two volumes, and in it he mentions that he was born at the town of Aâmid. A fine passage from his poetry is the following, in which he describes a panther:

> When the sun was styled *al-Ghazâla* (*the gazelle*), he bribed this panther with a body (1) of the same colour as his light; and the roes of the desert gave him spots from the pupils of their eyes, to induce him to live in peace (2) with them and spare their lives. And yet, quiet as he is, they never appear in his sight without trembling.

The idea of these verses is taken from a *kasîda* composed by the emir Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad as-Sarrâj as-Sûri, a contemporary poet. The passage to which we allude is the following:

His claws are rough, and he bears in his mouth and paws the qualities of the sword and the pliant spear. The night and the day rivalled in adorning him; they arrayed him in a garment spotted with eyes, and the sun, since the time he was named *the gazelle*, never appears in his sight without apprehension.

The following verses were addressed by Ibn Mus'hir to a person of rank:

When you complain in anguish, all on earth complain, and the suffering is general from East to West; for you are a heart to the body of the epoch, and the body cannot be well when the heart is sick.

The following relàtion of a very singular coincidence is given by as-Samâni on the authority of Abû 'l-Fath Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abi 'l-Ghanâim Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd al-Ghaffâr, generally known by the name of Ibn al-Ukhwat al-Baii, who was an accomplished scholar and a *kâtib*. "I saw in a "dream," said Abû 'l-Fath, "a person who recited these verses:

'And stranger still than my patience (*under affliction*) was to see the camel depart with 'thy well-girthed litter, and able to support its burden; and I bear enclosed within 'my curbed ribs an ardent passion unabating, and an assumed patience completely 'broken.'

"On awaking I made it my business to inquire respecting the author of these 504 "verses, but could find no person capable of giving me that information; it "happened, however, that some years afterwards, Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn Mus'hir "stopped at my house as a guest, and one evening, our conversation fell on the "subject of dreams. I then related to him the dream which I had, and repeated "the verses: 'By Allah!' exclaimed he, 'these verses belong to a piece of my "composition." He then proceeded to recite me this passage from one of his "*kasîdas*:

'When the tongue of tears declares the secret of love, the feelings enclosed within 'the bosom are concealed no longer. On the evening she bade me farewell, I knew 'not, by Allah! whether the doves of the valley were cooing with sorrow or with joy. 'I think of thee and reproach the active camels for our separation; I ask every wind 'which blows to tell me how thou art, and I bear enclosed within my curbed ribs an 'ardent passion unabating, and an assumed patience completely broken.'

"We were much struck with the coincidence, and the rest of our night was "passed in literary discussions."— Ibn Mus'hir died towards the end of the

month of Safar, A.H. 543 (July, A.D. 1148). The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn, however, mentions in his *Kharîda* that his death occurred in the year 546.

(1) The autograph has جسدا

(2) Read بسالمها.

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## IBN AS-SAATI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Rustum Ibn Hardûz, surnamed Bahâ ad-dîn (*splendour of religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn as-Saâti (1), was one of the leaders in the band of the modern poets. He left two *diwâns*, or collections of his poems, one in two volumes, filled with pieces of the highest excellence, and the other forming a small volume and entitled *Mukattaât an-Nîl* (*the crossing-places of the Nile*). From the latter I extract the following passage:

> O the happy day and night we passed at Suyût! time, in its blind vicissitudes, will never again bring about the like.. The night was in its youth, yet its head was hoary in the moonlight; the dew-drops were strung on the branches, like orient pearls, and fell to the ground when touched by the zephyr. The birds chanted; the lake was their book, the breeze wrote the lines, and the cloud-drops pointed the letters.

The metaphor is here perfectly wrought out in every point.—I shall now give another extract from the same work:

> We landed at a meadow clothing the rugged soil with herbage, and offering pasture to our eyes and to our souls. Reclining in the shade, I admired the beauties of the place, whilst the perfumes were borne around on the breath of the flowers, and my companion swore (2) that the (*clear*) sky was of amber, the (*blooming*) groves, of jewels, and the (*smooth*) meadow, of silk. The (*red*) anemonies smiled, and the (*white*) anthemis blossom wished to kiss them, although the narcissus was looking on. That seemed a cheek, this a mouth (3) striving to press it, and there were the eyes (4) always watching them.

The poetry of Ibn as-Saâti abounds with charming ideas. I learned from his son, at Cairo, that he died in that city on Thursday, the 23rd of Ramadân, A.H. 604 (April, A. D. 1028), at the age of fifty-one years, six months, and twelve

days, and that he was buried at the foot of Mount Mukattam. I have read a note on him, in the handwriting of some learned *shaikh*, wherein the date of the death corresponds with that given here, but he says that he lived forty-eight years, seven months, and twelve days, and that he was born at Damascus. God 505 best knows which statement is true. — *Suyût* is a town in Upper Egypt (*Saîd*); some pronounce this name *Usyût*.

(1) Ibn as-Saâti signifies *son of the clockmaker*, or *son of the dialist*.

(2) Read يتحلق.

(3) The flower of the anthemis is often compared to the mouth, because it is white, as the teeth are.

(4) See the observations on the *narcissus*, in vol. I. Introd. p. xxxvi.

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## IBN AL-AAMIDI THE KADI.

Abû 'l-Fadâil Ali Ibn Abi 'l-Muzaffar Yûsuf Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ahmad Ibn Jaafar al-Aâmidi was born at Wâsit of a family which came originally from Aâmid and was noted, at the former place, for producing transmitters of traditional knowledge and men of piety and integrity. Having proceeded to Baghdad, he there devoted some time to the study of the Shafite system of jurisprudence under the tuition of the *shaikh* Abû Tâlib al-Mubârak Ibn al-Mubârak (1), the disciple of Ibn al-Khall (2), and then under Abû 'l-Kasim Yaîsh Ibn Sadaka al-Furâti. He assisted the latter in the capacity of a *muîd* (*repeater*), and repeated, in his name, the lessons which he had received from him, to a class held in the *Thikatiya* college (3), at the Gate of al-Azaj. He displayed great elegance of language in the discussion of doubtful points, and he knew by heart a considerable quantity of Traditions which he had learned from the lips of numerous teachers at Baghdad and other cities. In the year 604, towards the end of the month of Safar (September, A. D. 1027), he was appointed to the place of kadi at Wâsit; he arrived there in the following month, and was then entrusted with the additional duty of controlling the administration of the cantons which form the dependencies of that

city. He was a skilful arithmetician and a good poet, having composed these charming verses, which are now so widely circulated:

> Admire that passionate lover! he recals to mind the well protected park (4) and sighs aloud; he hears the call of love and stops bewildered. The nightingales awaken the trouble of his heart, and his pains, now redoubled, drive all prudence from his mind (5). An ardent passion excites his complaints; sadness moves him to tears; his old affections awake, but these were never dormant. His friends say that his fortitude has failed; but the very mountain of Yalamlam (6) would groan, or sink oppressed, under such a weight of love. Think not that compulsion will lead him to forget her; willingly he accepted the burden of love; how then could he cast it off against his will?—O Otba, faultless in thy charms! be indulgent, be kind, for thy lover's sickness has reached its height. By thee the willow of the hill was taught to wave its branches with grace, when thy form, robed in beauty, first appeared before it. Thou hast lent thy tender glances to the gazelles of the desert, and therefore the fairest object to be seen is the eye of the antelope. Sick with the pains of love, bereft of sleep and confounded, I should never have outlived my nights, unless revived by the appearance of thy favour, deceitful as it was (7). These four shall witness the sincerity of my attachment: tears, melancholy, a mind deranged, and care, my constant visitor; could Yazbul feel this last, it would become like as-Suha (8). Some reproach me for loving thee, but I am not to be reclaimed; others bid me forbear, but I heed them not. They tell thee that I desire thee for thy beauty; how very strange! and where is the beauty which is not an object of desire? For thee I am the most loving of lovers; none, I know, are like me (*in sincerity*) or like thee in beauty.

He has left other poems equally remarkable for tenderness of sentiment. I have given the foregoing verses as his, because I found them attributed to him; 506 but am unable to verify the fact. I have discovered, however, in my rough notes, that a person called Ibn al-Aamidi *the poet* died A.H. 551 (A.D. 1156-7), and that he was a contemporary of al-Ghazzi (*vol. I. p.* 38) and al-Arrajâni (*vol. I. p.* 134), but I am unable to determine his real name and patronymic so as to identify him. The author whom I copied merely says that he was a native of an-Nil, the village in Irâk so called, and that he died, aged upwards of ninety years. It is therefore possible that he may be the author of the piece inserted above, but it is equally possible that it may have been composed by him whose life is here given; I am inclined, however, to adopt the former opinion, because Abû 'l-Fadâil Ibn al-Aâmidi, the kâdi of Wâsit was a jurisconsult, and the other is designated as a poet.—Abû 'l-Fadâil was born at Wâsit, on the 25th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 559 (November, A. D. 1164), and he died in the same city on the eve of Monday, the 3rd of the 1st Rabî, A. H. 608 (August, A. D. 1211). The funeral prayer was said over him the next morning, and he was interred outside the city, near the graves of

his father and family.—We have already stated (*vol. II. p.* 237) that *Aâmidi* means *belonging to Aâmid.*

(1) Abû Tâlib al-Mubârak Ibn al-Mubârak al-Karkhi (*a native of Karkh*) is generally known as *the Disciple of Ibn al-Khall*, under whose tuition he had studied the doctrines of the Shafite sect. He wrote so well that species of character which is called *al-Khatt al-Mansûb*, and of which mention is made in the life of Ibn al-Bawwâb, that he was considered to be a better penman than that celebrated *kâtib*. It was particularly in the two sorts of hand called *Tûmâr* طومار and *Thuluth* ثلث that he fully displayed his talents; but he was so jealous of his skill that, in giving *fatwas* to persons who asked them with the hopes of thus obtaining specimens of his writing, he broke the point of the pen before using it. In A. H. 581 (A.D. 1185-6), he succeeded Abû 'l-Khair al-Kazwîni as professor at the *Nizâmiya* college, and instructed numerous pupils in jurisprudence. It is said that when he commenced his career, he used to play on the lute, and considered such an amusement as blameless, but he afterwards renounced it, on perceiving that he had become proverbially known as a good lute-player. He then cultivated the art of penmanship till he surpassed Ibn al-Bawwâb, but having conceived a dislike for such an occupation, he devoted the rest of his days to study. He died in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A H 585 (December, A.D. 1189), aged eighty-two years.—(*Tabakât as-Shâfiyîn.*)

I shall now offer some observations suggested by the words *al-Khatt al-Mansûb* which occur in this notice. That no uncertainty may remain on the point of their being here used to designate a particular species of written character, I shall reproduce the original text:

وكتب الخط المنسوب الى ان قيل انه اكتب من ابن البواب

"And he wrote the *mansûb* writing till it was said of him that he surpassed Ibn al-Bawwâb in that art."

In Ibn Khallikân's life of Ibn al-Bawwâb (*vol. II. p.* 282), we read these lines:

وقيل ان صاحب الخط المنسوب ليس ابا على المذكور

"And it is said that the author (or inventor) of the *mansûb* writing was not the Abû Ali above-mentioned."

Ad-Dahabi says in his *Târîkh al-Islâm*, MS. No. 646, *folio* 141 *verso;* in his article on Ibn Mukla:

محمد بن على بن الحسن بن مقلة ابو على الوزير صاحب الخط المنسوب

"Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Mukla the vizir, the author of the *mansûb* writing."

In Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *Nujûm*, year 423, we find Ibn al-Bawwâb styled "the author of the excellent *mansûb* "writing" صاحب الخط المنسوب الفائق. He then adds: "He surpassed all his contemporaries in "the *mansûb* writing, so that his renown spread east and west." He employs again the same term when speaking of Ibn Mukla.

It appears from these passages that there existed a particular species of writing called, for what reason I cannot discover, *al-Mansûb*. Ibn Khallikân and other historians say that Ibn al-Bawwâb drew it from the style of writing used by the people of Kûfa, and the perfection to which he brought it is universally attested by them. But there is nothing in Ibn Khallikân's statement which can lead us to suppose that this improved character is the same as that which is now called *neskhi* and generally employed in Arabic manuscripts. He says, it is true, that it is Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn al-Bawwâb's system which is still followed, or as the original text has it, *it is on his loom they weave*, i. e. *they take him for a model.* But it cannot be logically concluded from these words that the *neskhi* did not exist before his time, or that later penmen took him for their model when writing in the *neskhi character;* neither can it be deduced therefrom that the learned Moslims suppose the Kûfic



to have been in general use till the time of Ibn Mukla. Hajji Khalifa says positively in his Bibliographical Dictionary, *article* علم الخط, that, under the Omaiyides, the different styles of writing, or pens اقلام, as they are called, had been already brought into existence. The passage will be found in the third volume of the edition of that work published by professor Flügel.

I have insisted particularly on these points, because the Arabic scholars of Europe generally concluded from Ibn Khallikân's words that Ibn Mukla invented the *neskhi*, and, that before his time (he died A. H. 328), the Kûfic was the sole character employed. This opinion was completely overturned by the discovery which M. de Sacy made of some passports, in Arabic, drawn up in the second century of the Hijra, and of a letter dated A. H. 40; all written in what is called the *neskhi* hand. The consequence was, that the authority of Ibn Khallikân and all other Arabic writers who speak of Ibn Mukla's improvement appeared to have sustained a severe shock; whereas a more attentive examination of their words would have completely justified their statement. —I think it necessary to add that oriental scholars have generally given too great an extension to the signification of the word *neskhi*. With them, the characters called *Thuluth*, *Rihân*, *Rikâa*, etc. are all *neskhi*; but this is an error: the *neskhi* being itself a particular character (particular in its dimension, not in its form); and yet, on this very error, they have founded their reasonings when endeavouring to trace the variations which the Arabic written character has undergone.

(2) The life of Ibn al-Khall is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(3) This college was founded by Thikat ad-Dawlat al-Anbâri. See vol. I. p. 625.

(4) See vol. I. page 123, note (13).

(5) In this verse we must read تثنى in the first form.

(6) The *Marâsid* places Yalamlam at a two or three days' journey from Tâif.

(7) The word دلال signifies *presumption, hauteur,* and *coquetry*. It bears here the last meaning.

(8) *Yazbul* is the name of a mountain in Najd, and *as-Suha* that of a very small star in the Greater Bear.

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## IMAD AD-DAWLAT IBN BUWAIH.

Imâd ad-Dawlat (*the column of the state*) Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Buwaih Ibn Fannâkhosrû ad-Dailami was sovereign of Persia. The remainder of his genealogy has been already given (1). This was the first of the Buwaih family who came to the throne. His father was a fisherman, and had no other means of support; he had two brothers, both younger than himself, Rukn ad-Dawlat al-Hasan, father to Adud (2) ad-Dawlat, and Moizz ad-Dawlat. All of them reigned, but Imâd ad-Dawlat was the author of their fortune and their wide renown. Persian and Arabian Irâk, al-Ahwâz and the province of Fars acknowledged their authority, and their administration was successfully devoted to the welfare

of their subjects. After them, Adud ad-Dawlat, the son of Rukn ad-Dawlat, exercised the supreme power, and, under him, the bounds of the empire formed by his predecessors received a wide extension. Were I not apprehensive of lengthening this article too much, I should relate how Imâd ad-Dawlat obtained the throne, and trace his history from the commencement (3). Abû Muhammad Harûn Ibn al-Abbâs al-Mamûni (4) says in his History: "Amongst "the strange events which happened to Imâd ad-Dawlat and contributed to the "establishment of his authority was the following: When he took Shirâz, in "the beginning of his reign, his followers assembled and required money from "him, but he had not the means of satisfying their demands. Overcome with "anxiety at the prospect of the speedy ruin with which his enterprizes were "threatened, he remained alone in the council-chamber, that he might reflect "upon his situation and devise some remedy for the danger. Having thrown "himself on his back, he continued to ruminate over his misfortune, when he "perceived a serpent come forth from a hole in the ceiling and creep into "another. Fearing that it might drop down on him, he called in the tent-"pitchers and told them to bring a ladder and catch the reptile. On climbing "up to look for the serpent, they discovered a room between the ceiling and the "roof, and informed him of the circumstance. He ordered them to open it, "and within was found a number of chests filled with money and merchandise "to the amount of five hundred thousand dinars. Elated at the sight of the "money which had now been brought down to him, he distributed it to his "soldiers and thus retrieved his affairs, which were on the brink of ruin. He "then caused a dress to be cut out for his own use, and having inquired for a "skilful tailor to make it up, they told him of a person who had served the "former governor of the town in that capacity. In pursuance of his orders, "this man was brought to him; and the fellow, happening to be deaf, imagined "that secret information had been lodged against him for retaining in his pos-"session some property which his former master had confided to his care. "Impressed with this belief, he swore, when spoken to by the prince, that he "had only twelve chests in his house, and did not know what they contained. "Surprised at such an answer, Imâd ad-Dawlat sent for the chests, which 307 "were discovered to be filled with money and dresses to an immense amount. "These occurrences were most striking proofs of the good fortune which

" attended him, and from that moment his success was assured, and the foun-" dations of his power solidly grounded." He died at Shîrâz on Sunday, the 16th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 338 (Nov. A. D. 949); some say A. H. 339 (5). He was buried at the seat of the empire. His reign lasted sixteen years, and his life fifty-seven. He left no issue. In his last illness, he received the visit of his brother Rukn ad-Dawlat, and in consequence of the agreement which they then made, the province of Fars was given to Adud ad-Dawlat (6).

(1) See vol. I. page 155, and the additional note, page 672.

(2) Here the autograph writes this word عَضُد. Hitherto, in this translation, it has been transcribed *Adad*. Ibn Khallikân gives a notice on Rukn ad-Dawlat; see vol. I. p. 407.

(3) What follows here was added by the author at a later period. In the autograph it is written in the margin.

(4) Abû Muhammad Harûn Ibn al-Abbâs, surnamed al-Mâmûni because he drew his descent from the khalif al-Mâmûn, was a native of Baghdad, and died A. H. 573 (A. D. 1177-8). He is the author of a history of the rulers of Khorâsân, a work often cited by Ibn Khallikân; and a commentary on al-Hariri's *Makâmât*. —(Al-Yâfi. Abû 'l-Mahâsin, in his *Nujûm*.)

(5) Here the autograph has the following additional note: "And it is said that he commenced his reign in " the latter Jumâda, A. H. 322 (May-June, A. D. 934)."

(6) Fuller information on the Bûides will be obtained from the work entitled *Geschichte der Dynastie Bujeh nach Mirchond*; von F. Wilken, Berlin, 1835, 4to; in Persian and German.

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## SAIF AD-DAWLAT IBN HAMDAN.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, surnamed Saif ad-Dawlat (*the sword of the empire*), was the son of Abd Allah Ibn Hamdân. The remainder of his genealogy having been already given in the life of his brother Nâsir ad-Dawlat (*vol. I. p.* 404), it is needless to repeat it. Ath-Thaâlibi describes him thus in his *Yatîma*: "The " sons of Hamdân were princes whose faces were formed for beauty; whose " tongues, for eloquence; whose hands, for liberality; and whose minds, for pre-" eminenee; Saif ad-Dawlat was renowned as their chief and the middle pearl " of their necklace (1). His court was the attraction of visitors, the point where " (*the sun of*) beneficence rose, the *kibla* to which the hopes (*of the needy*) were



" turned, the spot where the caravans discharged their loads (*of travellers*), the " place of concourse for literary men, and the list where poets contended. It is " said that never at the door of any other prince, except the khalifs, were assem- " bled so many masters in the poetic art, stars of the age. But sovereignty is " the mart to which such wares are brought as can be best disposed of there. " Saif ad-Dawlat was an accomplished scholar, a poet, and a lover of good " poetry, in which he took the greatest delight. A collection of ten thousand " verses, selected from the panegyrics composed on him, was formed by the " *kâtib* Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad al-Faiyâd (2) and by Abû 'l- " Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad as-Shimshâti." The following admirable description of the rainbow is due to Saif ad-Dawlat; some, it is true, attribute it to Abû 's-Sakr al-Kabîsi, but ath-Thaâlibi declares it, in the *Yatîma*, to be the production of this prince:

I called the handsome cupbearer to pour me out the morning draught, and he arose with slumber on his eyelids. He passed round the wine-cups (*which shone*) like stars, some descending towards us, and others just drained off (3). The hands of the southern breeze spread dark mantles over the sky, their trains sweeping the ground (4), and embroidered by the rainbow with yellow upon red, joined to green overlaid with white; like maidens who approach, arrayed in gowns of different colours, and each of which is shorter than the next.

This piece offers one of those princely comparisons which could hardly occur to a plebeian. The idea expressed in the last verse was afterwards borrowed by Abû Ali al-Faraj Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Ukhwat, a preceptor and a native of Baghdad, who thus describes a black horse having the forehead and legs white:

He is arrayed in light and darkness, as in two mantles; one he has let down, and the other he wears tucked up.

This verse is attributed by some to Abd as-Samad Ibn al-Muaddal (5).—Saif ad-Dawlat possessed a most beautiful slave-girl, the daughter of a Greek prince; and the jealousy of his other concubines was excited by the favour which she 308 enjoyed and the place which she held in his heart. They therefore resolved to avenge themselves on her by poison or other means. The prince was informed of their intentions, and being apprehensive for her safety, he removed her to a castle where she might be secure from danger, and pronounced these lines:

> Jealous eyes observed me on account of thee; I trembled and have never since been free from apprehension. I saw the enemy betray the excess of envy; dearest of all I possess (6)! I therefore wished thee far away, our mutual love still subsisting. Thus absence is sometimes caused through fear of absence, and separation through dread of separation.

I have seen these identical verses in the collected poetical works of Abd al-Muhsin as-Sûri (*vol. II. p.* 176), and am unable to decide which of the two was the author of them. Saif ad-Dawlat says in another of his pieces:

> I kissed her in trembling, like the timorous bird taking a hurried drink. It saw water and desired it, but it feared the consequences of desire. It seized the moment and drew near, but found no pleasure in the draught.

It is related that, one day, being in company with his boon companions, and his own nephew Abû Farâs (*vol. I. p.* 366) among the number, he challenged them to compose a second couplet to a verse which he was about to recite them, but observed that the only person capable of doing it was *his lordship*, meaning Abû Farâs. He then pronounced the following lines:

> You are mistress of my body and hast caused it to languish; but how can you lawfully shed my blood?

Here Abû Farâs recited extempore:

> She replied: "If sovereign power be mine, my authority extends over every thing."

Saif ad-Dawlat was so highly pleased with the impromptu, that he bestowed on the author a landed estate in the province of Manbaj, producing a yearly income of two thousand pieces of gold. Another of Saif ad-Dawlat's pieces is the following:

> She accused me wrongfully, for the crime was hers; she blamed me unjustly, but on her side lay the fault. When a master is weary of the slave who serves him, he finds him in fault where no fault existed. She turned from me disdainfully when mistress of my heart; why was she not cruel whilst my heart was still my own?

The following distich, reproducing the idea expressed in this last line, was recited to me by Ibrahîm Aidmor, the *sûfi* dervish:

> In the valley (*where lovers meet*) they plighted us their faith, and yet, without crime or fault of ours, they broke their vows. They shunned me and reproached me, though I loved them; why did they not spurn me when my heart was still my own?



It is related that Saif ad-Dawlat was one day giving audience in the city of Aleppo, and poets were reciting verses in his praise, when an Arab of the desert, in squalid attire, stepped forward and repeated these lines:

> Thou art the exalted, for this is Aleppo! my means are spent, but I have reached my journey's end. This is the glory of all other cities, and thou, emir! art the ornament whereby the Arabs surpass the rest of men. Fortune, thy slave, has wronged us; and to thee we have recourse against thy slave's injustice.

"By Allah!" exclaimed the prince, "thou hast done it admirably." He then 509 ordered him a present of two hundred gold pieces.—Abû 'l-Kâsim Othmân Ibn Muhammad, a native of Irâk and kâdi of Ain Zerba (7), relates as follows: "I "was at an audience given by Saif ad-Dawlat at Aleppo, when the kâdi Abû "Nasr Muhammad Ibn Muhammad an-Naisâpûri (*native of Naisâpûr*) went up "to him, and having drawn an empty purse and a roll of paper out of his "sleeve, he asked and obtained permission to recite a poem which was written "on the paper. He then commenced his *kasîda*, the first line of which was:

> 'Thy wonted generosity is still the same; thy power is uncontrolled, and thy servant 'stands in need of one thousand pieces of silver.'

"When the poet had finished, Saif ad-Dawlat burst into a fit of laughter and "ordered him a thousand pieces of gold, which were immediately put into the "purse he had brought with him."—Abû Bakr Muhammad and Abû Othmân Saîd, the sons of Hâshim, and generally known as *the two Khâlidites*, were in high repute as poets. Abû Bakr was the elder. They went to the court of Saif ad-Dawlat, and having recited to him the panegyrics which they had composed, they were lodged by him and treated in a manner suitable to their desert. He one time sent them a present of a male and a female slave, each of them bearing a purse of money and a portmanteau filled with clothes of Egyptian workmanship. One of these poets recited to the prince, on this occasion, a long *kasîda*, in which was this passage:

> Had thy wealth not been consecrated to deeds of beneficence, the gratitude of mortals had not been universal as it is. Thou hast bestowed on us a sun and a moon (*of beauty*) by whose lustre the darkness (*of misfortune*) which overshadowed us (8) has been enlightened. A fawn has come to us, in beauty a Joseph; and a gazelle, in radiance a a Balkîs (9). Not content with bestowing two such gifts, thou hast sent us money; nay, the sum is large. The girl came bearing a purse, and on the boy's shoulder was a

sack. Thou hast given us also clothes wrought with all the art of Misr and embellished by the workmanship of Tinnîs (10). We thus possess, from thy generosity, meat, drink, clothing, and a bedfellow.

On hearing these verses, Saif ad-Dawlat observed that they were very good, only that the last word was not fit to be uttered in the hearing of princes (11). Numerous are the anecdotes related of Saif ad-Dawlat with his poets, particularly al-Mutanabbi (*vol. I. p.* 102) as-Sari ar-Raffâ (*vol. I. p.* 557), an-Nâmi (*vol. I. p.* 110), al-Babbâgha (*vol. II. p.* 147), al-Wâwâ (12), and others of that band, too numerous to be mentioned. He was born on Sunday the 17th of Zû 'l-Hijjà, A. H. 303 (June, A. D. 916), some say A. H. 301—and he expired at Aleppo on the sixth hour of Friday—others say the fourth—the 24th of the month of Safar, A. H. 356 (February, A. D. 967). His body was transported to Maiyâfârikîn and interred in the mausoleum erected over the grave of his mother, and situated within the city walls. He died of a retention of urine. The dust which settled on his clothes in his campaigns was shaken off and carefully collected by his orders; it was then formed into a brick about as large as the hand, and this, by his dying injunctions, was placed under his head in the tomb. It was in the year 333 (A. D. 944-5) that he got possession of Aleppo, having wrung it from the hands of Ahmad Ibn Saîd al-Kilâbi, a partisan of al-Ikhshîd (13). I have read, in the history of Aleppo, that the first of the Hamdân family who ruled in that city was al-Husain Ibn Saîd, brother of Abû Farâs (*vol. I. p.* 366), who had gotten it into his possession in the month of Rajab, A. H. 332 (March, A. D. 944). (*Al-Husain*) was renowned for bravery, and it is of him that Ibn al-Munajjim (14) said:

On seeing him advance, the foes exclaim: "Are not those the fates which march "under that man's standard?"

510 He died at Mosul on Monday, the 16th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 338 (Dec. A. D. 949), and was interred in the mosque which he had erected at ad-Dair al-Aala (*the Upper Convent*). This I supposed to be the same as the Dair Saîd (*Convent of Saîd*), outside Mosul, and so called after him; but I have since read in the *Kitâb ad-Diara* (*book of convents*) that the latter was named after the Omaiyide prince Saîd Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân.—Saif ad-Dawlat, before taking Aleppo, was master of Wâsit and that neighbourhood; he then underwent various vicissitudes and passed into Syria, where he got possession of Damascus and most

of the cities in that country, and of Mesopotamia besides. His numerous campaigns against the Greeks are well known, and most of his battles have been celebrated by al-Mutanabbi in his *kasîdas*.—He was succeeded by his son Saad ad-Dawlat (*good fortune of the empire*) Abû 'l-Maâli Sharîf, who reigned a long time. This prince had an attack of cholera, which brought him to the brink of death. On the third day of his convalescence, he had intercourse with one of his slave-girls, but the result was that he fell to the ground, having lost the power of his right side. The physician who was called in, ordered perfumes of aloes-wood and ambergris to be burned (15) near him, and this recovered him a little. He then asked to feel his pulse, and the patient held out his left hand. "It is the right which I want," said the doctor.—"I have left it (*in a state*)," replied the other, "(*that it is*) no longer a right hand for me; it swore (*to serve me*) and "deceived (*me, and I have therefore punished it*) (16)." He expired on the eve of Sunday, the 25th of Ramâdân, A. H. 381 (December, A. D. 991), aged forty years, six months, and ten days. He was succeeded by his son Abû 'l-Fadâil Saad, the date of whose death I have not discovered (17). With the termination of Abû 'l-Fadâil's existence, the empire founded by Saif ad-Dawlat came also to an end (18).—Abû Ali Ibn al-Ukhwat, the person mentioned in this article, died on Friday, the 14th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 546 (September, A. D. 1151). He was a good poet.

(1) I translate literally. He means to say that the members of this family were like a necklace of pearls adorning the state, and that Saif ad-Dawlat was the middle or largest pearl.

(2) The author of the *Yatîma* says that Ibn al-Faiyâd was Saif ad-Dawlat's favorite *kâtib*, or secretary.

(3) There is here a play upon words and a double meaning which cannot be rendered. The last word of the verse is written منقض in the autograph.

(4) He means dark clouds the edges of which are dissolving into a trail of rain.

(5) See vol. I. page 354, note (9).

(6) The true reading is بالنفس. The false one is given in all the other manuscripts, and Dr. Carlyle has reproduced it in his *Specimens of Arabian poetry*, where he has inserted the same piece.

(7) Ain Zarba is situated to the north of the Gulf of Scanderûn, in lat. 37° 10'.

(8) The autograph, the other MSS., and the printed text have لدنيا; but grammar and sense require لدينا.

(9) For the loves of Joseph and Zulaikha, and of king Solomon and Balkis, I refer to D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*.

(10) "Plain cloaks, made of cloth dyed at Tinnis, sold for one or two hundred pieces of gold. If embroidered "in gold, their price might amount to one thousand pieces."—(Al-Idrîsi, in his *Geography*.)

(11) *Mankûh*, the Arabic word, signifies *initui apta, congressui idonea.*

(12) Abû 'l-Faraj Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Ghassâni ad-Dimishki (*a native of Damascus*), surnamed al-Wâwâ, was one of Saif ad-Dawlat's companions. He sung with great taste and was a good poet. Numerous extracts from his pieces are given by ath-Thaâlibi in his *Yatîma*, but the date of his death is not mentioned.

(13) The life of Muhammad Ibn Toghj, surnamed al-Ikhshîd, is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(14) See page 309, note (7), of this volume.

(15) Here the autograph has يشجر, but the true reading is certainly يسجر as in the printed text.

(16) In rendering this passage, I may perhaps have misunderstood the original Arabic.

(17) He died in the month of Safar, A.H. 392 (Dec -Jan. A. D. 1001-2).—(Ibn al-Adîm.)

(18) For the history of Saif ad-Dawlat, consult the extract from Ibn al-Adîm's History of Aleppo, published by professor Freytag under the title of *Selecta ex historiâ Halebi.* Paris, 1819; in Arabic and Latin.

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## AZ-ZAHIR AL-OBAIDI.

Abû Hâshim Ali, the (*Obaidite or Fatimite*) sovereign of Egypt and surnamed az-Zâhir li-Izâz Dîn illah (*the assister in exalting God's religion*), was the son of al-Hâkim Ibn al-Azîz Ibn al-Moizz Ibn al-Mansûr Ibn al-Kâim Ibn al-Mahdi Obaid Allah. We have already noticed some of the princes of this dynasty. His reign commenced some time after the disappearance of his father, which event occurred on the 27th of Shawwâl, A.H. 411 (February, A. D. 1021), as we shall state in his life. The people expected that he would appear again, but, on tracing his footsteps, they came to the conviction that he was gone for ever. On the Day of Sacrifice (*the 10th of Zû 'l-Hijja*), in the same year, they placed his son az-Zâhir on the throne. The empire (*of the Fatimites*) was composed, at that time, of Egypt, Ifrîkiya, and Syria. Sâlih Ibn Mirdâs al-Kilâbi (*vol. I. p.* 631) then marched against Aleppo, which he besieged and wrested from the hands of Murtada 'd-Dawlat Ibn Lûlû al-Jarrâhi, formerly a slave (*ghulâm*) of Abû 'l-Fadâil Ibn Sharîf Ibn Saif ad-Dawlat al-Hamdâni (*vol. II. p.* 339), and now governing that city as lieutenant to az-Zâhir. All the neighbouring country then submitted to Ibn Mirdâs, and Hassân Ibn Mufarrij Ibn Daghfal al-Badawi (*chief of the Bedwîn Arabs and*) lord of Ramla (1), having conquered the greater part of Syria, the power of az-Zâhir was humbled, and a number of events succeeded, too long to relate. This prince took for vizir Najîb ad-Dawlat (*optimus imperii*)



Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Ahmad al-Jarjarâi, him whose arms had been cut off at the elbows by al-Hâkim in the month of the latter Rabî, A. H. 404. This punishment was inflicted on him at the gate of Cairo called Bâb al-Kasr al-Bahri (*the Castle Gate on the road to the river*), after which he was carried home. He held, at that time, the direction of one of the government offices, but being discovered in peculation, he incurred the punishment just mentioned. In the year 409 (A. D. 1018-9), he was appointed director of the pension-office (*Diwân an-Nafakât*), and, in A. H. 418, nominated vizir to az-Zâhir. Previously to this, he had held different posts under government, in Upper and Lower Egypt. When raised to the dignity of vizir, he authorised the kâdi Abû Abd Allah al-Kudâi, author of the book called *as-Shihâb* (2), to write his *alâma* (3). It consisted of these words: *al-Hamdu lillahi Shakran li Nimatih* (*Priase be to God in gratitude for his bounty*). Al-Jarjarâi affected a rigid purity of conduct, strict integrity, and an extreme precaution in avoiding sin; to this Jâsûs al-Fulk (4) alluded in the following verses: 511

> Fool that thou art! listen and make answer! leave that feigned stupidity. Dost thou set thyself up for an honest man? Well! let us suppose thy words to be true, and tell us if it was for honesty and piety that thy arms were cut off at the elbows?

*Jarjarâi* means *belonging to Jarjarâyâ*, a village in Irâk.—Az-Zâhir was born at Cairo, on Wednesday, the 10th of Ramadân, A. H. 395 (June, A. D. 1005); he died towards the end of Saturday night, the 15th Shaabân, A. H. 427 (June, A. D. 1036). I was told that he breathed his last in the Garden of the Strand (*Bustân ad-Dakka*), situated in al-Maks (5) at a place called the Strand (*ad-Dakka*).—Al-Jarjarâi died on the 7th of Ramadân, A.H. 436 (March, A.D. 1045). He held the vizirat under az-Zâhir and al-Mustansir, that prince's son, for the space of seventeen years, eight months, and eighteen days.

(1) See vol. I. page 452, where his father's name is incorrectly written *Mufrij*.

(2) The life of al-Kudâi is given in this work.

(3) The words forming the *alâma*, or *mark*, were written on all official papers to validate them. At Tunis, when Ibn Khaldûn held the post of *alâma* writer, the inscription consisted of these words: *al-Hamdu lillahi wa 'sh-shakru lillah* (*Praise be to God, and thanks be to God*).—(Autobiography of Ibn Khaldûn.)

(4) Jâsûs al-Fulk signifies *the explorer of the sphere*. It is certainly a surname, but I have not been able to discover any information respecting the person who bore it.

(5) Maks was a village near Cairo. See De Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. I. p. 171.

## ALI IBN MUNKID.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Mukallad Ibn Nasr Ibn Munkid al-Kinâni, surnamed Sadid al-Mulk (*bene directus in imperio*) and lord of the castle of Shaizar, was a brave, enterprising, resolute, and generous prince. He was the first of the Munkid family who established his authority in that castle, having obtained possession of it in the following manner: Happening to dwell for some time at the bridge (*afterwards*) called Jisr bani Munkid (*bridge of the Munkid family*), in the neighbourhood of the castle, which was then in the hands of the Greeks, he conceived hopes of getting it into his power, and, having laid siege to it, the garrison surrendered on condition of receiving quarter. This occurred in the month of Rajab, A. H. 474 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 1081-2). It continued in his possession and in that of his descendants till overturned by the earthquake of A. H. 552 (A.D. 1157), when all the members of the family, and other persons besides, perished in the ruins. It remained uninhabited till the end of the year, when it was occupied by Nûr ad-dîn Mahmûd Ibn Zinki, the sovereign of Syria. Bahâ ad-dîn Ibn Shaddâd states, in his life of Salâh ad-dîn (1), that on the 18th of Shawwâl, A.H. 565 (July, A.D. 1170), Aleppo and many other cities suffered severely from an earthquake, but the reader must not suppose that this is a mistake, for these were really two different events; the first is noticed (*moreover*) by Ibn al-Jauzi in his *Shuzûr al-Okûd* and by other historians. This Sadid al-Mulk possessed such great influence that his favour was universally courted, and many of his descendants acquired renown as brave chieftains, generous patrons, and accomplished scholars. His own praises were celebrated by Ibn al-Khaiyât (*see vol. I. p.* 128), al-Khafâji (2), and other poets. He composed some good verses himself, such, for instance, as those which he pronounced on having beaten one of his young slaves in a fit of anger:

> I used him harshly; but had my heart been master of my hands, it would have chained them to my neck. When I punished him, my anger was assumed; how great the distance between the depth of affection and the height of passion (3).

He was particularly noted for quickness of penetration, of which the following anecdote is related as an example: Before he had obtained possession of Shaizar,



he made frequent visits to Aleppo, which was then under the rule of Tàj al- 512 Mulûk Mahmûd Ibn Sâlih Ibn Mirdâs. An occurrence which excited his apprehensions obliged him to leave that city and proceed to Tripolis (in Syria), where the governor, Jalâl al-Mulk Ibn Ammâr (4), lodged him in his palace. Mahmûd Ibn Sâlih then directed his secretary Abû Nasr Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali an-Nahhâs, a native of Aleppo, to write to Sadid al-Mulk a kind and flattering letter, inviting him to return. The secretary, who was a friend to Sadid al-Mulk, perceived that his master had some ill design; so, on writing out the letter as he was ordered, and finishing it with the usual formula, *in* (إن) *shâ Allah* (*if God so pleaseth*), he traced over the letter *n* of *in* the sign of duplication with the mark indicating the vowel *a* (thus, إنّ *inna*). On receiving the letter, Sadid al-Mulk presented it to Ibn Ammâr, who was then sitting with some particular friends, and they all admired the elegance of its style and remarked the extreme desire which Mahmûd manifested of enjoying his society. Sadid al-Mulk here observed that he saw more in the letter than they did, and then wrote an appropriate answer to the secretary. In this reply one of the phrases was: *I* (انا *anâ*), *your humble servant, who am grateful for your kindness*; but under the first letter he put the mark indicating the vowel *i*, and over the second the sign of duplication (thus, إنّا *innâ*). When Mahmûd received it, the secretary remarked with pleasure this peculiarity, and said to those with whom he was intimate: "I knew that what I wrote would "not escape Sadid al-Mulk's attention, and he has answered in a way that quiets "my uneasiness." By the word *inna* the secretary intended to remind his friend of this passage of the Koran: *Inna 'l-Malâ Yâtamirûna*, etc. (*verily, the great men are deliberating concerning thee, to put thee to death*) (5); and by the word *innâ*, Sadid al-Mulk meant to answer: *Innâ lan nadkhulaha abadan*, etc. (*we will never enter therein whilst they stay in it*) (6). This was ever afterwards considered as a striking example of his sharpness and sagacity, and the anecdote is told in these very terms by Osâma (*vol. I. p.* 177), in the collection of notes addressed by him to ar-Rashid Ibn az-Zubair (*vol. I. p.* 143), and inserted in the life of Ibn an-Nahhâs (*the secretary above mentioned*). Sadid al-Mulk Ibn Munkid died A.H. 475 (A. D. 1082-3). We have already spoken of his grandson Osâma, and shall notice his father in the letter *M*.—The *kâtib* Imâd ad-din al-Ispahâni mentions them all with high commendation in his *Kharîda*, and in his *Kitâb as-Sail wa 'z-*

*Zail*, he speaks of a person who was crushed to death under the ruins of the castle of Shaizar, when it was overturned by an earthquake on Monday, the third of Rajab, A. H. 552 (August, A. D. 1157.) (*This confirms the date previously given.*)

(1) See Schulten's *Vita et res gestæ Saladini*, p. 36. His edition of Bahâ ad-dîn's text does not give the day of the month.

(2) See vol. II. pages 178, 179, note (7).

(3) In this verse we must read من عزة for وعزة

(4) See vol. I. page 614, note (1).

(5) Koran, surat 28, verse 19.

(6) Koran, surat 5, verse 27.

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## AS-SULAIHI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali as-Sulaihi, the chief of the revolt in Yemen, was the son of a kâdi in that province, who professed the *Sunnite* doctrine and exercised the greatest influence over his own family and all the persons under his jurisdiction. This kâdi's favour was assiduously courted by the (*Fatimite*) missionary Aâmir Ibn Abd Allah az-Zawwâhi (1), who frequently rode to visit him on account of his power, virtue, and learning, and at length succeeded in gaining the confidence of the son, who had not as yet reached the age of puberty, but whose looks announced him to possess a spirit of a supeperior order. It is even said that the missionary had found the description of (*Abû 'l-Hasan Ali*) as-Sulaihi's person in a book called *Kitâb as-Suar*, which was one of the treasures transmitted down from ancient times (2). He showed to the boy that passage of it wherein were indicated the events of his future life and the illustrious rank which he was destined to obtain; but this communication was a secret, of which the father and the family had no suspicion. Aâmir died soon after, leaving as-Sulaihi the depository of his books and of his knowledge. Ali (*as-Sulaihi's*) mind received a deep impression from the words of the missionary, and having devoted himself to study, he mastered, by the acuteness of his intellect (3), and even before the age of puberty, those sciences which, joined

to the propitious aid of fortune, raised him to the summit of his utmost hopes. It was thus that he became a learned doctor in the system of jurisprudence which regulated the Imamite (*Fatimite*) empire, and that he obtained a deep insight into the science of allegorical interpretation as applied to the Koran (*tâwîl*). He then passed fifteen years as a guide to the pilgrims on the road which passes through as-Sarât (4) and Tâif; during this period, he often heard persons say to him: "We have been told that thou art to possess all "Yemen and become a man of note;" but these observations he received with 513 dislike, and although a prediction to this effect had spread abroad and was continually repeated by men of all ranks, he always contradicted those who spoke to him on the subject. At length, in the year 429 (A. D. 1037-8), he commenced his revolt by occupying the summit of Mashâr (5), one of the highest mountains in Yemen; having then with him sixty men, all of powerful families and possessing numerous connexions, whom he had bound by oath, at the fair of Mecca, in A.H. 428, to die in defence of his cause. This mountain was crowned by a lofty pinnacle of difficult access, on which no edifice had ever been erected; he took possession of it by night, and before noon, the next day, he found himself surrounded and blockaded by twenty thousand swordsmen, all reviling him in the grossest terms and railing at his folly. They then offered him the alternative of coming down or being starved to death with his companions; but he replied that, in acting as he had done, his only motive was to protect his own friends and themselves from danger, as he apprehended that some other person would occupy a position so advantageous. "Therefore," said he, "if you allow me, I shall guard it; but if not, I shall go down to you." These words induced them to retire, and before a month was elapsed, he had built a strong hold upon the mountain and strengthened it with fortifications. From that time his power gradually increased, and his efforts were employed in gaining partisans for al-Mustansir, the sovereign of Egypt. He was obliged, however, to keep these proceedings a secret, through dread of Najâh, the lord of (*the province of*) Tihâma, whose favour he was obliged to cultivate, and whose power he appeared to acknowledge, though secretly plotting his death. In this project he at length succeeded, having made him a present of a handsome female slave, by whom he was poisoned at al-Kadra (6), in A. H. 452 (A. D. 1060-1). The following year, he wrote to al-Mustansir for permission to assert openly the (*Fa-*

*timite*) claims, and, having obtained that prince's consent, he crossed and recrossed the province, taking castles and subduing the open country. Before the expiration of A. H. 455, he was master of all Yemen, hill and dale, land and sea. An occurrence of this nature had never been witnessed before, either in the times which preceded Islamism or in those which followed; and (*as an example of his good fortune, it may be related*) that, one day, when preaching from the pulpit at al-Janad (7), he said that, on the same day (*of the next year*), he should preach from the pulpit in Aden; a city of which he had not yet obtained possession. A person who was present at the sermon and heard these words, exclaimed in derision: "O most adorable! most holy (8)!" As-Sulaihi ordered the man to be taken into custody, and on that day (*of the next year*), he preached at Aden. The same man was again present; and now, after most extravagant professions of admiration, he took the covenant and joined the sect. From the year 455 (A. D. 1063) his head-quarters were established at Sanâa, where he caused a number of palaces to be erected. (*In his next expeditions*) he took with him the princes whom he had dethroned and lodged them near his own person, after having confided the command of their fortresses to other hands. Having sworn that no person should receive from him the government of Tihâma without previously weighing out one hundred thousand pieces of gold, that sum was paid down to him by his own wife Asmâ, in the name of her brother Asaad Ibn Shihâb. "Where didst thou get this, mistress?" said he. "From God," she replied; "*he bestoweth on him whom he chooseth, and without taking reckoning* (9)." Perceiving that the sum came from his own treasury, he smiled, and took it, saying: "*Here is our money restored unto us; and we will provide food for our* "*family and take care of our brother* (10)." In the year 473 (A. D. 1080-1) as-Sulaihi resolved to make the pilgrimage, and taking with him his wife Asmâ, the daughter of Shihâb, and those princes who, he apprehended, might revolt against him, he appointed al-Malik al-Mukarram (*the most honorable prince*) Ahmad, the son whom he had by her, to rule as his lieutenant. He then set out with two thousand horsemen, of whom one hundred and sixty were members of the Sulaih family; and, on arriving at al-Mahjam (11), he halted outside the town, at a farm called Omm ad-Duhaim, or Bîr Omm Mâbad, and encamped with his troops around him and the (*captive*) princes near him. Suddenly the alarm was given that as-Sulaihi was murdered, and

the people of his escort hurried in trepidation to verify the fact. He had fallen by the hand of Saîd al-Ahwal (*the squinter*), son to the Najâh who had been poisoned by the slave-girl. Saîd had remained in concealment at Zabîd, but then went to his brother Jaiyâsh at Dahlak, and informed him 314 of as-Sulaihi's departure for Mekka: "Come," said he, "and let us stop him "on the way and slay him." Jaiyâsh immediately proceeded to Zabîd and set out from that city with his brother and seventy followers on foot and without arms, having no other weapons than palm-sticks, each of which was headed with an iron spike (12). They avoided the main road and took that which follows the sea-shore; their distance from al-Majham being then as much as an active man could accomplish in three days. Information of their departure was brought to as-Sulaihi, and he immediately sent against them five thousand Abyssinian spearmen who accompanied him on foot. This troop, however, mistook the way, and Saîd with his companions came up to the bounds of the camp. As they had suffered from fatigue and want of provisions (*so as to be hardly recognised*), they were supposed to be some of the slaves who accompanied the army, but Abd Allah, the brother of as-Sulaihi, perceived who they were, and cried out to him: "To horse, my lord! by Allah! here comes that squinting rascal, "Said the son of Najâh!" Saying this, he mounted his own horse, but as-Sulaihi merely observed that he was not to die till he arrived at ad-Duhaim and the Well (*Bîr*) of Omm Mâbad; thinking that Omm Mâbad to be the female at whose tent the blessed Prophet had stopped when retiring from Mecca to Medîna. On hearing his words, one of those who accompanied him said: "Defend then thy life! for, by Allah! this is ad-Duhaim and here is the Well of "Omm Mâbad." When as-Sulaihi heard these words, he remained thunderstruck, and losing all hopes of escape, he urined with affright. His head was cut off on the spot with his own sword, and his brother was slain also, with all the other persons of his family. This occurred on the 12th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 473 (April, A. D. 1081). Saîd then sent to the five thousand men who had been dispatched against him by as-Sulaihi, and informed them that their master was dead, but that *he* was one of themselves, and had only avenged his father's death. They immediately came up and placed themselves under his orders; with their assistance he attacked the troops of as-Sulaihi, and having slain some and made others prisoners, he put them to rout and

pillaged their camp. As-Sulaihi's head was then stuck on the top of his own state-umbrella, and this verse of the Koran was chanted aloud: *Say, O God! the possessor of the kingdom! thou givest the kingdom unto whom thou wilt; aad thou takest away the kingdom from whom thou wilt. Thou exaltest whom thou wilt, and thou humblest whom thou wilt. In thy hand is good, for thou art almighty* (13). Said then returned to Zabid, and obtained as a spoil the empire, of which the possession had been so fatal to his father. He entered the city on the 16th of Zu 'l-Kaada, the same year, and, having established his authority in the province of Tihâma, he continued to rule till A. H. 481 (A. D. 1088-9), when he lost his life in a conspiracy which had been got up by al-Hurra, the widow of one of the Sulaihites; but the relation of this event would lead us too far.—When as-Sulaihi's head was stuck on the top of his umbrella, the following lines were composed on the subject by the kâdi al-Othmâni:

> In the morning, that umbrella was borne over him; but in the evening, it shaded a noble prince whose triumph it thus announced. If as-Sulaihi's visage was hateful under it, his head was a pleasing object on it. Black serpents attacked the lions of as-Shara (14); woe to the lions from the blacks!

As-Sulaihi himself composed some good verses, such as these:

> I married our bright swords to their yellow-hafted spears; but, instead of sweetmeats scattered to the guests, we scattered their heads around. 'Tis thus with glory; none espouse it but at the cost of many lives.

The following verses also are given as his by Imâd ad-dìn, in the *Kharîda*; but some say that they were merely put in his mouth by some other person who was the real author:

> More delightful to him than the striking of the lyre is the cry, before battle, of: "Page! bridle and saddle the steeds." I gallop them in the distant lands of Hadramaut, and their snorting is heard from Irâk to Manbaj (15).

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I do not know whence the surname of *Sulaihi* is derived, but it seems to come, in this case as in others, from *Sulaih*, the proper name of a man. As for the places mentioned in this article, they are all in Yemen, and I wrote their names as I found them written, but had no means of verifying their orthography. The greater part of this notice is taken from the History of Yemen by Omâra tal-Yamani, a poet whose life shall be given in this work.

(1) *Az-Zawâhi* الزواحى, as this name is written in the autograph, means *native of az-Zawâhi*, a town in Yemen.

(2) In the account given by Ibn Khaldûn of the Sulaih dynasty, MS. No. 2402 C, fol. 98, he designates this book as the *Jafr* (see page 184 of this volume). Hajji Khalifa has the following unintelligible notice on the *Suar* in his Bibliographical Dictionary: "*Kitâb as-Suar* (*book of figures*): Whether it ever existed or not; three " discourses by Aristotle; and the first of the philosophers who explored the mysteries of the *Suar* (*figures*) " was Afrâtîn افراطين, who composed a book on the seven *figures* and their mysteries, and the forty-eight " *figures* containing one thousand and twelve of the fixed stars."

(3) Read ذكيا in the Arabic text.

(4) It appears from the *Marâsid* that this place was on the road from Sanâa to Tâif, and situated between Tihâma and Najd.

(5) This place is noticed by Ibn Khaldûn; he says in geographical notes on the province of Yemen, MS. No. " 2402 C, *fol.* 103 *verso*: "*Harrâz* حراز is a territory in the country of the Hamdân (*tribe*); it is also the " name of a tribe, one of the branches of which produced as-Sulaihi. The fortress of Masâr, where he made " his first appearance, is situated in the territory of Harrâz." *Harras*, as Niebuhr writes the name, is placed on his map of Yemen in lat. 15° 5' N.—In Ibn Khallikân's autograph, *Masâr* is written thus مسار, but the author of the *Marâsid* writes it مشار (*mashâr*), as in the printed text.

(6) Al-Kadrâ lay at about fifty miles south-west of Sanâa, on the river Shebâm. This streams falls into the Red Sea at a short distance to the north of Hudaida.

(7) Al-Janad lies at about ten miles E. of Taaz (or *Tiez*). It is marked on the maps of Niebuhr and Berghaus, and is described by Abû 'l-Fedâ in his Geography.

(8) These epithets are given to God alone.

(9) Koran, surat 2, verse 208.

(10) Koran, surat 12, verse 65.

(11) Compare what follows with the relation of the same occurrences, given in vol. I. page 360.

(12) "The rich have their sticks headed with silver; others fix iron spikes to them; and thus make a formi- " dable weapon, which the Arabs handle with great dexterity."—Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. II. page 243.

(13) Koran, surat 3, verse 25. I give the entire verse, as Ibn Khallikân merely mentions the first words of it, with an *etc.*

(14) The ferocity of the lions which haunted as-Shara is frequently alluded to in Arabic poetry. According to the *Marâsid*, the mountain of as-Shara is situated in the province of Tihâma.

(15) Here the autograph has زبيرها not زبيرها.—Manbaj is situated on the Euphrates, to the east of Aleppo.



## AL-AADIL IBN AS-SALLAR.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn as-Sallâr, surnamed al-Malik al-Aâdil Saif ad-din (*the just prince, the sword of religion*), and generally known as Ibn as-Sallâr, was vizir to az-Zâfir, the Obaidite (*Fatimite*) sovereign of Egypt. I have found stated elsewhere that his name was Abû Mansûr Ali Ibn Ishak; and I have read, in a history of Egypt, that he was of Kurdish origin and belonged to the tribe of Zarzâri (1). Having been brought up in the Castle of Cairo, he successively occupied different posts under government, in Upper Egypt and elsewhere, till he finally became vizir to az-Zâfir, in the month of Rajab, A. H. 543 (November-December, A. D. 1148.) I have since found, in another work, that Az-Zâfir, in the commencement of his reign, chose for vizir Najm ad-din (*the star of religion*) Abû 'l-Fath Salîm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Masâl (2), one of the great emirs of the empire; but he, being vanquished by al-Aâdil Ibn as-Sallâr, crossed over to Jiza on the eve of Tuesday, the 14th of Ramadân, A. H. 544 (January, A. D. 1150), on learning that his adversary was advancing from Alexandria, of which he was governor, with the intention of obtaining the vizirship. Ibn as-Sallâr entered Cairo on the 15th of the same month, and having taken the direction of the state into his own hands, he received the titles of *al-Aâdil* (*the just*) and *Amîr al-Juyûsh* (*commander of the troops*). Ibn Masâl then collected a body of Maghribins and other soldiers, but was defeated at a place to the south (*of Cairo*), called Dilâs (3), by the troops which al-Aâdil sent against him. His head was cut off and brought into Cairo on the point of a lance, on Thursday, the 23rd of Zù 'l-Kaada (*March*), in the same year. Al-Aadil then remained in authority till he lost his life.—This account seems more correct than the foregoing.—Ibn Masâl was a native of Lukk, a village near Barka, and in its dependencies. He and his father were horse-breakers and falconers, and it was by means of this profession that they obtained their advancement. Ibn Masâl held the place of vizir about fifty days.—Ibn as-Sallâr was acute, courageous, and always inclined to favour men of talent and virtue. He erected a number of mosques at Cairo, and I saw one outside Bilbais which bears his name. He openly professed the *Sunnite* doctrines, in which he fol-

lowed the sect of as-Shâfi. When al-Aâdil was nominated governor of Alexandria, some time after the arrival of *al-Hâfiz* as-Silafi (*vol. I. p.* 86) in that city, he treated the learned doctor with marked attention and honour. A college was then built by his orders, and the professorship therein entrusted to as-Silafi, by whose name it is still known. No other Shafite college but that existed at Alexandria. These laudable points of character were unfortunately blemished by a violent spirit of injustice and cruelty; he punished severely the very slightest faults, and his tyranny may be conceived from the following relation: Previously to his appointment as vizir, being then in the army, he went one day to al-Muwaffak Abû 'l-Karam Ibn Mâsûm, a native of Tinnîs, who was at that time secretary of war, and represented to him that, having been obliged to defray some extraordinary expenses which he had incurred during his administration in the province of al-Gharbiya, he was now oppressed with debt. To this complaint and the long representations which he made, Abû 'l-Karam merely replied: "By Allah! thy discourse "entereth not my ear." This answer Ibn as-Sallâr never forgave, and when elevated to the rank of vizir, he ordered strict search to be made for him. Abû 'l-Karam's apprehensions being thus awakened, he remained in concealment for some time; but the vizir having caused a public proclamation to be made for his discovery, and threatening with death whoever might harbour him, he was expelled from the house where he had retired by the master of the dwelling, and he went forth dressed as a female, in a cloak and boots. Being soon recognized, he was arrested and taken before al-Aâdil, who ordered a board and a long nail to be brought in. The prisoner was then placed on his side with the board under his ear, and the nail was hammered into the other. At every cry the victim uttered, al-Aâdil exclaimed: "Doth my discourse yet "enter thy ear or not?" The nail being at length driven out through the other ear, and into the board, it was riveted by bending the end. Some say that the body was then cut in halves by his directions (4). (*In the year* 503) Bullâra the wife of Abû 'l-Futûh, the son of Yahya, the son of Tamîm, the son of al-Moizz Ibn Bâdis (5), arrived in Egypt with her son Abû 'l-Fadl Abbâs Ibn Abi 'l-Futûh, who was then a child; and al-Aâdil having married her at a later period, she dwelt with him for some time. Abbâs had afterwards a son named Nasr, who was brought up with his grandmother in the palace of al-Aâdil, and was treated

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by the latter with the utmost kindness and affection. At a later period, Abbâs was sent by al-Aâdil to Syria, that he might serve in the holy war (*against the Franks*), and he was accompanied by Osmân Ibn Munkid, the emir whose life has been given (*vol. I. p.* 177). On arriving at Bilbais to take the command of the army which was to march with him, the prince began to converse with Osâma about the delightful climate of Egypt and the beauty of the country which he was on the point of leaving, and that, for the sole purpose of encountering foes and suffering the hardships of a military life. On this, Osâma suggested to him (it is said) that he might avoid all those inconveniences by killing al-Aâdil and taking the office of vizir on himself. It was then settled between them that his son Nasr should do the deed when al-Aâdil was sleeping, for he dwelt with him and would not refuse to execute his father's orders. The result was, that Nasr murdered him in his bed, on Thursday, the 6th of Muharram, A. H. 548 (April, A. D. 1153), in the palace of the vizirat at Cairo. To relate the particulars of this event would be too long. Some say that al-Aâdil was killed on Saturday, the 11th of Muharram, of that year.—Sallâr the father of al-Aâdil, was in the service of Sokmân Ibn Ortuk, the lord of Jerusalem (6), when he was deprived of that city by al-Afdal Amîr al-Juyûsh, as has been already mentioned (*vol. I. p.* 160). Al-Afdal having found there a troop of Sokmân's soldiers, took them into his own service, and Sallâr, who was one of the number, having been attached to the person of his new master, mounted gradually into favour, and received from him the title of Saif ad-Dawlat (*sword of the empire*). His son al-Aâdil experienced also al-Afdal's kindness, as he was placed by him among the *boys of the chambers* (*Subyân al-Hujar*) (7). By this term they designated a body of youth each of whom was provided with a horse and arms, and bound to execute, without hesitation, whatever order he might receive. This institution was similar to those of the Knights Templars (*ad-Dâwiya*) and Knights Hospitallers (*al-Asbitâr*). When any of the youths distinguished himself by intelligence and courage, he was advanced to the rank of emir (*commander*). Al-Aâdil surpassed his companions in these qualities, and possessed moreover great resolution, respect for superiors, and prudence in abstaining from intrigues. This induced (*the khalif*) al-Hâfiz (*vol. II. p.* 179) to give him a command, and he appointed him governor of Alexandria. He was then known by he nickname of Râs al-Baghl (*mule-head*), and his rise com-

menced from that period.—This Nasr, son of Abbâs, is the same who murdered az-Zâfir, sovereign of Egypt (*vol. I. p.* 222).

(1) See M. Quatremère's *Notice sur les Curdes* in the *Notices et Extraits*, tom. XIII. page 315.

(2) In the autograph, this name is written thus مُصَّال.

(3) In the *État des provinces et des villages de l'Égypte*, subjoined to M. de Sacy's translation of Abd al-Latif, the place there called Dalas دلاص is indicated as belonging to the province of Bahnasa. See page 689 of that excellent work. We read in the *Marâsid:* "*Dilâs:* an extensive province in the Saîd of Egypt (*Upper* "*Egypt*). Its city (*which bears the same name*) is counted as a dependence of the province of Bahnasa."

(4) In place of شقّه the autograph has شنقه, *that he then strangled him*. This reading is too absurd to be admitted.

(5) The lives of the three last are given in this work. In the life of Yahya Ibn Tamîm, the occurrence here related is again noticed with additional particulars.

(6) See vol. I. pages 160, 172, 614.

(7) Compare the note (37), page 156, vol. I. of M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, with what follows here.

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## AL-MALIK AL-AFDAL, THE SON OF SALAH AD-DIN.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, son to the sultan Salâh ad-dîn Yûsuf Ibn Aiyûb, and surnamed al-Malik al-Afdal (*the most excellent prince*) Nûr ad-din (*the light of the faith*), made his studies at Alexandria under the imâm Ibn Auf az-Zuhri, and at Old Cairo under the learned grammarian Ibn Bari (1). In Syria also he received certificates of proficiency from Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn Hamza Ibn Ali as-Sulami, Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Sadaka al-Harrâni, and other masters, and in Egypt from Abû 'l-Kâsim Hibat Allah Ibn Ali Ibn Masûd, Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Hâmid, and others. He wrote a fair hand and possessed many other accomplishments. This prince was the eldest of Salâh ad-dîn's sons, and his acknowledged successor. On the death of his father, al-Malik al-Afdal (the subject of this article) was then with him at Damascus, and took possession of that kingdom, whilst his brother al-Malik al-Azîz obtained that of Egypt, as has been already mentioned (*vol. II. p.* 195), and their brother al-Malik az-Zâhir continued to hold Aleppo. It would be too long to trace here 517

the causes of the dissension which sprung up between al-Malik al-Afdal and his brother (*al-Malik al-Azîz*); we shall merely state that it terminated by his losing Damascus, which was besieged and taken from him by his brother and his uncle al-Malik al-Aâdil (2). He then removed to the city of Sarkhad, which they had granted to him on his defeat, but he had resided there for a short time only, when his presence was required in Egypt, that he might act as *atâbek* (3) to the young prince al-Malik al-Mansûr Muhammad, who had succeeded to the government of that province on the death of his father al-Malik al-Azîz. He received this summons on the eve of Wednesday, the 29th of Safar, A. H. 595 (January, A.D. 1199; *thirty-eight days*) after his brother's death. On his arrival, he walked by the side of the horse, whenever his nephew rode out; but a short time after, al-Malik al-Aâdil entered Egypt and took it into his own possession. Al-Malik al-Afdal was then presented by him with the gift of some cities in the eastern part of the empire, but on proceeding thither, he was unable to obtain possession of any other except Sumaisât, where he spent the remainder of his life. One of the finest passages from al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil's pen is contained in a letter written during these events; he says: "The fathers of "this illustrious house lived in concord, and they reigned; but the sons were "disunited, and they perished! It is thus that, when a star descends towards "the west, no means exist of bringing it back to the east; and when a rent "appears in a garment, it must end by being torn in pieces! How can fate be "stopped in its progress, when its issue is predestined? What mortal can "contend against an adversary who has God on his side?" Al-Malik al-Afdal was a man of talent and information, a good penman, and gifted with a noble mind; he favoured the learned and showed them profound respect. Some verses composed by him are still preserved, and amongst the pieces attributed to him is the following, which he is said to have addressed to the imâm (*the khalif*) an-Nâsir, complaining of his uncle al-Malik al-Aâdil (*Abû Bakr*) and his nephew al-Malik al-Azîz (*Othmân*), who had deprived him of Damascus:

My lord! *Abû Bakr* and his companion *Othmân* have wrested away the just rights of *Ali* by the sword. And yet it was he whom his father had appointed to rule over them; and whilst he ruled, all things went right. But they opposed him and broke the pact which bound them; their guilt is mutual, and the law is clear (4). Observe how misfortune accompanies this name; an Ali has experienced from those of modern times the same treatment which (*the khalif*) Ali received in days of old.

The answer which he received from the Imâm an-Nâsir commenced with these verses:

> Thy letter has arrived, O son of Yûsuf! declaring such love (*for us*) as proves thy unsullied origin. *They* deprived Ali of his rights, because none remained in Yathrub (*Medina*) to assist him when the Prophet was no more. But rejoice; a day of reckoning awaits them, and thy assister will be the Imâm *Assister* (*an-Nâsir*).

Al-Malik al-Afdal was born at Cairo, A. H. 566—some say 565—on the afternoon of the *Id al-Fitr* (5) (June, A. D. 1171), whilst his father was acting as vizir to the Egyptians. He died suddenly at Sumaisât, in the month of Safar, A. H. 622 (Feb.-March, A. D. 1225.) His body was borne to Aleppo and interred in the mausoleum which bears his name and lies outside the city, near the Mash'had, or funeral chapel, of al-Harawi (6).—*Sumaisât* is a fortress of Syria, 518 situated on the Syrian side of the Euphrates between Kalât ar-Rûm and Malatiya. It touches the confines of Asia Minor (*Bilâd ar-Rûm*).

(1) See vol. II. pages 197 and 70.

(2) The particulars will be found in M. Reinaud's *Extraits des auteurs arabes relatifs aux croisades*, page 378.

(3) See vol. I. page 330.

(4) The law is, that he who usurps the property of another is bound to make restitution.

(5) The *Id al-Fitr*, or Festival of the breaking of the Fast, is held on the first day of the month of Shawwâl.

(6) This may perhaps be the mausoleum erected over the grave of the traveller al-Harawi. See page 287 of this volume.—Kamâl ad-dîn Ibn al-Adîm says, in his History of Aleppo, that al-Afdal was buried beside his mother, in the *turba*, or funeral chapel, south of the *Makâm*. A suburb called the *Makâmât* still exists close to Aleppo, on the south-east side.

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## ABU 'L-HASAN ALI IBN AL-FURAT (1).

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mûsa Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Furât acted three times as vizir to the khalif al-Muktadir billah, the son of al-Motadid billah. His first appointment was on the 8th of the first Rabî—some say, the 23rd—

A.H. 296 (December, A.D. 908); and he remained in office till the 4th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 299 (July, A. D. 912), when the khalif arrested him and seized on all his riches with the property contained in his palace. From that time till he was reinstated, the produce of his estates (*to the public treasury*) amounted to seven millions of dinars. It is said that he (*was the author of his own misfortune, having*) addressed a letter to the Arabs of the desert, inviting them to come and take Baghdad by surprise; but this accusation is by no means well established. His second appointment was on Monday, the 8th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A.H. 304 (June, A. D. 917), and, on this occasion, the khalif arrayed him in seven pelisses of honour, and sent to his house three hundred thousand dirhims to (*be distributed amongst*) his pages, fifty mules to carry his baggage, twenty eunuchs, and furniture of all sorts. On that day, the quantity of wax-lights required for him was so great, that the price augmented by a carat of gold to each *mann* (2); and, as the weather was excessively hot, forty thousand pounds' weight of snow was used in cooling the liquors served to the company. He continued in place till Thursday, the 22nd of the first Jumâda, A. H. 306 (October, A. D. 918), when he was arrested and detained in prison; but was liberated on Thursday, the 22nd of the latter Rabî, A. H. 311 (August, A. D. 923), and again restored to his post. On the day of his release from confinement, he gave vent to his ill humour by exacting heavy sums from different persons, and he left free career to the rapacity and violence of his son Abû 'l-Muhassin, who immediately put to death Hamid Ibn al-Abbâs, his father's predecessor in the vizirship, and indulged in his passion for bloodshed. On the 9th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 312 (July, A.D. 924), the khalif again caused Ibn al-Furât to be arrested; but some say that this occurred on Tuesday, the 7th of the first Rabî. He was then in possession of great wealth (upwards of ten millions of dinars), and his landed estates produced him a yearly revenue of one million of dinars, which sum he employed for his ordinary expenses. Abû Bakr as-Sûli relates that, having one day recited to the vizir a *kasîda* in his praise, he received from him six hundred dinars.—Ibn al-Furât was a *kâtib* (3) of the highest capacity and information; the khalif al-Motadid said (*some time after his accession*) to (*his vizir*) Obaid Allah Ibn Sulaimân (4): "I have received a kingdom in disorder, a country in ruin, "and a treasury nearly empty; I therefore wish to be informed what may be "the revenues of the state, so as to regulate the expenditure accordingly."

Obaid Allah applied to a number of the *kâtibs* for an answer to this demand, but they all required a month to draw one up. Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furât and his brother al-Abbâs, who were at that time out of place and detained in prison, received intelligence of what was going forward, and, in the space of two days, they drew up the answer and sent it in. As Obaid Allah knew that it would be impossible to conceal from the khalif who were the authors of the document, he mentioned them to him with commendation, and they were taken into favour. Ibn al-Furât had in his palace a room for the preparation of beverages (*hujra sharâb*), to which persons of all classes sent their servant boys to bring home whatever sherbets, beer, and sirops they required. He pensioned five thousand persons chosen from among the learned, the pious, the persons of respectable family, and the poor; most of them received one hundred dinars a month, and a few only five dinars or intermediate sums. As-Sûli says: "And one merito-
"torious part of his conduct, wherein no one had as yet set the example, was,
"that when papers were received by him containing accusations against any
"individual, one of his pages came into the antechamber and called out:
"'Where is such a one, the informer (*meaning the author of the paper*)?' When
"people discovered this to be his regular custom, they abstained from all such
"secret accusations." One day, in a burst of anger, he ordered a hundred 519 lashes of a whip to be inflicted on a man with whom he was displeased; he then sent word to give him fifty lashes only; and then he sent again to forbid the flogging and to give him twenty pieces of gold. This sum made the poor fellow amends for his fright.—As-Sûli says that, on the vizir's recovery from an attack of sickness, he examined the letters and written applications which had accumulated during the interval, and (*in that sitting*) he perused one thousand letters and wrote his approval or negative on one thousand memorials. "We then said to each other," adds as-Sûli: 'By Allah! let no one know of
"'this, lest the evil eye of some jealous person light upon him.' I remarked," says the same narrator, "as a striking example of his courtly manners, that
"when he called for the khalif's signet in order to seal any document, he stood
"up to receive it, denoting thereby his high respect for the khalif's dignity.—
"I saw him one day giving a public audience for the redress of grievances,
"and two men who were in litigation about some shops in al-Karkh (*the suburb
"of Baghdad*) having come before him, he said to one of them: 'You presented me

" 'a memorial concerning these very shops in the year 282 (5).' He then added: " 'Yet you are too young to have been the person.'—'It was my father,' re- " plied the man.—'That is it,' said the vizir, 'and I wrote my decision on his " 'memorial.' " When he went out, he felt much displeased if persons walked on foot before him to testify their respect: "I do not require such a thing of " my servants," he would exclaim; "why then should I require it from free- " born men who are under no obligation to me?" This Abû 'l-Hassan Ibn al-Furât and his son al-Muhassin were put to death by Nâzûk, the commander of the police guards, on Monday, the 13th of the latter Rabî, A.H. 312 (July, A.D. 924). He was born on the 23rd of the latter Rabî, A.H. 241 (September, A.D. 855). His son al-Muhassin died at the age of thirty-three years. The following particularity is mentioned by the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd (*see vol. I. p.* 212): " Abû " 'l-Hasan, the son of Abû Bakr al-Allâf, he who was so notorious for his immo- " derate appetite, recited to me the poems composed by his father on the cat " (*see vol. I. p.* 399), and told me that, by *the cat*, he meant al-Muhassin; not " daring, during the disasters of the family, to lament his fate openly or pro- " nounce his name." We shall here insert a most extraordinary anecdote: " Some time after al-Muhassin's death, his wife wished to celebrate the circum- " cision of his son, and happening to see her husband in a dream, she men- " tioned to him that she should have much difficulty in providing for the expense " of the ceremony; on which he told her that he had deposited a sum of ten " thousand dinars in the hands of a person whom he named. When she awoke, " she informed the family of the circumstance, and they questioned the man, " who acknowledged that he had the money, and brought it all to them imme- " diately."—Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Furât, the brother of Abû 'l-Hasan, was the most elegant penman of the age, and surpassed them also by his learning in the sciences and general literature. It was on him that the poet al-Bohtori composed the *kasîda* which begins thus (6):

I passed the night displaying a feeling (*of grief for thy absence*) and concealing a feeling (*of joy*) for the presence of thy image, sent me by thyself (*to console me in my dreams*).

Abû 'l-Abbâs died on the eve of Saturday, the 15th of Ramadân, A. H. 291 (August, A.D. 904). Another brother of his, Abû Khattâb Jaafar Ibn Muham-

mad, was offered the place of vizir, which, on his refusal, was given to his son Abû 'l-Fath al-Fadl Ibn Jaafar, an able *kâtib* and generally known by the name of Ibn Hinzâba. His mother Hinzâba was a Greek slave. Al-Moktadir billah conferred the vizirship on him, in A. H. 320, on Monday, the 28th of the latter Rabi (May, A.D. 932); some say that he was invested with that dignity on the first of the month just mentioned. He remained in office till the 25th of Shawwâl, A. H. 320 (October, A. D. 932), the day on which al-Muktadir was murdered. Al-Kâhir billah was then raised to the khalifate, and as Abû Fath Ibn Hinzâba had retired to a place of concealment, the vizirship was conferred on Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Mukla the *kâtib*. Abû 'l-Fath was afterwards nominated director-general of the government offices under the same khalif. Al-Kâhir was deposed and blinded with a hot iron on Wednesday, the 6th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 322 (April, A. D. 934). His successor ar-Râdi billah, the son of al-Muktadir 520 billah, conferred the government of Syria on Abû 'l-Fath Ibn Hinzâba, who proceeded to his post, and was residing at Aleppo when the same khalif chose him for vizir and signed the act of his nomination on Sunday, the 13th of Shaabân, A. H. 325 (June, A. D. 937). A letter was then dispatched to him, by which he was directed to repair to the capital, and, on Thursday the 6th of Shawwâl, in the same year, he arrived at Baghdad. He remained there, however, but a short time, as he perceived that every thing was falling into confusion. Finding the emir Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Râik master of the city (7), he had a conference with him and was induced to return to Syria by the promise that the revenues of that province and of Egypt would be paid into his hands. He arrived there on the 13th of the first Rabi, A. H. 326 (January, A. D. 938), and died at Ghazza or at Ramla. Letters were sent to Baghdad announcing this event, and in them it was stated that his death took place on Sunday, the 8th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 327 (March, A. D. 939). He was born on the eve of Saturday, the 22nd of Shaabân, A. H. 279 (November, A. D. 892) (8). During his administration in Syria, all official documents were promulgated in his name. Of his son, Abû 'l-Fadl Jaafar Ibn al-Fadl, we have already spoken (*vol. I. p.* 319), and given the dates of his birth and death.—The facts contained in this article were extracted by me from different sources, such as the History of the Vizirs by the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd, the *Oiyûn as-Siar* (*sources of history*), by Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamadâni (9), and the *Kitâb al-Wuzarâ* (*book of*

*vizirs*) by Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Fârisi. But none of those writers allude to the affair of Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz, although it is closely connected with the history of Ibn al-Furât; it is therefore necessary that some notice of this occurrence should be taken here; and, as the *Chronicle* of Abû Jaafar Ibn Jarîr at-Tabari surpasses all other historical works in the authenticity of its statements, we shall merely copy what that author says under the head of *Various Events in A. H.* 296: "The leaders (*of the troops*) and the *kâtibs* (*officers of the civil administration*) met for the purpose of deposing the khalif al-Mukta- " dir, and, a discussion arising as to whom they should put in his place, they " agreed unanimously to fix their choice on Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz. After " some contestation, he expressed his readiness to accede to their wishes, on " condition that there should be neither bloodshed nor war. To this they " replied that the sovereign power would pass into his hands without opposi- " tion, and that all the soldiers, officers, and *kâtibs* under their orders, were " ready to acknowledge him. They then took the oath of fealty towards him as " khalif. The persons at the head of this plot were Muhammad Ibn Dàwûd Ibn " al-Jarrâh (10) and Abû 'l-Muthanna Ahmad Ibn Yâkûb the kâdi, the former of " whom induced a number of the general-officers to employ violent measures " against al-Muktadir and al-Abbâs Ibn al-Hasan"—this last was then acting as vizir to the khalif.—" Al-Abbâs Ibn al-Hasan was himself engaged in the conspi- " racy and had gained over a number of the generals to this project of de- " throning al-Muktadir and taking the oath of allegiance to Abd Allah Ibn " al-Motazz; and when he found that his influence over al-Muktadir was suffi- " ciently established, he judged it time to execute his design, but, at that " moment, the other conspirators fell upon him and slew him."—At-Tabari means to say that they slew the vizir.—" The perpetrators of this act were al- " Husain Ibn Hamdân and Wâsif Ibn Sawârtikin. This occurred on Satur- " day, the 19th of the first Rabî, and, on the next morning, Sunday, the kâtibs, " generals, and kâdis deposed al-Muktadir at Baghdad and took the oath of fealty " to Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz, whom they then surnamed ar-Râdi billah (*the* " *pleasing by God's favour*). The person who administered the oath to the " generals in the name of Ibn al-Motazz and called them forth successively, was

521 " Muhammad Ibn Saîd al-Azrak, *kâtib* of the army (*secretary-general of the war* " *department*). The same day, from morning till noon, al-Husain Ibn Hamdân

" had to sustain an obstinate combat against the pages of the palace (11). On " the same day, the assembly convened by Muhammad Ibn Dâwûd for the pur- " pose of taking the oath of fealty to Ibn al-Motazz was dispersed by force. The " manner in which this happened was, that the eunuch called Mûnis took some " of the pages of the palace in *shazawâts*"—this word, with the people (*of Bagh-* " *dad*), signifies *boats*—" and mounted the Tigris with them. As they passed " the house in which Ibn al-Motazz and Muhammad Ibn Dâwûd were, they " raised an outcry against them and shot at them with arrows. The meeting " was thus obliged to disperse; the soldiers, generals, and *kâtibs* who were in the " house took to flight, and Ibn al-Motazz fled also. Some of those who had " sworn him fidelity now went to al-Muktadir, and made excuses for their con- " duct by stating that they had been forcibly prevented from joining him; others " concealed themselves, but were sought after and put to death. The palaces " belonging to Ibn Dâwûd were pillaged by the mob, and Ibn al-Motazz was " one of those made prisoners." — Such is at-Tabari's statement.—We shall now give some facts which we have collected from various other sources: On that day, Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz had chosen Muhammad Ibn Dâwûd for vizir, and Abû 'l-Muthanna for *kâdi*. On the failure of the enterprise, Ibn al-Motazz was taken prisoner, and Ibn Dâwûd, who was one of the most accomplished men of his time and had composed a number of works, such as the *Kitâb al-Waraka* (*book of leaves*), containing the lives of the poets, and the *Kitâb al-Wuzarâ* (*book of vizirs*), retired to a place of concealment, and then discovered himself to Mûnis, the eunuch just mentioned; but Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Furât was afraid of him and advised Mûnis to put him to death, which was done. His body was cast into a ditch near al-Mâmûniya (12), but was afterwards carried home. He was executed in the latter Rabi of that year; his birth took place in A. H. 243 A. D. 857-8) on the very night in which Ibrahîm Ibn al-Abbâs as-Sûli expired. Al-Muktadir was then reinstated in his former authority, and, as his vizir al-Abbâs Ibn al-Hasan had been put to death on the day mentioned by at-Tabari, he raised Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Furât to the vacant post. One of the first proofs which the new vizir gave of his generous character was this: Two large coffers were brought to him from the house of Ibn al-Motazz, and he said to the bearers: "Do you know what is in them?"—"Yes;" they replied, "they con- " tain lists of the names of such persons as took the oath of allegiance to him."

—"Open them not," he exclaimed; and then ordering a fire to be brought, he threw the coffers into it. When they were consumed, he said: "Had I opened "them and read what was in them, I should have alienated from me the feelings of "all the people, and given them cause of dreading me; but, by what I have done, "their hearts will be calmed and their minds set at ease."—We may state, as a circumstance connected with this biographical notice, that, when the khalif al-Kâhir billah was deposed and deprived of his sight, he was reduced to the necessity of going to the Mosque of al-Mansûr at Baghdad and asking charity, mentioning at the same time who he was. On one of those occasions Ibn Abi Mûsa al-Hâshimi rose up and gave him one thousand pieces of silver. What a lesson is there for reflecting men!—We have already given a notice on Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz (*vol. II. p. 41*), but the subject which we have been just treating rendered some repetition necessary. What follows was copied by us from the *Kitâb al-Aayân wa 'l-Amâthil* (*History of illustrious and remarkable men*) by the *râis* Abû 'l-Hasan Hilâl Ibn al-Muhassin as-Sâbi (13): "The anecdote which we "here insert is given in the words of the *kâdi* Abû 'l-Husain Obaid Allah Ibn "Abbâs: A man who had been a long time out of employment, and had no "means left for his support, forged a letter in the name of Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn al-"Furât and addressed to Ibn Zanbûr al-Mâridâni (14), the *aâmil* of Egypt, "strongly recommending the bearer to him, and requesting that he should be "treated with the utmost favour and kindness. On arriving at Old Cairo, he "presented this letter to Ibn Zanbûr, who conceived some doubts on the sub-"ject, as he perceived that the address was not drawn up in the usual form (15), "and that the complimentary salutation was longer than that to which his rank "entitled him. He therefore gave directions that the man should be closely "watched, and, having made him a small present, he detained him in the house 522 "with fair promises. He then wrote to Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furât, stating that "he had received a letter, which he enclosed, and requesting its authenticity to "be confirmed. Ibn al-Furât read the forged letter, and found in it that the "bearer, mentioning his name, was a person of high respectability, to whom "the writer had deep obligations, with other similar expressions usually em-"ployed in filling up letters of the kind. He then passed it to his *kâtibs*, and "informed them of the whole circumstance, expressing at the same time his "astonishment at the man's audacity, and asking what was to be done with

"with him. Some of them replied that he deserved to be flogged or impri-
"soned; others, that his thumb should be cut off, so as to prevent him from
"again committing such a crime, and discourage others from imitating him in
"matters of more importance. The opinion of those who were the most indul-
"gent was, that Ibn Zanbûr should be informed of the circumstance, and receive
"orders to expel the fellow and frustrate his expectations. On this Ibn al-Furât
"replied: 'How far removed you are from nobleness and goodness! how repul-
"'sive are such qualities to your nature! Here is a man who employs our medi-
"'ation and endures the fatigues of a journey to Egypt, in hopes of furthering
"'his welfare through our influence, and of procuring, through the favour of
"'Almighty God, some advantage for himself by stating that he is connected
"'with us; yet, according to the most indulgent among you, this man is to
"'receive no better treatment than to have his favorable opinion of ourself be-
"'lied, and his efforts terminated in disappointment! By Allah! that shall never
"'be!' He then took a pen out of his ink-bottle and wrote these words on the
"forged letter: 'This is my letter, and I know not how you could have sus-
"'pected the bearer or disappointed him; you cannot know all the persons who
"'have served us or placed us under obligations. This man has rendered us
"'services in the days of our disgrace, and what we consider a meet recompense
"'for his deserts would far surpass that which we have granted him in recom-
"'mending him to your patronage; aid him therefore in his pursuit, make him
"'an ample donation, and employ him in some lucrative occupation, so that he
"'may return to us with (*a fortune*) sufficient to prove that his expectations were
"'just and his reception honorable.' On that very day, he sent off the letter to
"Ibn Zanbûr. A great length of time then elapsed when, one day, a man of
"respectable appearance and elegantly dressed came into the presence of Abû
"'l-Hasan Ibn al-Furât, and, going up to him, offered up prayers for his wel-
"fare and extolled his virtues; he then burst into tears and kissed the ground
"before him. 'God's blessing be on thee!" exclaimed Ibn al-Furât, 'who art
"'thou?'—'I am the author of the forged letter addressed to Ibn Zanbûr, and
"'which was authenticated by thy generosity and kindness; may God reward
"'thee!' Ibn al-Furât smiled and said: 'How much didst thou gain by
"'him?'—'The sum which I received from him and the subscriptions
"'which he obtained for me from the agents and other persons under his juris-

" 'diction, joined to the employment which he gave me, have produced me
" 'twenty thousand pieces of gold.'—'Praise be to God!' replied Ibn al-Furât;
" 'attach thyself to our person, and we shall place thee in a situation whereby
" 'thy fortune may be increased still more.' He then put his talents to the
" proof, and finding him an able (16) *kâtib*, he admitted him into his service, and
" thus enabled him to acquire great wealth."

(1) This life is omitted in the autograph.

(2) In Mekka the karat was the twenty-fourth part of the *dinâr*, or gold piece; but, in Irâk, it was the twentieth. The *dinâr* of that time may be valued at fourteen shillings, and the karat will be then equal to eightpence halfpenny. The *mann* is generally considered as equivalent to two pounds troy weight, from which may be deduced that the price of wax-lights augmented fourpence farthing a pound in consequence of the demand. This is by no means so great a rise in the price as the author would have us to suppose.

(3) Throughout this article, the word *kâtib* denotes a person employed in the civil service.

(4) See vol. I. page 29, note (4), and vol. II. pages 299, 300.

(5) This date is false; Ibn al-Furât first exercised the functions of vizir in the year 296, as has been already said.

(6) See the *Diwân* of al-Bohtori, MS. No. 1392, fol. 102, where this poem is given.

(7) See Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 324 *et seq.*

(8) Here, in the Arabic text, for عشرين read سبعين.

(9) See vol. I. page 405.

(10) See vol. I. page 25, note (6).

(11) The pages of the Moslim grandees were slaves bought at a very early age and educated as the children of the family. They were especially instructed in warlike exercises, and usually lodged together in a separate establishment, where they lived under a discipline partly conventual and partly military.

(12) " The quarter of Baghdad called *al-Mâmûniya* is of great length and breadth, and extends from the " canal (or river) al-Mualla المعلى to the gate of al-Azaj."—(*Marâsid al-Ittilâ.*)

(13) His life will be found in this work.

(14) Abû Ali al-Husain Ibn Ahmad Ibn Rustum al-Mâridâni, generally known by the name of Ibn Zanbûr (not Abû Zanbûr, as the manuscripts have it throughout this article), was a *kâtib* of great abilities, and had been employed by the Tûlûn family. He was afterwards presented by the khalif al-Muktadir to Ibn al-Furât that his talents might be put to the proof, and this examination procured him the post of collector of the land-tax in Egypt. Having incurred at a later period the displeasure of the khalif, he was summoned to Baghdad and fined in the sum of three million six hundred thousand pieces of gold. He then returned to Egypt with Mûnis the eunuch, and he died at Damascus, A.H. 314 (A.D. 926-7). He taught some Traditions on the authority of Abû Hafs al-Attâr, and his own authority as a traditionist was cited by ad-Dârakutni.—(*An-Nujûm* )

(15) Here, in the Arabic text, I should prefer عن to على, but the manuscripts give the latter reading.

(16) In place of شديدا I am certain that we must read سديدا. It is true that the manuscripts give the former reading, but here, as in other places of this notice, they are evidently in the wrong.

## ALI IBN YUNUS THE ASTRONOMER.

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abi Said Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Ahmad Ibn Yûnus Ibn Abd al-Aala as-Sadafi (1), a native of Egypt and a celebrated astronomer, is the author of the *az-Zîj al-Hâkimi* (*the Hakimite tables*), called also *Zij Ibn Yûnus*, a large work, of which I have seen a copy in four volumes (2). In this treatise he amply discusses the subject and indicates the application of the rules which are there given, whilst its correctness testifies the great care with which it was drawn up. I have seen many works containing astronomical tables, but never met with one so full as this. The author states that the person by whose orders he commenced it was al-Azîz, the father of al-Hâkim, and sovereign of Egypt. He made astronomy his particular study, but he was well versed in other sciences and displayed an eminent talent for poetry. His work is so highly esteemed for for correctness, that, like the *Zîj* of Yahya Ibn Abi Mansûr (3), it is taken by the people of Egypt as their standard authority in calculating the position of the heavenly bodies. (*His moral character was so well established that*) in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 380 (July–Aug. A. D. 990), the kâdi Muhammad Ibn an-Nomân (5) appointed him to act as *adl* (4). He left an only son, whose stupidity was so great (6) that he sold to the soap-makers all his father's books and works at so much a pound. Ali Ibn Yûnus spent his life in making astronomical observations and calculating nativities (7), wherein he displayed unequalled skill; he would even make long stations in order to get an observation of a star. The emir al-Mukhtâr al-Musabbihi says: "I was told by Abû 'l-Hasan at-Tabarâni, the astronomer, that he went up with Ibn Yûnus to Mount 523 "Mukattam and made a station there, with the intention of taking an observation of the planet Venus; and that, on arriving, he took off his cloak and turban, which he replaced by a woman's gown and hood, both of a red colour; "he then produced a guitar, on which he commenced playing, whilst he kept "perfumes burning before him: It was, says he, an astounding sight!" The same writer says, in his History of Egypt: "Ibn Yûnus was a careless and absent man; he would wind his turban-cloth around a high-peaked cap and "place his cloak over that; he was himself very tall, and when he rode out,

"the people used to laugh at him for his odd figure, his shabby appearance, "and tattered dress. But, notwithstanding the strangeness of his aspect, he "was singularly fortunate in his astrological predictions, and therein remained without a rival." He was versed in a great variety of sciences, and played on the guitar, but merely as an amateur. The following is a passage from his poetry :

> When the breeze begins to blow, I charge it with a message from a passionate lover to the presence of his beloved. I would sacrifice my life for her, whose aspect gives life to our souls and whose presence perfumes and rejoices the world. I swear that since her departure, I left my wine-cup untouched; it was absent from me, because she was absent. And what renews my passion is her image appearing in my dreams, approaching at midnight, unseen by jealous spies (8).

He composed a great quantity of poetry. We have already spoken of his father (*vol. II. p.* 93), and we shall give a notice on his (*great-*) grandfather in the letter *Y*. It is related that at one of al-Hâkim al-Obaidi the (*Fatimite*) sovereign of Egypt's private parties, mention was made of Ibn Yûnus and his absence of mind, on which this prince mentioned the following circumstance: "He came "into my presence one day with his heavy shoes in his hand, and, after kissing "the ground, he sat down and placed them by his side; I saw both them and "him, for he was quite near me; and when he thought of retiring, he kissed "the ground, brought forward his shoes, put them on, and withdrew (9)." This anecdote seems given as a proof of his inattention and carelessness. Al-Musabbihi says that he died suddenly on Monday morning, the 3rd of Shawwâl, A. H. 399 (June, A. D. 1009). The funeral service was said over him in the principal mosque of Old Cairo by the *kâdi* Mâlik Ibn Saîd Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Thawwâb, and he was buried in his own dwelling, situated in the quarter inhabited by the furriers.

(1) See vol. II. page 94.

(2) An analysis of the first volume of this work has been published, by M. Caussin père, in the seventh volume of the *Notices et Extraits*. He has inserted therein the lives of Ibn Yûnus, of his father Abd ar-Rahmân the Egyptian historian, and his great-grandfather Yûnus Ibn Abd al-Alà; all extracted from Ibn Khallikân's work and translated by himself. Some of the passages in these texts are incorrectly given and others wrong rendered.

(3) Read ابن ابى منصور.—Yahya Ibn Abi Mansûr al-Mamûni (*client of the khalif al-Mamûn*), an astronomer of great talent, acquired by his skill a high rank in the favour of the khalif al-Mâmûn, and when that

sovereign decided that observations should be made on the stars, he charged Yahya and some others with the task, and directed them to ameliorate their instruments. They in consequence made observations at as-Shammâsiya, near Baghdad, and Mount Kâsiyûn, near Damascus, in the years 215 (A. D. 830), 216, and 217, but the death of al-Mâmûn, in 218, put a stop to their operations. Yahya died in the land of the Greeks (*Bilâd ar-Rûm*, or *Asia Minor*). He is the author of the astronomical tables called *az-Zaij al-Mumtahin*, and a work, apparently astrological, entitled *Kitâb al-Aml* (العمل).—(*Târikh al-Hukamâ.*)

(4) See vol. I. page 281, note (8).

(5) The *adl* (*justice*) is an officer exercising, with the authorisation of the *kâdi*, the functions of witness to the bonds, deeds, and contracts entered into by individuals; they put their seal to these documents, and when a litigation arises afterwards between the contracting parties, their testimony is required. In all the large cities the *adls* have offices where they receive persons making contracts, and serve as witnesses to the whole proceeding, whether it be a verbal or a written agreement. In the last case, it is the *adl* who draws up the deed. To be eligible to these functions a man must not only be well acquainted with the laws relative to conventions and obligations, and capable of writing them out in proper form, but he must also bear a high character for integrity, and be exempt even from the suspicion of corruption. It is one of the *kâdi*'s duties to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of these functionaries. The office of *adl* was established by Muhammad himself; we read in the *Korân*, Surat 2, verse 232: "O true believers! when you bind yourselves one to "the other in a debt for a certain time, write it down, and let a writer write between you according to "*justice* (*adl*); and let not the writer refuse writing according to what God hath taught him."

(6) This passage exists no longer in the autograph; it was written on a fly-leaf, which has fallen out. Here, for مختلفا, I have no hesitation in reading محتاطا.

(7) It must be recollected that, with the Moslims, astronomy and astrology are synonymous. Their most learned astronomers were also their most skilful astrologers. They felt, probably, that truth could not make its way unless protected by falsehood.

(8) See vol. I. p. xxxvi.—M. Caussin has given these verses in his notice, but imagines that the last relates to some star or planet which was long watched for, but did not appear. It seems to me, however, that neither the grammatical construction of the verse nor the genius of Arabic poetry will allow this interpretation.

(9) Common politeness required that the shoes should have been left outside the door.

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## OMARA TAL-YAMANI THE JURISCONSULT.

The jurisconsult (*al-fakîh*) Abû Muhammad (1) Omâra tibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Raidân Ibn Ahmad al-Hakami al-Yamani, surnamed Najm ad-dìn (*star of religion*), bore a high reputation as a poet. I extracted the following particulars from one of his works: He drew his descent from Kahtân through al-Hakam Ibn Saad al-Ashîra (2) of the tribe of Madhij, and was an inhabitant of a city

situated in the province of Tihâma in Yemen, and called Mertân; it lies in the valley of Wasâa at eleven days' distance south of Mekka. This was the place of his birth and early youth. He attained the age of puberty in A. H. 529 (A. D. 1134-5), and, two years after, he proceeded to Zabîd, where he took up his residence and studied jurisprudence during four years in one of the colleges (*which existed*) there. In A.H. 549 (A.D. 1154-5), he made the pilgrimage, and was dispatched by Kâsim Ibn Hâshim Ibn Falîta (3), the sovereign of Mekka, as his envoy to Egypt. He entered that country in the month of the first Rabî, A.H. 550 (May, A.D. 1155); the reigning sovereign at that time was al-Fâiz, the son of az-Zâfir, who had for vizir as-Sâlih Ibn Ruzzik (*vol. I. p.* 657). On his first presentation, he recited, in the presence of both, his celebrated *kasîda* rhyming in *m*, which we here give:



Now, that my resolves are accomplished and my anxiety is past, let praises be given to the camels for the services they rendered. I shall not deny their right to my gratitude, and I reserve for them a recompense which will cause the bridles (*of horses*) to envy the honour conferred on the halters (*of camels*). They brought the glorious term of a distant journey within my sight, so that I beheld the imâm of the nations in this age. They went forth at eve from the *Kaaba* of al-Bathâ and the Haram, to visit the *Kaaba* of generosity and nobleness. Did the temple know, that on leaving it, I should only pass from one haram (*sanctuary*) to another (4)? They journeyed to the spot where the pavilion of the khalifate is reared aloft between the opposite qualities of mildness and severity. There the rank of *imâm* shines with holy light, to dissipate the hateful mists of ignorance and tyranny. There the prophetic spirit (*of Muhammad still survives and*) shows us signs, declaring the two great truths of justice and of wisdom (5). There stand the trophies of noble deeds, to teach us how to praise the double grandeur of might and generosity. There the tongues of glorious exploits extol the double merit of manly acts and generous feelings. There the triumphant standard of true nobility is borne on high by the two lofty (*feelings*) of honour and just ambition. Confident of obtaining salvation and the reward of my sincerity in this oath, I swear by al-Fâiz the pure, that *he* has protected religion, the world, mankind! aided by his vizir as-Sâlih, the dispeller of afflictions, him who wears a raiment of honour woven by these skilful artisans, the sword and the pen. In his existence the times find that lustre which they wanted; and, through his beneficence, they who complained of want have disappeared. His noble deeds have given him an empire which might furnish to the very Pleiads a prouder exaltation than their own. I see here such majestic dignity, that though awake, the aspect seems to me a dream. This is a day of my life which never entered into my hopes, and to which my most ardent wishes never aspired. O that the stars would draw near to me! I should form with them a necklace of eulogium; for, in praising you, I deem words insufficient. Here also the vizirate offers (6) to the khalifate its loyal counsels on which no suspicion was ever cast. I behold those marks of attachment which teach us that they are bound together, not by ties of blood, but by mutual esteem. A khalif and his vizir, whose justice extends a protecting shade over



Islamism and the nations. Compared with their generosity, the Nile's increase is but a diminished stream; and might not even the copious rains be considered as vanquished?

This *kasîda* was highly admired by them, and procured a large donation for the author. He remained in Egypt, in the enjoyment of ease and honours, till the month of Shawwâl, A.H. 550 (December, A.D. 1155), when he returned to Mekka, and, in the month of Safar, A.H. 551 (April, A.D. 1156), he proceeded from thence to Zabîd. That same year he made the pilgrimage, and was again sent as an envoy to Egypt by Kâsim, the sovereign of Mekka. He then settled at Cairo and never left it after. I have read, however, in the work designed by him as a history of Yemen, that he left his native place in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 552. He belonged to the Shafite sect, and was zealously attached to the doctrines of the *Sunna;* as an accomplished scholar and a poet his talents were pre-eminent, and in society his conversation was most instructive. The vizir as-Sâlih, his sons, and the rest of the family treated him with the very utmost favour, and although their religious opinions differed from his, they made him their constant companion on account of his social qualities. He composed a great number of eulogiums on as-Sâlih and his sons. We have already men- 525 tioned something of him in the lives of Shâwar and as-Sâlih (*vol. I. pp.* 610 *and* 659), where we have noticed also the elegy which he wrote on the death of that vizir. A close intimacy subsisted between him and al-Kâmil, the son of Shâwar, but it was broken off by the latter when his father was raised to the vizirate. On this occasion, the poet addressed to him the following lines :

If fortune leave thee not in peace, make war against her; and if your nearest friends serve thee not, remove to afar. Despise not the wiles of the feeble; serpents have been sometimes killed by the envenomed sting of the scorpion. In days of old, a hoopoe shook the throne of Balkîs (7), and, before that, a rat destroyed the dike of Mârib (8). Since life is the most precious of our riches, spend it not without necessity. The vicissitudes of night and day form a field of battle where the troops of misfortune assail us in unwonted ways. The faithlessness of youth afflicts me not; I am accustomed to this defect in all my companions. The young man's deceit lies in his promises and their fulfilment, and that of the sword is when its edge rebounds harmless off the foe.

In this poem is contained the following passage :

Since my mouth is the mine from which those jewels are taken, preserve it from kissing the hands of the charitable. I have seen men banquetting at thy house, whilst I

**had no other companions but the mourners. I withdrew when your excellency preferred them to me; the lion scorns to let the foxes precede him. Tell me how they fill the place which I once held as thy preferred lieutenant? Those were the nights in which I sung your praises to the company, who listened in respectful silence, and nodded their approbation (9).**

On the fall of the (*Fatimite*) dynasty and the establishment of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn's authority, Omâra, who was still in the country, composed some poems in honour of that prince and of other members of the (*Aiyûbite*) family, all of which are still to be found in the collection of his poetical works. He addressed to Salâh ad-dîn also a *kasîda*, wherein he painted his situation and the misery to which he had been reduced. This piece, which he entitled: *Shikâya tal-Mutazallim wa Nikâya tal-Mutaâllim* (*complaint of the oppressed and pains of the afflicted*) is embellished with all the graces of composition. He wrote also a long poem, rhyming in *l*, wherein he deplores the fate of the *People of the Palace* (*the Fatimite family*) on the ruin of their power; like most of his pieces, it is beautifully written. He then embarked in some proceedings connected with a conspiracy got up by eight of the principal officers of the city, who, being devoted partisans of the Egyptians (*the Fatimites*), had conceived the design of restoring them to the throne. But the sultan Salâh ad-dîn discovered the plot and had them all strangled, including the jurisconsult. This execution took place at Cairo on Saturday, 2nd of Ramadân, A.H. 569 (April, A.D. 1174); they had been arrested on Sunday, the 26th of Shaabân of that year. Omâra tal-Yamani left a number of works, and, amongst them, a history of Yemen furnishing much important information, and a treatise called *an-Nukat al-Asriya fi Akhbâr il-Wuzarâ il-Misriya* (*contemporary anecdotes respecting the vizirs of Egypt*) (10). The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni says of him in the *Kharîda*: "His body was exposed on a cross " with those of the other persons who had been accused of plotting against him" —meaning against the sultan Salâh ad-dîn—" and of inviting the Franks (*the " crusaders*) by letter to come and assist in placing the son of al-Aâdid on the " throne. But they had received among them a man belonging to the army, " who was not a native of Egypt, and this person went to Salâh ad-dîn and in- " formed him of what was going on. The prince had them brought before him, " and they sought not to deny the accusation, neither did they consider their " conduct as a thing to be denied; he therefore cut short the path of Omâra's " life and replaced his flourishing existence by destruction. This affair was

" marked by some peculiar circumstances; the first, that he was accused of com-
" posing a *kasîda* which contained this verse :

> ' This religion (*Islamism*) took its origin with a man who aspired to be called the lord 526
> ' of nations.'

" It is possible that this verse was attributed to him falsely, but nevertheless " the jurisconsults of Egypt declared that he merited death, and they importuned " Salâh ad-dîn to make an example of him. The second, that he was engaged " in an affair in which failure is never pardoned, neither is any respect shown to " a literary man, were he even the star of learning in the heavens of poetry and " prose (11). The third, that he had satirised an emir who counted this as one " of his crimes; so destruction came upon him whilst in the midst of his sins." Towards the end of the same article, he says: " A strange thing it was that " Omara, who had refused to attach himself to the doctrines of these people (*the* " *Fatimites*) when they yet held their station, should have been so completely " blinded by fate as to wish to take their part and restore them to power; an un- " dertaking which cost him his life." Here the writer alludes to some verses which were addressed by as-Sâlih Ibn Ruzzîk to Omâra, pressing him to become a Shiite. They are given by Imâd ad-dîn in the same page where he makes this observation (12).—*Madhiji* means *descended from Madhij*; the real name of Madhij was Mâlik, the son of Odud Ibn Zaid Ibn Yashjub; he was so denominated because he was born at a red hill in Yemen called Madhij, but other reasons have also been given.

(1) Imâd ad-dîn gives him the surname of Abû Hamza.

(2) See vol. I. page 106.

(3) Ibn Khallikân has fallen into a mistake. This emir's name was Kâsim Ibn Abi Falitâ. He became sovereign of Mekka on the death of his father Abû Falîta in A. H. 527 (A. D. 1132–3), and was murdered in A.H. 556 (A.D. 1161) by an assassin (*hashîshiya*) who, according to common report, had been employed by al-Aâdid, the sovereign of Egypt, to commit that deed.—(Ibn Khaldûn; No. 2402 C, fol. 45 *verso*).

(4) See vol. I. page 15, note (4).

(5) In this verse for باس read حُكم.

(6) I read بإذلة in the autograph.

(7) See Koran, surat 27, and the notes of Sale in his translation.

(8) See M. de Sacy's *Mémoire sur divers événements de l'histoire des Arabes avant Mahomet*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. 48.

(9) Literally: Their talk was a sign of the eyebrow.

(10) A copy of this work, apparently corrected by the author, is in the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds No. 810. He has inserted in it a number of his own poems, and he gives an account of his intercourse with the vizirs Shâwar and as-Sâlih.

(11) As the style of Imâd ad-dîn is more remarkable for sounding phrases than for sense, it cannot be expected that he should be more intelligible in English than in Arabic.

(12) See MS. No. 1414, fol. 261 *verso*. As-Sâlih offered him a large sum to induce him to become a Shiite.

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## OMAR IBN ABI RABIA.

Abû 'l-Khattâb Omar Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abi Rabia Ibn al-Moghaira Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Omar Ibn Makhzûm Ibn Yakaza Ibn Murra al-Makhzûmi, the best poet ever produced by the tribe of Koraish, is celebrated for his amatory pieces, repartees, adventures, and disorderly life; of these, some stories are told which are well known (1). The person whom he courted in his verses was ath-Thuraya, the daughter of Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Harith Ibn Omaiya al-Asghar (*the less*) (2) Ibn Abd Shams Ibn Abd Manâf, a member of the Omaiyide family. As-Suhaili says, in his *ar-Raud al-Onuf* (3) that she was the daughter of Abd Allah, without mentioning Ali; he then adds: "Kutaila, the daughter of an-Nadr, was "her grandmother, being the wife of al-Harith Ibn Omaiya and the mother "of Abd Allah, the father of ath-Thuraiya." This Kutaila was the same who, after the battle of Badr, recited to the Prophet the verses rhyming in *k*, when he had put to death her father an-Nadr Ibn al-Harith Ibn Alkama Ibn Kalada Ibn Abd Manâf Ibn Abd ad-Dâr Ibn Kusai, surnamed al-Abdari (*after his ancestor Abd ad-Dâr*). Some say that an-Nadr was her brother. Amongst the verses which she recited were these:

> O Muhammad, son of the noblest of her race by a generous sire! it had not harmed thee to pardon; the hero, though roused to anger, sometimes pardons. An-Nadr would have been thy best mediator, hadst thou left him (*alive*); and he was the worthiest of liberty, were captives to be set free.

On this the Prophet said: "Had I heard her verses before I put him to death, "I should not have done so." This an-Nadr bore a violent enmity to the Pro-

phet, but, being made prisoner at the battle of Badr and taken to Medîna, Muhammad ordered Ali the son of Abû Tâlib, or according to another account, al-Mikdâd Ibn al-Aswad, to execute him. He was put to death in cold blood, and in Muhammad's presence, at as-Safrâ, a place between Medîna and Badr. Ath-Thuraiya was renowned for her beauty, and became the wife of Suhail Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Auf az-Zuhri, by whom she was taken to Egypt. It was on this occasion that Omar Ibn Abi Rabîa composed the following verses in allusion to the well-known stars Suhail (*Canopus*) and ath-Thuraiya (*the Pleiads*), and which have since become proverbial:

> O thou who joinest in marriage ath-Thuraiya and Suhail, tell me, I pray thee, how can they ever meet? The former rises in the north-east, and the latter in the south-east! 527

It was from this ath-Thuraiya and her sister Aâisha that al-Gharîd, the celebrated singer (4) and the *sâhib* of Mâbad (5) received his liberty. The real name of al-Gharîd was Abd al-Malik and his surname Abû Zaid; *al-Gharîd* and *al-Ighrîd* are names given to the flower-bud of the date-tree, and he was so called for his fair complexion or for its freshness.—The following verses are by Omar Ibn Abi Rabîa:

> Greet the image of my beloved, come to visit me when slumber prostrated the nocturnal conversers. It approached, in a dream, under the shades of night; being unwilling to visit me by day. I exclaimed: "Why am I treated so cruelly? Before this, "I used to hear her and see her." The vision replied: "I am as thou hast known me, "but the favour thou demandest is too precious to be granted (6)."

He was born on the night in which Omar Ibn al-Khattâb was murdered; this was the eve of Wednesday, the 25th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 23 (November, A. D. 644). He lost his life in A. H. 93 (A. D. 711-2), at the age of seventy; being then embarked on a naval expedition against the infidels, in which they destroyed his ship by fire. Al-Haitham Ibn Adi states that he died A.H. 93, aged eighty years. His father Abd Allah lost his life in Sijistân, A. H. 78 (A. D. 697-8) (7). When it was mentioned in the presence of al-Hasan al-Basri (*vol. I. p.* 370), that Omar Ibn Abi Rabîa came into the world on the night in which Omar Ibn al-Khattâb fell by the hand of a murderer, he exclaimed: "What "worth was removed from the world on that night, and what worthlessness was "brought into it!" The poet's grandfather, Abû Rabîa, bore the surname of

Zû 'r-Rumhain (*the bearer of the two lances*); his real name was Omar or Hudaifa, but some say that he had only a surname. His father Abd Allah was the uterine brother of Abû Jahl Ibn Hishâm al-Makhzûmi (8); their mother's name was Asmâ, the daughter of Mukharriba (9), of the tribe of Makhzûm, or, by another account, of the tribe of Nahshal; Abd Allah and Abû Jahl were also cousins, their fathers, Abû Rabia and Hishâm, being the sons of al-Maghaira Ibn Abd Allah.

(1) See Kosegarten's *Alii Ispahanensis Liber Cantilenarum*, towards the beginning of the work.

(2) This Omaiya was designated as *the less*, to distinguish him from a brother of the same name; it was from the latter that the Omaiyides drew their descent —(See Ibn Khaldûn MS. No. 3003, 2, fol. 127, and Eichhorn's *Monumenta*, pp. 85, 86.)

(3) See vol. II. page 99.

(4) Le véritable nom de ce chanteur était Abdelmélik; le sobriquet de Ghâridh lui avait été donné à cause de la fraîcheur de son teint. Il était affranchi des sœurs Coraychites appelées collectivement *El-abalât* العبلات et qui étaient Thourayya الثريا, amante d'Omar-ibn-abi-rabia, Roudhayya رضيا, Courayba قريبة et Oumm-Othmân, filles d'Abdallah, fils de Hârith, fils d'Ommeyya-el-Asghar. Gharîdh était Mekkois; d'abord tailleur, puis serviteur d'Ibn Souraydj, chez lequel ses maîtresses l'avaient placé. Il apprit les airs d'Ibn Souraydj qui en fut jaloux et l'éloigna de lui. Gharîdh devint son rival et l'égala dans le chant des complaintes funèbres نوح, ce qui porta Ibn Souraydj à abandonner ce genre. Le prénom de Gharîdh était Abouyezîd. Il était non-seulement chanteur très-distingué, mais encore bon compositeur et instrumentiste habile. Il jouait du luth et du tambour de basque. Il avait en outre une figure charmante et un esprit des plus agréables. Nâfi, fils d'Alcama, étant gouverneur de la Mekke pour le calife Welîd, fils d'Abdelmélik. Gharîdh, par crainte de cet officier, qui était animé contre lui de sentiments très-malveillants, quitta la Mekke et se réfugia dans le Yemen. Il y passa quelque temps et y mourut, sous le califat de Souleymân, fils d'Abdelmélik.—(A. Caussin de Percival.)

(5) The word *sâhib* signifies *friend, companion, master, pupil.* Its meaning here is doubtful, as may be seen by the following note:—Gharîdh n'a été ni le maître ni l'élève de Mabed. Il ne paraît pas non plus qu'il ait été son ami. L'expression الغريض صاحب معبد pourrait signifier *Gharîdh rival de Mabed*, mais il semble que ce serait faire trop d'honneur à Gharîdh, qui est généralement regardé comme très-inférieur à Mabed. Peut-être le sens de cette expression est-il simplement *Gharîd qui eut une aventure avec Mabed*. Je n'ai recueilli qu'une seule anecdote dans laquelle Gharîdh figure avec Mabed. On la trouvera dans la courte notice qui suit:

Abou Abbâd Mabed, fils de Wahb, d'autres disent de Cotr, Médinois, chanteur et compositeur fameux, était, suivant les uns, affranchi de Moawia, fils d'Abou Sofyan; suivant les autres, affranchi de la famille de Wâbissa, branche des Benou Makhzoum. Son père était noir, lui-même était mulâtre, grand de taille et louche. Sa voix était superbe, il possédait à fond l'art musical. C'était le prince des chanteurs de Médine. Il était élève de Sâïb Khathir سايب خاثر, de Djémîlé, et de Cachît le Persan قشيط الفارسي, affranchi d'Abdallah, fils de Djafar. Un poëte a dit de Mabed:

اجاد طويس و السريجيّ بعده وما قصبات السبق الا لمعبد

« Thouways et après lui Ibn Suraydj ont été d'habiles artistes, mais la palme du talent appartient à Mabed. »

On raconte qu'Ibn Souraydj et Gharidh, qui tous deux avaient une grande réputation à la Mekke, se mirent un jour en route pour Médine, dans l'intention d'y montrer leur talent de chanteurs, et d'y recueillir les dons des amateurs de musique. En arrivant au lieu appelé *le lavoir* المغسلة, ils virent un jeune homme portant à la main un filet pour la chasse aux oiseaux, qui passa devant eux en chantant les vers d'Abou Catifa :

« Le château, les palmiers et le terroir de Djemma qui les sépare, sont plus agréables à mon cœur « que les portes de Djiroun, » etc.

Surpris de la beauté de l'air et du charme de la voix du jeune homme, ils l'accostèrent et le prièrent de répéter sa chanson. Mabed, car c'était lui, les satisfit, et continua son chemin. Ibn Suraydj et Gharidh restèrent stupéfaits. « Que dis-tu de cela ? » demanda Gharidh à son compagnon. — « Si un jeune chasseur de Médine, « répondit Ibn Souraydj, a pu nous frapper ainsi d'étonnement, que devons-nous attendre des artistes de cette « ville ? Pour moi, je retourne à la Mekke. » — « Et moi aussi, » ajouta Gharidh. En effet, tous deux reprirent le chemin de la Mekke. Pendant la première moitié de la carrière de Mabed, son témoignage était admis en justice à Médine, malgré sa profession de chanteur, à cause de la régularité de sa conduite. Mais lorsqu'il eut été à la cour du calife Wélid fils de Yézid, et que faisant partie de la société de ce prince, il se fut rendu le compagnon de ses plaisirs, son témoignage ne fut plus reçu. Frappé d'une hémiplégie quelque temps avant sa mort, Mabed avait perdu la voix. Il mourut à Damas sous le règne de Wélid fils de Yézid, dans le palais même de ce calife. Lorsqu'on emporta son cercueil, Sellamat el-Coss, chanteuse esclave du défunt calife Yézid, tenait un bout du brancard et chantait ces vers d'El-Ahwas sur un air que Mabed lui avait enseigné lui-même :

قد لعمرى بتّ ليلى كاخى الداء الوجيع

« J'ai passé la nuit dans la souffrance, » etc.

Le calife Wélid et son frère El-Ghamr, vêtus seulement d'une tunique et d'un manteau, marchaient devant le cercueil et le précédèrent ainsi jusqu'à ce qu'il fut sorti du palais. — (A. Caussin de Perceval.

(6) Literally: The necklace takes up the wearer too much for it to be lent; *i. e.* the wearer is too fond of the necklace to lend it. This proverbial expression is quoted by al-Maidâni. See professor Freytag's *Meidanii Proverbia*, tom. I. page 682.

(7) The Arabs made an expedition into Khorâsân that year. See Price's *Retrospect*, vol. I. p. 454.

(8) This was the same person by whose advice the Meccans pronounced the sentence of death against Muhammad; he fell at the battle of Badr.

(9) Read مخزيد.

## OMAR IBN SHABBA.

Abû Zaid Omar Ibn Shabba Ibn Abida Ibn Zaid an-Numairi, a man of extensive information and a transmitter of historical relations, anecdotes, and pieces of verse, was a native of Basra. Shabba was merely the surname of his father,



whose real name was Zaid; some also say that his great-grandfather was called Râita (1), not Zaid. Omar Ibn Shabba composed a history of Basra. He taught Koran-*reading* with the authorisation of his master Jabala Ibn Mâlik, who had himself been authorised to teach by al-Mufaddal (2), who had received his own licence from Aâsim Ibn Abi 'n-Najûd (3). He attended the lectures wherein Mahbûb Ibn al-Hasan (4) indicated the words of the Koran which may be pronounced in different manners, and he transmitted pieces of literature with the authorisation of his teachers Abd al-Wahhâb ath-Thakifi (5) and Omar Ibn Ali (6). Koran-*reading* was taught on his authority by his pupils Abd Allah Ibn Sulaimân, Abd Allah Ibn Omar al-Warrâk, and Ahmad Ibn Faraj, and pieces of traditional literature were communicated by him to Abû Muhammad Ibn al-Jârûd. Abû Hâtim ar-Râzi (7) being questioned concerning his merits (*as a transmitter of traditional learning*), declared him worthy of the highest confidence. The *hâfiz* Ibn Mâja, author of the *Sunan* (8), and some others gave traditional information on his authority. We have quoted him in the life of al-Abbâs Ibn al-Ahnaf (*vol. II. p.* 8). He was born on Sunday, the 1st of Rajab, A. H. 173 (November, A. D. 789), and he died at Sarr man Râa on Monday the 23rd—some say Thursday the 25th—of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 262 (March, A. D. 876). According to another statement, he died in the year 263. — *Numairi* means *descended from Numair* Ibn Aâmir Ibn Sâsâa, the progenitor of a great Arabian tribe; many learned men and other persons have sprung from that tribe, and therefore bore this surname.

(1) The autograph has رايطة.

(2) Some account of al-Mufaddal is given by Ibn Khallikân in the life of his son Muhammad.

(3) See his life, vol. II. page 1.

(4) The autograph has ابن الحسن.

(5) Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Abd al-Hamîd ath-Thakafi (*a member of the tribe of Thakîf*) and a native of Basra, transmitted traditional information from Aiyûb as-Sikhtiyâni, Jaafar as-Sâdik, Saîd al-Jârîri, and many others. His own authority was cited by as-Shâfi, Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, Ibn al-Madîni, Yahya Ibn Maîn, and some others. Ibn Maîn declared him deserving of the highest confidence as a Traditionist. Towards the end of his life he went deranged, and he died A.H. 194 (A.D. 809-10).—(Ibn al-Athîr. Ad-Dahabi.)

(6) Omar Ibn Ali Ibn Atâ, a native of Basra and a *mawla* to the tribe of Thakîf, gave Traditions on the authority of ath-Thauri, Hajjâj Ibn Artâ, and others. His own authority was cited by Ibn Hanbal, Kutaiba Ibn Saîd, and some others. He died A.H. 190 (A.D. 805-6).—(Ad-Dahabi.)

(7) The *hâfiz* Abû Hâtim Muhammad Ibn Idrîs Ibn al-Mundir Ibn Dâwûd, surnamed ar-Râzi because he

was a native of Rai, and al-Hanzali because he was *mawla* to the tribe of Hanzala or because he lived in the street of al-Hanzala in Rai, was an excellent judge of the authenticity of Traditions, and held himself the highest rank as a Traditionist. In the pursuit of this branch of knowledge, he travelled to Khorâsân, the two Irâks, Hijâz, Yemen, Syria, and Egypt. He died at Rai in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 277 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 890).—(*Nujûm.*)

(8) His life will be found in this work.

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# AL-KHIRAKI.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Omar Ibn Abi Ali al-Husain Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad al-Khiraki was an eminent jurisconsult of the Hanbalite sect. He composed a great number of works in illustration of the doctrines professed by the followers of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal. One of these treatises is a *Mukhtasir* (*compendium*), which still serves as a text-book for young students belonging to that sect; when he set out for Damascus from Baghdad, in consequence of the maledictions which were pronounced in the latter city against some of the early Moslims (*as-Salaf*) (1), he left this book behind him, and it was burned during his absence 2). He died at Damascus, A. H. 334 (A. D. 945-6). His father also was distinguished for his abilities, and transmitted traditional information received by him from many teachers.—*Khiraki* means *a seller of rags* (*khirak*) *and clothes*.

(1) This was in A. H. 321 (A. D. 933). We learn from Abû 'l-Fedâ that Ali Ibn Balîk, having conspired with Mûnis the eunuch to depose the khalif al-Kâhir and place a son of al-Muktafi on the throne, was arrested with his accomplices and put to death in that year. But what Abû 'l-Fedâ has neglected to mention, was the means taken by Ibn Balîk to effect his design. He began by exciting a sedition in Baghdad, and the fact is noticed by ad-Dahabi (MS. No. 646, fol. 101 *verso*) in these terms: "In this year troubles broke out "because Ali Ibn Balîk and his secretary (*kâtib*) al-Hasan Ibn Hârûn decided on having the memory of "Moawia publicly cursed from the pulpits. This produced a riot at Baghdad, and Ibn Balîk gave orders to "arrest the chief of the Hanbalites, Abû Muhammad al-Barbahâri, but this doctor retired to a place of con-"cealment. A number of his followers were then banished to Basra. In the meanwhile al-Kâhir took secret "arrangements against Mûnis and Ibn Mukla," etc. The Hanbalites of Baghdad were at that time notorious for their bigotry and turbulence, as may be learned from the *Annals* of Abû 'l-Fedâ, years 310, 317, 323, etc. From Ibn Balîk's first proceedings it would appear that he meant to rally the Shîites to his cause, as with them the memory of Moawia was held in detestation. It must be recollected also that the Karmats (*see vol. I. p.* 429) were then extremely powerful. What may serve also to confirm my conjecture is, that the

khalif, on the execution of his enemies, caused the following inscription to be placed on the coinage after his name: المنتقم من أعداء دين الله (*the avenger of God's religion on its foes*).—(Ad-Dahabi, fol. 102.)

(2) As Ibn Khallikân speaks of this work as still existing, I conclude that al-Khiraki wrote it over again.

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## OMAR IBN ZARR.

Abû Zarr Omar Ibn Zarr, surnamed al-Hamdâni, was a native of Kûfa, a jurisconsult, and a narrator of historical anecdotes preserved by tradition (1). His descent from Hamdân is thus set forth by Ibn al-Kalbi in his *Jamhâra tan-Nisab*: "Abd Allah, the father of Zarr and the grandfather of Omar, was the "son of Zurâra Ibn Moawia Ibn Munabbah Ibn Ghâlib Ibn Waksh Ibn Kàsim "Ibn Mauhaba Ibn Doâm Ibn Mâlik Ibn Moawia Ibn Saab Ibn Dûmân Ibn Bakil "Ibn Jusham Ibn Mâlik (this Mâlik is the same person who is surnamed al-"Khârif) Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Kathir Ibn Mâlik Ibn Jusham Ibn Hâshid Ibn "Jushâm Ibn Haiwân Ibn Nauf Ibn Hamdân (2)." The sanctity of Omar Ibn Darr's life and the fervour of his devotional exercises obtained for him the highest respect. He gave Traditions on the authority of Ata (3) and Mujâhid (4), and his own authority for Traditions was cited by Wakî (5) and the people of Irâk. The conduct of his son Zarr towards him was marked by the deepest affection (6) and dutiful reverence; when he was on the point of death, his father went into the room and said: "My dear son! in thy death I shall suffer "no loss, for the only one of whom I stand in need is God." When he expired, the father prayed over him, and buried him, and pronounced these words over the grave: "God is my witness, O Zarr! that my weeping on thy "account prevents me from weeping for thy loss; for I know not what thou "hast said (*to thy lord*) and what has been said to thee. Almighty God! I "forgive him every remissness in his duty towards me; let me then be res-"ponsable for every act wherein he may have been remiss in his duty towards "Thee; let the recompence which I may merit be bestowed on him and grant "an increase of Thy bounty unto me, thy earnest suppliant." A person once said to him: "How did thy son show his duty to thee?" to which he replied:

"When we walked together by day, he always kept behind me, and when we "walked together by night, he always went before me, and he never mounted on the roof of a house whilst I was under it." Many other anecdotes of a similar kind are related of him. Omar Ibn Zarr was held to be a partisan of the doctrines professed by the Murjites (7). He died A. H. 156 (A. D. 772-3); some say A.H. 155.—*Hamdâni*, a word which means *descended from Hamdân* (8), must not be confounded with *Hamadâni* (*native of the city of Hamadân*).—Zarr, the father of Omar, was also a jurisconsult.

(1) For القاضى in the printed text, read القاصّ. All the manuscripts which I have examined, the autograph excepted, give the former reading.

(2) Read همدان in the printed text. The other errors in the genealogy as there given, are corrected in the translation. The incorrectness of most Arabic manuscripts, particularly in proper names, renders faults of this kind unavoidable.

(3) See vol. II. page 208.

(4) See vol. I. page 568, note (8).

(5) See vol. I. page 374, note (3).

(6) Here again the manuscript copies and the printed text are at fault: for البركة we must read البزّ له.

(7) For the doctrines of the Murjites, or Morgians, see Sale's preliminary discourse to the Koran, and Dr. Cureton's *Shahrestani*, page 103.

(8) The tribe of Hamdân inhabited Yemen and drew their descent from Kahlân.

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## ATH-THAMANINI.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Omar Ibn Thâbit ath-Thamânini, surnamed also ad-Darîr (*or* the blind, *because he suffered from that infirmity*), was a professor of grammar, and well acquainted with the rules of that science. He composed a full, elegant, and 529 excellent commentary on Ibn Jinni's (*vol. II. p.* 191) *Lumâ* (1), and a great number of pupils studied with profit under his tuition. As a grammarian he possessed great talent, and had Abû 'l-Fath Ibn Jinni for master; he gave lessons in that science to the *sharîf* Abû Mâmar Yahya Ibn Muhammad Ibn Tabâtabâ al-Husaini. He composed also a commentary on Ibn Jinni's *Tasrîf* (*grammatical*

*inflexions*) (2). A great rivalry subsisted between him and Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn Barhân; they both gave public lessons at al-Karkh, the suburb of Baghdad; the course of the latter was frequented by persons of rank and respectability, whilst that of ath-Thamânini was only attended by persons of the lower class. He died in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 442 (March-April, A. D. 1051).—*Thamânîni* means *belonging to Thamânîn*, which is a town in the neighbourhood of Jazîra tibn Omar and close to Mount Jûdi (*Ararat*). It was the first town built after the deluge, and it was called Thamânin (*eighty*) from the number of persons who came with Noah out of the ark. This town has produced many remarkable men.—This *sharîf* Ibn Tabâtabâ died in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 478 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 1085-6).

(1) See vol. II. page 192.

(2) The Arabic text is corrupted here, and no means exist of rectifying it, as the fly-leaf on which the passage was written in the autograph MS. has disappeared. The text of the printed edition, if literally translated, would signify, "*He commented the* Kitâb al-Luma *on Ibn Jinni's* Tasrîf." This is not very clear, and the reading of one of my MSS., which for *Kitâb al-Luma* has *Kitâb al-Mulûk*, does not render the sense more intelligible, as the work called *Mulûk al-Mufîd* is, according to Hajji Khalifa, a production of ath-Thamânîni himself. The true reading is perhaps وصنف كتاب الملوك فى التصريف, "And he composed on the *Tasrîf* a work entitled *Kitâb al-Mulûk*."

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## IBN AL-BAZRI.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Omar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ikrima, surnamed al-Jazari and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Bazri, was a jurisconsult of the Shafite sect, and the most eminent doctor and *mufti* of the town of Jazîra tibn Omar (1) (*from which place he drew his surname*). His first studies in the law were made in Jazîra tibn Omar under the *shaikh* Abû 'l-Ghanâim Muhammad Ibn al-Faraj Ibn Mansûr Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn al-Hasan as-Sulami al-Fâriki (*a member of the tribe of Sulaim and a native of Maiyâfârikîn*), who had settled in that town. He then proceeded to Baghdad, and continued his studies under al-Kiya al-Harrâsi (*vol. II. p.* 229) and Hujja tal-Islâm Abû Hamid al-

Ghazzâli (2); he attended also the lectures of the latter and of his brother Ahmad al-Ghazzâli (*vol. I. p.*79), and became the pupil of as-Shâshi, the author of the *Kitâb al-Mustazhiri* (3). He acquired also much information in the society of many other learned men whom he frequented. Having returned to Jazîra, he opened a public course of instruction which attracted students from distant countries, all anxious to receive his lessons and acquire a knowledge of the system in which he had digested the doctrines of the sect. He composed a commentary on Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi's *Muhaddab* (4), in which he explained the obscurities and the uncommon words occurring in that treatise, and fixed besides the pronunciation of the proper names of those persons who are mentioned in it. To this work, which is a simple compendium, he gave the title of *al-Asâmi wa 'l-Elal min Kitâb al-Muhaddab* (*the names and obscurities occurring in the* Kitâb al-Muhaddab). In learning and piety he held a high rank, and was said to have been better acquainted than any other *hâfiz* then living with the doctrines of as-Shâfi. His attention was chiefly directed to the study of those points wherein the Shafite sect differs from others, and the number of persons who enjoyed the benefit of his tuition was very great. (*As a doctor*) he bore the surnames of Zain ad-dîn Jamâl al-Islâm (*ornament of religion, beauty of Islamism*). He was born A. H. 471 (A. D. 1078-9), and he died on the 2nd of the first Rabî—some say of the latter —A. H. 560 (January, A. D. 1165) at al-Jazîra (5). Although his disciples were numerous, he did not leave his like in the world.—His master, Abû 'l-Ghanâim al-Fâriki died A. H. 483 (A. D. 1090-1). It was under Ibn al-Bazri that the doctor Isa Ibn Muhammad al-Hakkâri (6) made his studies.—*Bazri* means *a maker and seller of Bazr*; *bazr* is the name given in that country to the oil extracted from linseed, and which is used by them in their lamps.

(1) See vol. II. page 289.

(2) The life of Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli will be found farther on.

(3) The life of Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ahmad as-Shâshi, the author of the *Mustazhiri*, is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(4) See vol. I. page 9.

(5) By *al-Jazîra* is here meant *Jazîra tibn Omar*.

(6) The life of Ibn al-Hakkâri will be found in this volume.

## SHIHAB AD-DIN AS-SUHRAWARDI.

Abu Hafs Omar, the son of Muhammad, the son of Abd Allah, the son of Muhammad, the son of Ammûyah (whose true name was Abd Allah), al Bakri as-Suhrawardi, surnamed Shihâb ad-din (*flambeau of the faith*), was a doctor of the Shafite sect. As we have given the remainder of his genealogy up to Abû Bakr, 530 in the life of his uncle, Abû 'n-Najib Abd al-Kâhir (*see vol. II. p.* 150), we are dispensed from repeating it here. Shihâb ad-din was a pious and holy *shaikh*, most assiduous in his spiritual exercises and the practice of devotion. He successfully guided a great number of Sûfis in their efforts to obtain perfection, and directed them during the periods of their retirement into solitude; indeed, towards the close of his life, he remained without an equal. He studied under his uncle, Abû 'n-Najib, from whom he learned Sûfism and preaching; another of his masters was the *shaikh* Abû Muhammad Abd al-Kâdir Ibn Abi Sâlih al-Jili (*vol. II. p.* 172), and he went down to Basra for the purpose of seeing the *shaikh* Abû Muhammad Ibn Abd. He met also with some other *shaikhs*, and acquired a considerable share of information in the sciences of jurisprudence and controversy. He then gave lessons in literature, and held, during some years, regular assemblies, at which he preached. When he became *shaikh of the shaikhs* (*grand-master of the Sûfis*) at Baghdad, he continued the same practice, and his exhortations had a most impressive effect. He was certainly blessed with the divine grace. A person who attended his assemblies related to me that Shihâb ad-din, one day, recited to him these words from the chair:

> Pour not out the draught (*of divine love*) for me alone; Thou (*O Lord*) hast not accustomed me to withhold it from my companions. Thou art (*truly*) the generous, and it suits not generosity that the cup, circulating (*round the board*), should pass by the other guests.

On hearing these words, the whole assembly was seized with an ecstasy of divine love, and a great number of the persons present cut off their hair, and turned (*from the world to God*). He composed some fine works, the most celebrated of which is his *Awârif al-Maârif* (*the* (divine) *gifts, consisting in the different degrees of* (spiritual) *knowledge*) (1). He is also the author of some poetry, and one of his pieces is the following (2):

The dreariness of the (*lover's solitary*) nights was dispelled, and his turn of union (*with the beloved*) drew near; and my union with thee made those jealous, who used to pity me formerly when suffering from thy aversion. I swear by the truth of thy existence that, since thou art now present, I care not for any of my former disappointments. Thou camest to me who was deprived of life, and small was the price for which thou didst obtain me (3). The hearts (*of men*) are unable to conceive thee; but, O, the delicious source whereof I am allowed to drink! (*I avow that*) all which is forbidden to mortals is forbidden also to me; but how sweet in my bosom is the love I bear thee. Love for thee has drenched my very bones; what then have I to do with that which is not love? Bitter thirst oppresseth not the destitute when near him are sources of the purest water.

I saw a number of those who attended his assemblies and who sat with him in private, whilst he directed them, as is customary with the Sûfis, in the path of spiritual life; they gave me an account of the strange sensations which then came over them, and of the extraordinary ecstasies which they experienced. He once arrived at Arbela as an envoy from the August Divan (4), and he held regular assemblies there, at which he preached; but I had not the advantage of seeing him, as I was then too young. He performed the pilgrimage very often, and on some of these occasions he made a temporary residence in the neighbourhood of the sacred Temple. The *shaikhs* of that age, who were *masters of the path* (5), used to write to him from the countries where they resided, addressing him questions drawn up in the manner of *fatwas* (*or consultations on points of law*), in which they asked his opinion on circumstances which concerned them. I was told that one of them wrote to him as follows: "My lord! if I cease to work, I "shall remain in idleness; and if I work, I am filled with self-satisfaction; which "is best?" To this as-Suhrawardi wrote, in reply: "Work: and ask of Al-"mighty God to pardon thy self-satisfaction." Numerous anecdotes of this kind are told of him. He has inserted some charming verses in the *Awârif al-Maârif*, from which we select the following:

I perceive in thee, (*O valley,*) a perfume which I know not, and I suspect that (*my beloved*) Lamyâ has swept over thee with her train (6). 531

And again:

If I contemplate you, I am all eyes; and if I think of you, I am all heart.

By his studies under his uncle Abû 'n-Najîb he attained great proficiency. He was born at Suhraward, towards the latter end of Rajab, or the beginning of

Shaabân (which of the two is doubtful), A. H. 539 (Jan.-Feb. A. D. 1145); and he died at Baghdad, on the first of Muharram, A. H. 632 (Sept. A. D. 1234). He was interred the next morning in the Wardiya cemetery (7).

(1) This is one of the most celebrated works on Sûfism. An excellent copy of it is preserved in the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 375.

(2) These verses have a mystic import; the *beloved* is God.

(3) The poet means to say that he was dead by sin, and that he became the servant or slave of God by renouncing the world.

(4) The government of the khalifate at Baghdad was generally designated at that time by the title of the *August Divan* (*ad-Diwân al-Azîz*.)

(5) See vol. I. page 259, note (3).

(6) The merit of this verse consists in its mystic signification. The shaikh perceived a young novice in Sûfism manifesting an unwonted degree of excitement; and he supposed that the Divinity had passed near him.

(7) *Wardiya* signifies *rosary, rose-garden;* it was the cemetery of the Sûfis.

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## *THE HAFIZ* IBN DIHYA.

The *hâfiz* Abû 'l Khattâb Omar Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Dihya, a member of the tribe of Kalb, and surnamed Zû 'n-Nasabain (*the possessor of the double pedigree*), was a native of Valencia, in Spain. His genealogy, as I found it written by himself, with the indication of the proper pronunciation of the names, runs as follows: Omar Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Jumaiyil Ibn Farh Ibn Khalaf Ibn Kumis (pronounced also Kaumis) Ibn Mazlâl Ibn Mallâl Ibn Badr Ibn Ahmad Ibn Dihya (pronounced also Dahya) Ibn Khalifa Ibn Farwa al-Kalbi: Dihya al-Kalbi was one of Muhammad's companions (1). He mentioned also that his mother, Ama tar-Rahmân, was the daughter of Abû Abd Allah Ibn Abi 'l-Bassâm Mûsa Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Husain Ibn Jaafar Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Mûsa Ibn Jaafar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib. It was for this reason that he signed himself *the possessor of the double pedigree, being descended from Dihya and al-Husain.* Alluding also to the same circumstance, he wrote himself down as *Sibt Abi 'l-Bassâm* (*the grandson by the female line of Abû 'l-Bassâm*). — Abû 'l-Khattâb Omar Ibn Dihya was a man eminent for his learning

and illustrious by his talents, a perfect master of the Traditions relative to the Prophet, and of the sciences connected with them, skilled in grammar and philology, and well acquainted with the narrations of the battle-days of the ancient Arabs, and with their poems. Having made the collecting of Traditions his chief pursuit, he visited most of the Moslim cities in Spain for the purpose of meeting their men of learning and their teachers, after which he crossed the water and entered Morocco, where he became acquainted with the persons of talent who resided in that city. He then proceeded to the province of Ifrîkiya, and thence to Egypt. From that country he travelled to Syria, the East (*Mesopotamia*), and Irâk. At Baghdad he received Traditions from some of Ibn al-Hasîn's disciples, and at Wâsit he heard others from the lips of Abû 'l-Fath Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Maidâni. He then visited Persian Irak, Khorâsân with its neighbouring provinces, and Mâzandarân, for the sole purpose of collecting Traditions and obtaining them from the great masters in that branch of knowledge whom he met there. During this period, he gave lessons to others, and communicated to them his own information. When at Ispahân he heard Abû Jaafar as-Saidalâni teach Traditions, and, at Naisapûr, he received some from Mansûr Ibn Abd al-Munêm al-Farâwi. In the year 604 (A. D. 1207-8) he arrived at Arbela, on his way to Khorasân, and perceiving the extreme zeal displayed by the lord of that city, al-Malik al Muazzam Muzaffar ad-dîn, the son of Zain ad-dîn, in his preparations for celebrating the festival of the Prophet's birth, he composed for that prince the work entitled *Kitâb al-Tanwîr fi Maulid as-Sirâj al-Munîr* (*the book of Illumination, treating of the birth-day of the enlightening Flambeau*). In the letter *K*, under the head of *Kûkubûri*, we shall give a description of this solemnity. In the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 626 (May, A. D. 1229) we heard Ibn Dihya read this work to al-Malik al-Muazzam, in six sittings. It concluded with a long poem, the first verse of which was:

> Were it not for our enemies, those base informers, people had never suspected (*that we were in love.*)

There is a circumstance connected with this poem which we have noticed in the life of Ibn Mammâti (2), and to this we refer the reader. When he finished his *Kitâb at-Tanwîr*, al-Malik al-Muazzam made him a gift of one thousand pieces of gold. A number of other works were composed by him. He was born on the

first of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 544 (March, A. D. 1150); and he died at Cairo, on Tuesday, the 14th of the first Rabî, A. H. 633 (November, A. D. 1235). He was interred at the foot of Mount Mukattam, as I have been informed by his son: I was told also, by his brother's son, that he had heard his uncle more than once say that he was born on the first of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 546 (February, A. D. 1152). —*Balansi* means *belonging to Balansiya* (*Valencia*) which is a city in the east of Spain.—Abû Amr Othmân Ibn al-Hasan, Ibn Dihyâ's elder brother, was well acquainted with the phraseology of the Desert Arabs, which he knew by heart and taught publicly. When the sultan al-Malik al-Kâmil removed Abû 'l-Khattâb Ibn Dihya from his professorship in the *Dâr al-Hadîth* (or college of Traditions), which that prince had founded at Cairo, Abû Amr, the brother, was installed in the vacant place, and he continued to hold it till his death. He died at Cairo, on Tuesday, the 13th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 634 (January, A. D. 1237), and was interred at the foot of Mount Mukattam. He left some epistles in which he employed obsolete expressions.

(1) Dihya Ibn Khalîfa al-Kalbi was Muhammad's envoy to Heraclius.—Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 7.

(2) See vol. I. p. 194.—Ibn Dihya's surname is there incorrectly given; it must be pronounced *Zû 'n-Nasabain*.

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## ABU ALI AS-SHALAUBINI.

Abû Ali Omar Ibn Muhammad [Ibn Omar] Ibn Abd Allah, surnamed as-Shalaubini, was a member of the tribe of Azd, and a native of Seville, in Spain. He held the first rank as a grammarian, and possessed in an extraordinary degree the faculty of recalling to mind the various rules of that science. I met a number of his pupils, all of them men of talent, and they unanimously declared that the *shaikh* Abû Ali as-Shalaubini was in no degree inferior to the *shaîkh* Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi (*vol. I. p.* 379). The terms in which they spoke of him were commendatory in the highest degree; but they observed that, with all his talent, he neglected his personal appearance, and was subject to absence of mind. Of this

they related as an example, that as he was one day on the bank of a river, with some sheets of a book in his hand, he let one of them fall into the water; and, as it floated off so that he could not reach it with his hand, he took another of the sheets to pull it near him; so that both sheets were spoiled. Other similar anecdotes are related in proof of his absence of mind. He composed a large and a small commentary on al-Juzûli's *Prolegomena* (1), and a work on grammar, entitled *at-Tautîya* (*the beating out of the track*). He resided at Seville, but pupils of his were occasionally arriving amongst us and informing us of his proceedings. On the whole, he really was, as they styled him, the last of the grammarians. He was born at Seville, A. H. 562 (A. D. 1166-7), and he died in the same city, in the month of the latter Rabî, some say of Safar, A. H. 645 (August, A. D. 1247).—*Shalaubîni* is derived from as-Shalaubîn, which is a wordof the Spanish language, and means, it is said, *the white and red* (2).

(1) The life of al-Juzûli will be found in this volume.

(2) Abû 'l-Fedâ says, in his Geography, that *Shalaubîni* means *belonging to Shalaubiniya* (*Salobrenna*), a fortress near Granada. He adds that those persons are mistaken who derive it from a word signifying *red* in the language spoken by the (*Christian*) inhabitants of Spain. He here certainly alludes to the statement made by Ibn Khallikân in this passage.

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## IBN TABARZAD.

Abû Hafs Omar Ibn Abi Bakr Muhammad Ibn Muammar Ibn Ahmad Ibn Yahya Ibn Hassân, surnamed al-Muwaddib (*the preceptor*), Muwaffak ad-dîn (*aided in religion by God's favour*), and generally known by the name of Ibn Tabarzad, was a Traditionist of great celebrity, and a native of Baghdad. He inhabited that quarter of the city, on the west bank of the Tigris, which is called Dâr al-Kazz, and he was sometimes styled, for that reason, ad-Dârakazzi. The Traditions which he had received by oral transmission were remarkable as coming from the highest authorities, and, as he travelled through various countries teaching (*them*) to others, he became the link which connected the rising genera- 533

tion of Traditionists with the past: he filled the earth with the certificates which he gave to those who heard him deliver Traditions, and with the licences to teach, which he had granted to his disciples. He lived to so advanced an age that he remained without a rival, and his conduct was uniformly marked by piety and virtue. He was born in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 516 (February, A. D. 1123), and he died at Baghdad on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 9th of Rajab, A. H. 607 (December, A.D. 1210). The next morning, he was interred in the cemetery at the Harb Gate.— *Tabarzad* is the name of a sort of sugar (*sugar-candy*).

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## AS-SHARAF IBN AL-FARID.

Abû Hafs, surnamed also Abû 'l-Kâsim, Omar Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Murshid Ibn Ali, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Fârid and distinguished by the honorary title of as-Sharaf (1), drew his descent from a family which inhabited Hamât, but he himself was born in Egypt, which was also the country of his residence, and that of his death. In his poetical works, of which the collection forms a thin volume, he displays a cast of style and thought which charms the reader by its grace and beauty, whilst their whole tenour is in accordance with the mystic ideas of the Sûfis (2). He has composed also a *kasîda* of about six hundred verses, wherein he sets forth the doctrines and adopts the technical language of that sect. With what elegance has he said, in one of his long poems:

> How welcome the favour which I never deserved: these words of one announcing deliverance after despair: "To thee I bear good tidings, therefore cast off thy covering! "thou art remembered there (*above*), notwithstanding thy imperfections (3)."

In another of his *kasîdas* he says:

> I am always envied on account of (*the favours I receive from*) thee; put not then an end to my watchfulness by the speedy visit of thy image fleeting (*towards me whilst I sleep*) (4). Ask the stars of the night if sleep has ever visited my eyelids! and how could it visit a person with whom it is not acquainted?

He says again in the same piece:

> Whilst the admirers of his beauty are extolling it in every style of description, time is spent out, and yet some of his charms remain to be described (5).

He has left also some distichs, *mawâlias* (6), and enigmas (7). I am told that he was a most holy and virtuous man, and that he led a life of continual self-abnegation. During some time, motives of devotion kept him a resident at Mekka: may God increase it in honour! He was a most pleasing companion, and the charms of his society were highly extolled. I have been informed by one of his disciples, that, one day, whilst he was alone, he happened to sing the following verse, composed by al-Harìri, the author of the *Makâmât*:

> Who is he who never wrought evil, and who possesses excellent qualities only?

And he heard a voice repeat these words, but could not discover by whom they were uttered:

> Muhammad, the director; upon whom Gabriel descended.

Some of his disciples recited to me the following *mawâlia* of his, composed on a youth who followed the trade of a butcher; it is very ingeniously done; and I have not seen it in the collection of his works (8):

> I said to a butcher: I love you, yet you cut me to pieces and slay me. That, replied he, is my trade, and yet you blame me! He then bent towards me and kissed my foot to subjugate me; he wanted to kill me, and blew me (*enchanted me*) that he might skin me.

I have transcribed it according to their system (*of pronunciation*), as they have totally neglected the motions (*final vowels*) and the rules of orthography; nay more, they have committed faults of pronunciation; or rather, the greater part of it is faulty: the reader is therefore requested to withhold his blame (9). Ibn al-Fârid relates that he composed the two following verses in his sleep:

> I swear by the reality of my love for thee and by the respect due to (*me for my*) dignified patience (*under suffering*), that my eyes never looked on any but thee, and that I never felt love for any other friend! 334

This poet was born at Càiro, on the 4th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 576 (March,



A. D. 1181), and he died in the same city, on Tuesday, the 2nd of the first Jumâda, A. H. 632 (January, A. D. 1235). The next morning, he was interred at the foot of Mount Mukattam.—*Al-Fârid* is the name given to the person who draws up contracts (*furûd*) for women in their dealings with men (10).

(1) *As-Sharaf* is the equivalent of *Sharaf ad-dîn* (*nobleness of religion*). In surnames formed of the word *ad-dîn* preceded by a noun or an adjective, *ad-dîn* may be suppressed. In this case, the article is generally added to the preceding word. See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. I. p. 448.

(2) Literally: He follows the direction of the path of the *fakîrs*.

(3) The piece from which these lines are taken has been published by M. Grangeret de Lagrange in his *Anthologie arabe*. Respecting these verses, a curious anecdote is related by the commentator, and will be found page 130 of M. de Lagrange's work.

(4) He means to say: I always keep awake in expectation of thy visits; oblige me not to forego my watchfulness, for then, in my dreams, I should see thy image only, sent by thyself to visit me, and not see thyself. See my Introduction to vol. I. p. xxxvi. For the meaning of the very obscure verses cited by Ibn Khallikân in this article, I have consulted Ibn al-Fârid's commentators and chosen the most probable of the *various* interpretations which they give.

(5) It is almost unnecessary to observe that, in all these verses, the beloved is the Divinity.

(6) See vol. I. Introduction, page xxxv.

(7) Some of these enigmas are given by M. de Sacy in his *Chrestomathie*, and others by M. Grangeret de Lagrange in his *Anthologie arabe*.

(8) Were it not for the curiosity of these verses, which are in vulgar Arabic, I should have abstained from translating them.

(9) Ibn Khallikân writes: تشرختى and يربخنى where I have printed تشرحنى and يرنحنى, which last words give the true reading. قلتو is for قلتُ ; لجزارْ, or, as he writes it لجَزرْ, is for لجزارِ ; مل is for مالَ, and بسّ for باسَ.

(10) *Fârid* is therefore the active participle of the verb *farada*, and must be pronounced with an *i*, not with an *a*, as Ibn Khallikân states in his autograph; most probably through inattention. Indeed, the form فاعَل as a participle or adjective does not exist in Arabic, as far as I can discover, and we find in the notice on Ibn al-Fârid, prefixed to the commentary on his works, some verses in which his name *al-Fârid* is made to rhyme with *al-Aârid*, *al-Ghâmid*, and other active participles.— For further information respecting Ibn al-Fârid, see M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. II., M. Grangeret de Lagrange's *Anthologie arabe*, and the *Catalogus MSS. orient. Bibl. Bodl.*

## TAKI AD-DIN OMAR, *PRINCE OF HAMAT*.

Abû Saîd Omar, the son of Nûr ad-Dawlat Shâhanshâh (*vol. I. p.* 615), the son of Aiyûb (*vol. I. p.* 243), was lord of Hamât, and bore the surnames of al-Malik al-Muzaffar (*the victorious prince*), Taki ad-dìn (*pious in religion*). His father, Shâhanshâh, was brother to the sultan Salâh ed-dìn. Taki ad-dìn Omar was brave and intrepid, successful in his wars, victorious in his engagements, renowned for his conflicts with the Franks (1), and his glorious deeds in battle are signalized by history. In all the various works of piety, he displayed every excellence, and of these we need only mention one: the founding of the college at Old Cairo, which bears the name of Manâzil al-Izz (2), and which is said to have been previously his own place of residence. For the support of this establishment, he erected a large property into a *wakf* (3). The city and province of al-Faiyûm were held by him in fief, and he founded there two colleges, one for the Shafites, and the other for the Malikites: on these also he settled large *wakfs*. Another college was erected by him in the city of Edessa. He was also sovereign of the Eastern provinces (*Mesopotamia*). In his conduct towards the learned (*in the law*), the Sûfis (*fakîrs*), and the men of holy life, he manifested great beneficence. He acted at one period as viceroy of Egypt, during the absence of his uncle Salâh ad-dìn; the circumstance which led to his appointment was the following: Al-Malik al-Aâdil held the government of Egypt as lieutenant to his brother, Salâh ad-dìn; but, in the month of Rajab, A. H. 579 (Oct.-Nov., A. D. 1183), that prince, who was then besieging al-Karak (4), required his presence with that of the troops under his orders, and Taki ad-dìn, being sent to Egypt to replace him, arrived there towards the middle of the month of Shaabân. He was afterwards recalled to Syria by Salâh ad-dìn, who appointed his own son al-Malik al-Azîz (*vol. II. p.* 195) to the viceroyalty of Egypt. Taki ad-dìn's feelings were so deeply hurt at this proceeding, that he resolved to go forth into Maghrib and conquer that country; but this project was strongly opposed by his friends, and he finally acceded to the request of his uncle, Salâh ad-dîn, who had invited him to come and serve under him. The sultan went forth as far as Marj as-Suffar (5) to receive him, and they met there on the 23rd of Shaabân, A. H. 582 (Nov., A. D. 1186). Salâh ad-dîn derived great pleasure from the sight of his nephew,

and bestowed on him the city of Hamât. Taki ad-dîn proceeded thither, and marched afterwards into the province of Khalât, with the intention of taking the castle of Manâzgird. The siege had continued for some time, when he died on Friday, the 19th of Ramadân, A. H. 587 (October, A. D. 1191). This statement has been contradicted, however, by persons who declare that he died at a place between Khalât and Maiyâfârikîn. His body was transported to Hamât for interment. His son, al-Malik al-Mansûr (*the victorious prince*) Nâsir ad-dîn (*the champion of the faith*) Abû 'l-Maâli Muhammad, was appointed his successor. This prince died at Hamât, on Monday, the 22nd of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 617 (January, A. D. 1221) (6).

(1) In the printed text read ومواقعه. Taki ad-dîn particularly signalized himself at the battle of Tiberias in A. H. 583, when the Christian army was almost exterminated.

(2) The palace called Manâzil al-Izz was built on the bank of the Nile by the mother of the khalif al-Azîz billah, and served the Fatimide khalifs as a place of recreation (*nuzha*).—(Al-Makrîzi's *Khitat.*)

(3) See vol. I. page 49, note (7).

(4) See M. Reinaud's *Extraits relatifs aux Croisades*, pp. 187 and 189.

(5) Marj as-Suffar lies at a short distance from Damascus.

(6) This Muhammad was the paternal grandfather of the geographer and historian, Abû 'l-Fedâ.

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## ABU ISHAK AS-SABII.

Abû Ishak Omar Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Zi Yahmud Ibn as-Sabi, surnamed as-Sabii, was a member of the tribe of Hamdân, a native of Kufa, and one of the principal *Tâbis*, having seen Ali, Ibn Abbâs, Ibn Omar, and others of the Prophet's companions. Traditions were handed down on his authority by 535 al-Aamash (*vol. I. p.* 587), Shôba (*vol. I. p.* 493, *note* (8)), ath-Thauri (*vol. I. p.* 576), and others; and a great quantity of traditional information was communicated by him to his disciples. He was born three years before the khalif Othmân's death (1), and he died A. H. 127 (A. D. 744-5); others say, 128 or 129; but Yahya Ibn Mâin (2) and al-Madâini (3) mention that his death took place in A. H. 132.—*Sabîi* means *descended from Sabî*, who himself drew his origin from

the tribe of Hamdân.—Abû Ishak as-Sabii relates as follows: "My father held me "up that I might see Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib preach, and (*I perceived that*) his hair and "his beard were white."

(1) Othmân was murdered in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 35 (June, A. D. 656).
(2) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.
(3) See vol. I. page 438, note (8).

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## AMR IBN OBAID.

Abû Othmân Amr Ibn Obaid Ibn Bâb, a celebrated ascetic and a scholastic theologian, was a *mawla* to the Banû Akîl, a family which drew its descent from Arâda Ibn Yarbû Ibn Mâlik. His father Bâb was one of the prisoners taken at Kâbil (1), a place situated in the mountains of Sind. His father acted as lieutenant (2) to the (*successive*) chiefs of the police guards at Basra, and the people used to say, when they saw his son Amr with him: "There goes Best-of-men, the son "of Worst-of-men!" on which the father would reply: "You speak truly; this "is Abraham, and I am Aazar (3)." On being told that his son frequented the society of al-Hasan al-Basri (*vol. I. p.* 370), and that some good might therefore come of him, he exclaimed: "What good can come of my son? his mother was "a captive fraudulently purloined from the commonwealth (4), and it is I who "am his father." Amr was the chief of the Motazilite sect in that age; we shall relate, in the life of Wâsil Ibn Atâ, the motive which induced him to *secede*, and the reason why his followers were named *Motazilites* (*seceders*). Amr was of a light complexion, a middle size, and marked between the eyes with a callosity produced by his frequent prostrations in prayer. Al-Hasan al-Basri was once asked his opinion respecting him, and he replied in these terms: "You question me con- "cerning a man who seems to have been educated by the angels, and brought up "by the prophets; if he rises to perform a task, his mind is impressed therewith "when he sits down; and when he sits down with a resolution, he rises with the

"same: if he be ordered to do a work, he is the most assiduous of men therein; "and if he be prohibited from any thing, he is the most strict of men in abstaining therefrom; I never saw an exterior so similar to the interior as his; "nor an interior so similar to the exterior." Before Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr's elevation to the khalifate, Amr Ibn Obaid had been his companion and intimate friend, and many anecdotes are related of their sittings and conversations: when al-Mansûr came to the throne, Amr went one day into his presence, and was told by him to draw near and sit down, after which the khalif asked to hear an exhortation from him. Amr acceded to his request, and addressed him an admonition, in which he said, amongst other things: "The power which thou now "wieldest, had it remained in the hands of thy predecessors, had never come "unto thee; be warned then of that night which shall give birth to a day never "more to be followed by another night." When he rose to depart, al-Mansûr said: "We have ordered thee ten thousand pieces of silver."—"I stand not "in need thereof;" replied Amr.—"By Allah! thou shalt take it," exclaimed the khalif.—"By Allah! I shall not take it;" answered the other. On this, al-Mansûr's son, al-Mahdi, who happened to be present, said to Amr: "The "Commander of the faithful swears that a thing shall be done; and yet "thou art bold enough to swear that it shall not!" "Who is this youth?" said Amr, turning to al-Mansûr. — "He is the declared successor to the kha-"lifate, my son al-Mahdi;" replied the prince.—"Thou hast clothed him in "raiment," said Amr, "which is not the raiment of the righteous, and thou "hast given him a name which he deserveth not (5), and thou hast smoothed "for him a path wherein the more the profit the less the heed." He then turned towards al-Mahdi, and addressed him thus: "Yes, I do so, O son of my bro-"ther! when thy father maketh an oath, thy uncle causes him to be perjured; "for thy father is abler to pay the expiation of broken oaths than is thy uncle (6)." Al-Mansûr then asked him if there was any thing which he might require, and Amr made answer: "Send not for me, but wait till I come to "thee." — "In that case," said al-Mansûr, "thou wilt never meet me."— "That," replied Amr, "is precisely what I desire." He then withdrew, and al-Mansûr kept his eyes fixed upon him and said:

All of you walk with stealthy steps; all of you are in pursuit of prey; all, except Amr Ibn Obaid!

Amr composed some epistles and sermons; he drew up also an explanation of the Koran, in the words of al-Hasan al-Basri; a refutation of the Kadarite sect; a long discourse on the doctrine of justice and the profession of God's unity (7); with other treatises besides. When his last hour drew near, he said to a friend: "Death has come unto me, and I am not prepared to receive it." He then exclaimed: "Thou knowest, O Almighty God! that whenever two things were "presented to my choice, one of them pleasing to thee and the other to myself, I "always preferred thy pleasure to my own satisfaction; have therefore mercy "on me!" His birth took place A. H. 80 (A. D. 699-700), and he died A. H. 144 (A. D. 761-2); others say 142, or 143, or 148. He expired at a place called al-Marrân, on his return from (8) Mekka. Al-Mansûr composed the following elegy on his death:

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> May God's blessing be on thee who art reposing in the tomb by which I passed, at Marrân! a tomb containing an orthodox believer, who placed his faith in God and served him from conviction. Did time ever spare the life of a saint, he would have spared us that of Amr Abû Othmân.

That a khalif should thus lament the death of a person beneath him in rank is a circumstance quite unparalleled.—*Marrân* is a place between Mekka and Basra, at two days' journey from the former city. There also was interred Tamîm Ibn Murr, the progenitor of the great and illustrious tribe of Tamîm. I may remark here, that the name of his grandfather Bâb (باب) is sometimes incorrectly written Nâb (ناب).

(1) The autograph has كابِل but I suspect كابُل (*Kâbul*) is meant. The passage is written in the margin of that manuscript, and in Ibn Khallikân's own hand.

(2) Read يخلق..

(3) According to the Moslim doctrine, Abraham's father bore the name of Aazar. He and all his people adored idols, and for this he was reprehended by his son, who said to him: *Verily, I perceive that thou and thy people are in a manifest error.* (Koran, *surat* 6, *verse* 74.) The father of Amr Ibn Obaid seems to have alluded to these words, and thus told indirectly his townsmen that they were all reprobates.

(4) According to the Moslim law, the booty and slaves carried off from an enemy's country must be delivered up by the soldiers to the chief. The spoil and prisoners are then shared amongst *all* the persons in the army after the reservation of the *quint*, or fifth of the whole, for the use of the poor. The booty obtained even by the smallest detachment of the army must not be reserved by the captors; the law requires imperiously that it should be joined to the general mass. It is not therefore to be wondered at, if the captors sometimes con-



cealed their prisoners and spoil for their own advantage. Amr Ibn Obaid's mother had been *embezzled* in this manner, and his father imagined that no good could come of *property* so ill gotten.

(5) *Mahdi* is the passive participle of the verb *ahda* (*to direct*), and signifies, when used as a surname, *the well-directed*, or *the well-guided*.

(6) See vol. I. page 53, note (2).

(7) These were the chief points of the Motazelite doctrine.

(8) Read من in the printed text.

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## SIBAWAIH.

Abû Bishr Amr Ibn Othmân Ibn Kanbar, surnamed Sîbawaih, a *mawla* to the family of Hârith Ibn Kaab—or (according to another statement) to the family of ar-Rabî Ibn Ziâd al-Hârithi—was a learned grammarian, and surpassed in this science every person of former and latter times: as for his *Kitâb*, or *Book*, composed by him on that subject, it has never had its equal. Speaking of this work one day, al-Jâhiz said: "Never was the like of such a book written on grammar, and the books of other men have drawn their substance from it." He said another time: "Having formed the design of visiting Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik az-Zaiyât, the vizir of al-Motasim, I considered what present I should offer him, and could find none more precious than the *Kitâb* of Sibawaih. On my arrival, I said to him: 'I have not been able to find any thing to offer you equal to this book; I bought it after the demise of al-Farrâ (1), at the sale of his property.'—'By Allah!' exclaimed the vizir, 'you could not present me with any thing more pleasing to me.'" I read (*however, another account of this interview*) in a historical work, where it is stated that al-Jâhiz, on arriving at the vizir's with the book of Sîbawaih, informed him of the circumstance before offering it. On this Ibn az-Zaiyât said to him: "Did you think that our libraries were without this book?" and al-Jâhiz replied: "I did not think so; but this copy is in the handwriting of al-Farrâ; it had been collated by al-Kisâi (2), and corrected by Amr Ibn Bahr;" meaning himself.—"It is the best and most precious copy in existence;" said the vizir. Al-Jâhiz then produced it, and Ibn az-Zaiyât manifested such joy in receiving it as proved how highly he appreciated the gift.—Sîbawaih acquired his grammatical information

from al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad (*vol. I. p.* 493), Isa Ibn Omar, Yûnus Ibn Habib (3), and others: he learned philology from Abû 'l-Khattâb, surnamed al-Akhfash al-Akbar (4), and other masters. Ibn an-Nattâh (4) relates that, being one day with al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad, Sibawaih came in; on which al-Khalîl said: "Welcome to "a visitor whose company is never tiresome!" And Abû Amr al-Makhzumi, who had often sat in al-Khalîl's society, remarked that he never heard him say the same thing to any other person but Sîbawaih. At the time in which al-Kisâi was preceptor to al-Amîn, the son of Harûn ar-Rashid, Sîbawaih happened to arrive at Baghdad from Basra, and they were both brought together: in this meeting, they had a discussion of which it would be too long to give the particulars: Al-Kisâi pretended that the Arabs of the desert would say: I thought 557 that the wasp stung more severely than the bee, *and behold! it was so* (*faîza hûa aiyâhâ*) (6). Sibawaih here observed that the example was not as al-Kisâi gave it, and that it should be *faîza hûa hia* (*et ecce! illud est illa res*). After a long dispute on this point, they agreed to refer it to a genuine Arab of the desert, speaking a language unmixed with that used by the towns-people. Al-Amîn, who was extremely partial to al-Kisâi, because he had been his preceptor, caused an Arab to be brought in, and questioned him on the subject, but the reply was in accordance with Sîbawaih's assertion. On this, he told the Arab that they wished him to give the phrase as al-Kisâi had done, but the man observed that, in such a case, he could not master his own tongue, which would certainly pronounce the right expression, notwithstanding his efforts to the contrary. They then proposed to him that a person should say: "Sîbawaih said "so and so, and al-Kisâi said so and so; which of them is right?" and that to this he should answer: "Al-Kisâi is right."—"That," said the Arab, "is a "thing which can be done." A meeting was then held at which all the principal grammarians were assembled, and, the Arab being brought in, the question was presented to him in that form. He immediately answered: "Al-Kisâi "is right, and it is thus the Arabs of the desert say it." Sîbawaih perceived by this that they had all conspired against him through partiality for al-Kisâi, and he left Baghdad, filled with indignation at the treatment he had received. He then proceeded to the province of Fars and died at a village near Shîrâz, called al-Baidâ, in the year 180 (A. D. 796-7); some say 177. He was then aged between forty and fifty. Ibn Kâni (7) states that he died at Basra, A. H. 161, or,

according to another account, in 188; whilst the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi places his death in A. H. 194, at the age of thirty-two years, and in the town of Sâwa (8); but the Khâtib declares, in his History of Baghdad, on the authority of Ibn Duraid, that Sibawaih died at Shiraz, and that his tomb is there. Some say that it was his birth which took place at al-Baidâ, not his death. Abû Saîd at-Tuwâl mentions that he saw inscribed on the tomb of Sibawaih the following verses by Sulaimân Ibn Yazid al-Adawi:

The friends are departed whose visits thou didst receive so often; far from the place of meeting are they now! they have retired and abandoned thee for ever! They have left thee desolate in the wilderness; they soothed thee not, neither did they dispel thy care. The decree of fate has been accomplished, and now thy sole possession is a tomb, but thy friends have turned away and left thee.

Mention being made of Sibawaih in the presence of Moawia Ibn Bakr al-Olaimi, he said: "I saw him when he was a young man; and I was told that, " at that time, none possessed a more complete acquaintance than he with the " information which had been transmitted by al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad. I heard " him discourse, and argue points of grammar; he had an impediment in his " speech, and when I (*afterwards*) looked over his book, I perceived that his " pen expressed his ideas better than his tongue."—" Sibawaih was a boy," said Abû Zaid (9) al-Ansâri, " when he attended my lectures; he wore at that time " two locks of hair which hung down over his shoulders; and whenever you " hear him say: 'I learned from a person in whose knowledge of pure Arabic I " 'have great confidence,' you must know that he means me." Sibawaih used frequently to recite the following verse:

When a man recovers from illness, he thinks he is safe; but he bears within himself the malady of which he is to die.

In *Sîbawaih* the last letter is an *h* (ه), not a *t* (ة); it is a Persian surname, and means *scent of the apple*. It is thus that Arabic scholars pronounced this word and others of a similar form, such as *Niftawaih*, *Amrawaih*, etc.; but the Persians say *Sîbûyah*, being averse to terminating the name with the word *waih* (*alas!*) because it is used in lamentations. Ibrahim al-Harbi (10) says: "He was " called *Sîbawaih* because he had cheeks like apples and was extremely hand- " some."

(1) The life of al-Farrâ will be found in this work.

(2) See vol. II. page 237.

(3) The lives of Isa Ibn Omar and Yûnus Ibn Habîb are given in this work.

(4) See vol. II. p. 244.

(5) AbûWâil Bakr Ibn an-Nattâh Ibn Abi Himâr al-Hanafi was distinguished as a poet in the reign of Hârun ar-Rashîd. He settled at Baghdad and frequented the society of Abû 'l-Atâhiya and his companions. Abû 'l-Atâhiya composed an elegy on his death.—(The Khatib's abridged History of Baghdad; MS. No. 634, fol. 78.)

(6) Literally: Et ecce (*fuit*) illud illam (*rem*). The question was, whether in Arabic the particle *iza* governs the subject in the nominative and the predicate in the accusative, or not. It is certain that both terms are governed by it (as the Arabs say) in the nominative. The anecdote is related more fully by Ibn Hishâm, and M. de Sacy has extracted it from the work of the latter author and inserted it in his *Anthologie Grammaticale*, page 199 *et seq*. He gives there also an extract from Sîbawaih's celebrated *Kitâb*.

(7) See vol. I. page 374, note (6).

(8) Sâwa lay between Rai and Hamadân.

(9) The manuscripts are wrong here; we must read ابو زيد. See vol. I. p. 570.

(10) See vol. I. page 46, note (5).

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## ABU AMR IBN AL-ALA.

Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ, a member of the tribe of Mâzin which is a branch of that 338 of Tamim, and a native of Basra, was one of the seven great Koran-*readers*. His father, al-Alâ, was the son of Ammâr Ibn al-Oryân Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Husain. I found among my rough notes, and in my own handwriting, his genealogy set forth thus: "Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ Ibn Ammâr Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Husain "Ibn al-Harith Ibn Julhum Ibn Khuzâi Ibn Mâzin Ibn Mâlik Ibn Amr Ibn Tamim; some say that Julhum was the son of Hujr Ibn Khuzâi, and that his "real name was al-Oryân."—Abû Amr was the most learned of men in the sacred Koran, the Arabic language, and poetry; as a grammarian, he ranked in the fourth generation from Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib(1). It is related by al-Asmâi that he heard Abû Amr say: "I know more grammar than al-Aamash (*vol. I. p.* 587) "ever did; and were my grammatical information put down in writing, he would "not be able to lift it." He said also: "I proposed to Abû Amr one thousand "grammatical queries, and he furnished me with one thousand examples decisive of these questions." Abû Amr already held a high rank among his contemporaries in the lifetime of al-Hasan al-Basri (*vol. I. page* 370), and Abû

Obaida (2) declared him the most learned of men in philology, grammar, poetry, and the Koran. The books containing the expressions which he had written down from the lips of the purest speakers among the Arabs of the desert nearly filled one of his rooms up to the ceiling, but when he *took to reading (the Koran)*, that is, when he commenced the practice of devotion, he threw them all away; and, when he returned to the study of his old science, he possessed nothing on it except what he had learned by heart. The greater part of his (*philological*) information was derived from Arabs who were already living before the promulgation of Islamism. Al-Asmâi said: "I frequented Abû "Amr's sittings for ten years, and during that time I never heard him quote a "single verse of those composed subsequently to the promulgation of Islamism, "in support (*of his philological and grammatical doctrines*)." He said, another time: "It was of Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ that al-Farazdak said:

> "I ceased not opening and shutting doors (*in search of knowledge*), till I went to Abû "'l-Alâ Ibn Ammâr."

It is certain that the ordinary surname *Abû Amr* was his real name, although some pretend that he was called Zabbân, and others mention other names. He drew his descent from Khuzâi Ibn Mâzin, and, according to one of the traditional accounts of his genealogy, he was the son of al-Alâ Ibn Ammâr Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Husain Ibn al-Harith Ibn Julhum Ibn Khuzâi Ibn Mâzin Ibn Mâlik Ibn Amr Ibn Tamim; but some say that Julhum was son of Hujr Ibn al-Khuzâi: God best knows the truth! The following anecdote was related by Abû Amr: "Al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf ath-Thakafi had caused search to be made for my father, "who, in consequence, fled to Yemen; and, as we were travelling in the desert "of that province, we were overtaken by a person who recited this verse:

> 'Often our hearts reject a thing which would have brought deliverance (*farja*) like 'the undoing of bonds.

"My father then asked him: 'What news?' and he answered: 'Al-Hajjâj is "'dead.' But I was more delighted to hear the word *farja* (*with which I was "not acquainted before*) than to hear of the death of al-Hajjâj. My father then "said: 'Let us turn our camels towards Basra.'"—"I asked Abû Amr," said Abû Obaida, "what age he was at that time? and he replied: 'I had then

" '*strangled* (*i. e.* outlived) more than twenty years!' " *Farja* signifies *the separation between two things;* and *furja, the separation between two mountains.* The passage which follows is taken from the *Tabakât an-Nuhât,* or classified list of the grammarians (3): " Al-Asmâi relates that Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ said, in " speaking of these words of the Prophet's: *A person causing miscarriage must* " *redeem his crime by bestowing a male or a female slave* (*fi 'l-janîn ghurra tuabdin* " '*au amâtin*) (4), that, unless the Prophet had meant to express some idea by the " ' word *ghurra* (*albedo*), he would have said: *Fi 'l-janîn abdon au amaton* (5); " ' but he really did mean the white colour, and that none but a white male " ' or female slave should be received as the price of redemption; forbidding " ' thus the accepting of a black male or female slave for that object!' " This is a strange opinion, and I am unable to say whether it concords or not with that of any of the *mujtahid imâms* (6); I give it here merely on account of its singularity. In the same book we read that al-Asmâi said: " I asked Abû " Amr Ibn al-Alâ if the Arabs of the desert made any distinction between the " fourth and the second form of the verb *rahaba* (*to fear*), and he replied: 'The " ' two are not equivalent.' I then said: 'The second form must mean *to* " '*frighten greatly*, and the fourth *to make fear enter the heart* (7);' on which he " observed that the person who knew the difference died thirty years before (8)." 539 Ibn Munâdir (9) said: " I asked Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ till what period of life a " man should continue acquiring learning? And he made answer: 'It befits him " ' to do so as long as his life lasts.' " Abû Amr states that he received the following relation from Katâda as-Sadûsi (10): " When the first copy of the Koran " was written out and presented to (*the khalif*) Othmân Ibn Affân, he said: " ' There are faults of language in it, and let the Arabs of the desert rectify " ' them with their tongues (11).' " It was Abû Amr's (*pious*) custom not to pronounce a single verse from the beginning of the month of Ramadàn to the end of it. He spent every day a penny for a new (*and therefore a pure*) pitcher to drink out of that day, and another penny for a nosegay; when he had done with the pitcher, he gave it to his family, and every evening he would order his maid to dry the nosegay and throw the fragments of the flowers into the water-skins (*to perfume them*). Yûnus Ibn Habib, the grammarian, relates as follows: " I " heard Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ say: ' I never interpolated the poems of the desert " ' Arabs but with one single verse, and that was:

"She rejected me, yet nothing displeased her, of all the effects of time, except my
"grey beard and bald head."

"'And this verse is still extant in a celebrated poem, composed by al-
"'Aasha (12).'" Abû Obaida relates as follows: "Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ went
"to Sulaimân Ibn Ali, the uncle of as-Saffâh, and this prince asked him a ques-
"tion to which Abû Amr answered, stating the truth; Sulaimân was by no
"means pleased with his frankness, and Abû Amr, being vexed at this, left
"the room, reciting these lines as he went out:

'I disdain to humble myself before princes, even though they honour me and place
'me near them; when I spoke truth to them, I had to dread their anger, and had I told
'them lies, I should have pleased them."

The following anecdote was related by Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sulaimân an-Naufali: "I heard my father say to Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ: "Tell me of the "work you composed on that subject which you call *arabism;* does it contain "all the language of the desert Arabs?' Abû Amr answered that it did not, and "my father then said: 'How do you manage when the Arabs furnish you with "'examples contrary to your own rules?' To this Abû Amr replied: 'I follow "'the majority of the cases and call the rest *dialects.*'" The anecdotes related of Abû Amr are very numerous. He was born at Mekka, A. H. 70 (A.D. 689-90); some say A. H. 68 or A. H. 65; and he died at Kûfa, A. H. 154 (A.D. 770-1); other accounts, however, place his death in A. H. 159, and 157, and 156. He had gone to Syria to solicit the benevolence of the governor of Damascus, Abd al-Wahhâb, the son of Ibrahîm the imâm (13), and he expired on his return to Kûfa. Ibn Kutaiba asserts, however, that he died on his way to Syria, but in this he is pronounced to be mistaken; and a certain transmitter of traditional knowledge declares that he saw Abû Amr's tomb at Kûfa, having these words inscribed on it: "This is the tomb of Abû Amr Ibn al-Alà." When his last hour drew near, he experienced a succession of fainting fits; and as he was recovering from one of them, he perceived his son Bishr shedding tears, on which he said: "Why do you weep, now that eighty-four years have passed "over me?" The following elegiac lines were composed on his death by Abd Allah Ibn al-Mukaffà (14):

**We have lost Abû Amr, and none like him survives! O how the strokes of misfortune stun him who is afflicted! Thou hast departed and left a void among us which we can never hope to see filled up; but thy loss procures us one advantage — every new misfortune will find us insensible to affliction.**

Some say, however, that this elegy was composed by him on Yahya Ibn Ziâd Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abd al-Madân (15) al-Hârithi al-Kûfi, a poet of celebrity and a maternal cousin of as-Saffâh, the first Abbâside khalif. Others again mention that Ibn al-Mukaffâ composed it on Abd al-Karim Ibn Abi 'l-Aujâ (16), but the first opinion is that generally held. These verses have **540** been also attributed to Muhammad, the son of Abd Allah Ibn al-Mukaffâ. I shall now observe that if this elegy was made on Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ, it could not have been composed by Abd Allah Ibn al-Mukaffâ, for he died before Abû Amr; but it is possible that it was written by his son, and it is generally believed to refer to Abû Amr.—Although Abû Amr be merely a surname, I have placed Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ's life under this letter for the reason already stated in the life of Abû Bakr Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân (*vol. I. p.* 263), and to that article I shall therefore refer the reader.— As for the Abd al-Wahhâb of whom mention has been made in this notice, we may here state that he was the son of the Ibrahim, generally denominated al-Imâm, whose name occurs in the life of his father Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs (17). Abd al-Wahhâb was governor of Syria in the name of his uncle al-Mansûr, but this prince felt so apprehensive of his ulterior projects that, when he lay at the point of death near the Well of Maimûn, at the gate of Mekka, he said to his chamberlain ar-Rabi Ibn Yûnus (*vol. I. p.* 521): "The only person (*whose intentions*) I fear is the "governor of Syria, Abd al-Wahhâb, the son of Ibrahim the Imâm!" He then raised his hands towards heaven and exclaimed: "Almighty God! deliver me from Abd al-Wahhâb!"—"When al-Mansûr expired," said ar-Rabi Ibn Yûnus, "I lowered his body into the grave, and I had just placed the tombstone over it, "when I heard a voice from the interior of it pronounce these words: 'Abd "al-Wahhâb is dead, and the prayer is fulfilled.' I was struck with terror at "this occurrence, and six or seven days afterwards, intelligence was brought of "Abd al-Wahhâb's death." It is Ibn Badrûn who relates this anecdote in his commentary on the *kasîda* of Ibn Abdûn, which begins with these words:

After (*inflicting*) the reality (*of misfortune*), time still torments (*us*) with the traces of it.

He introduces the story when explaining the following verse:

Time struck with dread each Mâmûn (*tutus*) and *Mutamin* (*securus*), and it betrayed each Mansûr (*victor*) and Muntasir (*adjutus*) (18).

(1) It was Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib who laid down the first principles of Arabic grammar.—See vol. I. page 666, note (7).

(2) His life is given in this work.

(3) Hajji Khalifa notices a number of works bearing this title. I suspect that it was the one by al-Mubarrad from which the following extract is taken.

(4) The Arabic words translated literally would run thus: *Pro fœtu, albedo servi aut ancillæ* (detur).

(5) Literally: *Pro fœtu, servus aut ancilla.*

(6) See vol. I. Introduction, page xxvi.

(7) The second form of the verb *rahaba* رهب does not signify *to frighten*, and al-Asmâi seems merely to have intended to obtain Abû 'l-Alâ's opinion on the subject, by hazarding a conjectural signification.

(8) He probably alludes to al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf (*vol. I. p.* 356), who died A. H. 95, and was considered as one of the most elegant and correct speakers of the age. Abû 'l-Alâ abstains from uttering his name, to avoid the necessity of saying after it, *Radia Allah anhû* (*May God show favour to him*), which formula is always pronounced when the name of a deceased Moslim is mentioned.

(9) See vol. I. page 299.

(10) His life will be found in this volume.

(11) That is: Let them pronounce the word right, but not attempt to correct it in the written copy.

(12) See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, vol. II. page 471.

(13) Further notice is taken of Abd al-Wahhâb at the end of this article.

(14) See vol. I. page 431.

(15) It appears from the *Kâmûs* that al-Madân was the name of an idol.—See also Pocock's *Specimen*, second edition, page 104.

(16) The autograph has العوجآ.

(17) See also pages 102, 103 of this volume.

(18) The *Mâmûn* here mentioned is the khalif. His brother *Mûtamin* was designed as his successor by ar-Rashîd, but this nomination al-Mâmûn set aside on the death of al-Amîn. *Mansûr* was the second Abbaside khalif, and *Muntasir* was the son and successor of al-Mutawakkil.



## AL-JAHIZ.

Abû Othmân Amr Ibn Bahr Ibn Mahbûb al-Kinâni al-Laithi, generally known by the surname of al-Jâhiz and a native of Basra, was a man celebrated for his learning and author of numerous works on every branch of science. He composed a discourse on the fundamentals of religion, and an offset of the Motazilite sect was called *al-Jâhiziya* after him. He had been a disciple of Abû Ishak Ibrahim Ibn Saiyâr al-Balkhi, surnamed an-Nazzâm (1), and was maternal uncle to Yamût Ibn al-Muzarrâ, a person whose life we shall give. One of his finest and most instructive works is the *Kitâb al-Haiwân* (*book of animals*), as it contains every sort of curious information. The same may be said of his *Kitâb al-Bayân wa 't-Tabaiyun* (*distinction and exposition*) (2). His productions are extremely numerous, and his talents are fully recognised; but he was deformed in person, and the prominence of his eyes, which seemed to be starting out of his head, procured him the surnames of *al-Jâhiz* (*the starer*) and al-Hadaki (*goggle-eye*). Amongst the anecdotes concerning him, is the following, related by himself: "I was mentioned to al-Mutawakkil as a proper person to instruct one of his "sons; but, on seeing me, he disliked my looks and dismissed me with a pre- "sent of ten thousand dirhems. On leaving the palace, I met with Muhammad "Ibn Ibrahim (3), who was on the point of returning to Madina-tas-Salâm "(*Baghdad*), and he proposed to me that I should accompany him in his barge. "I should remark that we were then at Sarra man Râa. I embarked with "him, and, on reaching the mouth of the canal al-Kâtûl (4), a curtained tent "was set up and he called for music, on which a female lute-player com- "menced singing an air, of which the words were :

> 'Our days are passed in quarrels and reproaches; our time is spent in anger. Can it 'it be that such an affliction is peculiar to me alone, or is it common to every lover?'

"She then stopped, and he told a female guitar-player to begin. The "words she sung were :

> 'Show pity to true lovers! I see no one to assist them; how often do they part! how 'often are they severed! how often do they separate! how great must be their pa- 'tience!' 541

" Here the lute-player said to her :

' And then what must they do?'

" To which the other female answered :

' 'Tis this they have to do—'

" She then struck her hand through the curtain, and, coming out at the " rent she thus made, she appeared to us like a half-moon (5) and threw herself " into the water. A young page who was standing behind Muhammad, with a " fly-flap in his hand, and who resembled her in beauty, went over to the place " where she fell in, and saw her borne away under the water, on which he " recited this verse :

' 'Tis thou who drownest me (6) after meeting with thy fate! O that thou couldst ' know it!'

" He then sprung in after her, and the rowers having turned the barge " round, perceived them sinking and clasped in each other's arms. They were " never seen after. Muhammad was greatly shocked at the circumstance, but " he at length said to me : ' O Abû Amr ! tell me some story which may dimi- " ' nish my grief for the death of that unfortunate couple, or else I shall send " ' thee to join them !' I immediately recollected an occurrence which hap- " pened to Yazid Ibn Abd al-Malik, and I related as follows : The khalif Yazid " Ibn Abd al-Malik was holding a public sitting for the redressing of grievances, " and amongst the memorials which passed under his examination, he found one " containing these words : ' If it be the pleasure of the Commander of the " faithful, he will have such and such a slave-girl of his brought out to me, " so that she may sing me three airs.' On reading this note, Yazîd was seized " with anger, and he sent out a person with orders to bring in the writer's head, " but he then dispatched another messenger after the first, with directions to " bring in the individual himself. When the man appeared before him, the " khalif addressed him thus: 'What induced thee to do what thou hast done?' " —' My confidence in thy mildness,' replied the man, 'and my trust in thy " ' indulgence.' Here the prince ordered all the assembly to withdraw, not

" excepting the members of the Omaiyide family, and the girl was brought in
" with a lute in her hand. The youth then said to her: 'Sing these words:

> 'Gently, O Fâtima! moderate thy disdain! if thou hast resolved to sever our attach-
> 'ment, yet be gentle (7).'

" When she had sung it, Yazîd said to him: 'Speak;' and the other said:
" 'Sing:

> 'The lightning gleamed in the direction of Najd, and I said: O lightning! I am too
> 'much engaged to watch thee (8).'

" And she sung it. Yazîd then said to him: 'Speak;' and he said: 'Order
" 'me a pint of wine;' and it was brought to him. He had hardly drunk it
" off, when he sprung up, and, having climbed to the top of the dome under
" which Yazîd was sitting, he threw himself down and dashed out his brains.
" 'We belong to God,' exclaimed Yazîd (*horror-struck*), 'and unto him we must
" 'return! See that madman! he was silly enough to think that if I brought
" 'out my slave-girl to him, I should take her back again into my own pos-
" 'session. Pages! lead her out and bear her to his family, if he have a
" 'family; and if not, sell her and let the price be distributed as alms in his
" 'name.' They immediately departed with her for the man's family, but, on
" crossing the court of the palace, she saw an excavation prepared for pre-
" serving the rain-waters, on which she burst from their hands, and recited
" this line:

> Those that die of love, let them die thus; there is no good in love without death.

" And throwing herself head foremost into the cistern, she died on the spot.
" Muhammad received some distraction from this narration, and he made me a
" large present." The following anecdote is related by Abû 'l-Kâsim as-Si-
râfi: " We went to the assembly held by the lord vizir Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn al-
" Amîd, and, the name of al-Jâhiz happening to be mentioned, a person pre-
" sent depreciated his abilities and spoke of him slightingly. The vizir made
" no observation, and, when the man had retired, I said to him: 'My lord!
" 'why did you not reply to that fellow, you who are accustomed to refute the
" 'assertions of persons like him?' To this the vizir replied: 'I thought any

" ' reply less effectual than leaving him in his ignorance; had I argued with
" ' him and brought proofs against him, he would then have commenced read-
" ' ing the works of al-Jâhiz, and that, Abû 'l-Kâsim! would have made a man
" ' of him; for they teach us to reason first, and instruct us in literature next;
" ' and I did not think that fellow worthy of such an advantage.' " Towards the
542 close of his life, al-Jâhiz had an attack of palsy, and one of his sides was so much inflamed, that he had to rub it with sandal-ointment and camphor, whilst the latter was so cold and benumbed that, were it seized with pincers, it had been insensible. During his illness he used to say: "Maladies of a contrary nature "have conspired against my body; if I eat any thing cold, it seizes on my feet, "and if I eat any thing hot, it seizes on my head." He would say again: "My left side is paralysed to such a degree that, if it were torn with pincers, I "should not be aware of it; and my right side is so affected with gout, that "if a fly walked on it, it would give me pain. I am afflicted also with gravel, "which prevents me from passing urine; but what bears hardest on me is the "weight of ninety-six years." He would then repeat these verses:

**Didst thou, who art an aged man, hope to be as thou wast in the days of thy youth?**
**Thou deceivest thyself; a threadbare garment is not like one that is new.**

The following anecdote was related by a member of the Barmek family: "Having been appointed governor of Sind, I remained there for a considerable "time, till I learned that I had been removed from office. Having gained thirty "thousand dinars during my administration, and fearing, if my successor ar- "rived suddenly, that he would learn where the money was deposited and try "to seize it, I had it melted down into ten thousand plum(*-shaped masses,*) each "of them weighing three *mithkâls* (8). My successor arrived soon after, on "which I took ship and arrived at Basra. Being informed that Al-Jâhiz was "in that city, laid up with the palsy, I felt desirous of seeing him before he "died; and I therefore went to find him. On arriving at his house, which was "but a small one, I knocked at the door, and a female slave of a tawny com- "plexion came out and asked me what I wanted. 'I am from a foreign "'country,' said I, 'and wish to have the pleasure of seeing the *shaikh*'. She "then went to inform him of my desire, and I heard him utter these words: "'Say to him: What would you have with a body bent to one side, a mouth

" 'driveling, and a complexion faded?' On this I told the girl that I should
" insist on seeing him, and he said, on being informed of my determination:
" 'This is some man passing through Basra, who, hearing that I was unwell, has
" 'said to himself: I should like to get a sight of him before he dies, so that I
" 'may say: I have seen al-Jâhiz'. He then consented to receive me, and, on
" entering his room, I saluted him. He answered me most politely, and said:
" 'Who are you? may God exalt you.' I informed him of my name and family,
" on which he replied: 'May God have mercy on your ancestors and forefathers,
" 'the generous and beneficent! their days were as gardens in the path of time,
" 'and many were those whom they restored to prosperity! May the divine
" 'favour and blessing be upon them!' In return, I offered up an invocation
" for his own welfare, and said: 'I request of you to recite me some of your
" 'poetry, on which he pronounced the following verses:

'Though now some have outstripped me, how often in former times did I advance
'leisurely, and yet outstrip all rivals. But here is time with its vicissitudes, ruining
'what was firm and renewing what was ruined.'

" I then rose up to retire, but, as I was entering the court of the house, he
" called out: 'Tell me, sir! did you ever see a palsied man derive advantage
" 'from plums?'—'No,' said I.—'I ask you the question,' replied he, 'because
" 'plums such as you have would do me good; send some to me!' I told him
" that I would, and left the house, wondering in myself how he could have
" discovered a secret which I had concealed so carefully. I then sent him one
" hundred of those plums."— Abû 'l-Hasan al-Barmaki said: " Al-Jâhiz re-
" cited to me these lines:

'We had once friends, but they are now departed and passed away; they were not
'suffered to live for ever! They all passed about the cup of death; the friend is dead,
'and so is the foe.' "

Al-Jâhiz died at Basra in the month of Muharram, A. H. 255 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 868-9); aged upwards of ninety years.—*Laithi* means *descended from Laith* Ibn 543 Bakr Ibn Abd Manât Ibn Kinâna Ibn Khuzaima.

(1) See vol. I. p. 186, note (4).

(2) The autograph has التبيين; the later MSS. and Hajji Khalifa give the same reading as the printed text.

(3) Muhammad Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Musâb was governor of the province of Fars. In A. H. 236 (A. D. 850-1) his nephew Muhammad Ibn Ishak Ibn Ibrahîm, made a complaint against him to al-Mutawakkil, and obtained permission to treat him as he pleased. Ibn Ishak immediately proceeded to Fars and removed his uncle from the government, which he conferred on his cousin al-Husain Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Musâb. He then placed his uncle in confinement and let him die of thirst.—(Ibn al-Athîr.)

(4) The Kâtûl, a canal on the east side of the Tigris, branched off from it two parasangs lower down than Sarr man râa. It passed through Jarjârâi and then returned into the Tigris.

(5) Al-Jâhiz means to say that he saw her in profile only.

(6) The autograph alone gives the right reading, which is خرّقتني.

(7) This verse belongs to the *Moallaka* of Amr al-Kais.

(8) See vol. I. page 464, note (6).

(9) It appears from this that the dinar of that time weighed a *mithkâl*.

## AMR IBN MASADA.

Abû 'l-Fadl Amr Ibn Masâda Ibn Saîd Ibn Sûl, the *kâtib*, was one of al-Mâmûn's vizirs. The Khatib (*vol. I. p.* 75) mentions, in his History of Baghdad, that he was an uncle's son to Ibrahîm Ibn al-Abbâs as-Sûli (*vol. I. p.* 22). As a *kâtib*, Amr Ibn Masâda acquired great distinction by an elegant style, pregnant with meaning and concise, clear in purport and precise in thought. When al-Fadl Ibn Sahl, the brother of al-Hasan Ibn Sahl, held the post of vizir under al-Mâmûn, he acquired such predominant influence that no one could find means of speaking to that prince; but, when he was put to death, the persons who were afterwards vizirs obtained the opportunity of offering their respects to their sovereign. These were Ahmad Ibn Abi Khâlid al-Ahwal (*vol. I. p.* 20), Amr Ibn Masâda and Abû Abbâd (1). Al-Mâmûn ordered him, one day, to write to one of the provincial agents a letter of recommendation for a person whom he wished to be well received, and the following note was drawn up by him in consequence : "This, "my letter to thee, is that of a person relying on him to whom he writes, and "interested for him in whose favour he writes. So, between (*my*) reliance (*on thee*) and (*my*) interest (*for him*), the bearer will not lose his pains. Adieu!" Some say that this note was composed by al-Hasan Ibn Wahb, but the general and, at the same time, the right opinion is, that Ibn Masâda was the author.

The following anecdote was related by Amr Ibn Masâda: "I was writing "answers to memorials in the presence of Jaafar Ibn Yahya the Barmekide, "when one of the pages presented him a paper containing a request for an "increase of salary. He handed the letter to me, telling me to answer it, "and I wrote as follows: 'Small and lasting (*pensions*) are better than large and "'transitory (*ones*).' Having perused it, he clapped me on the back and said:— "'What a vizir is contained in your skin!'" The style of Amr Ibn Masâda was replete with fine ideas. He died A. H. 217 (A. D. 832-3) at a place called Adana, but al-Jihshiâri (*vol. II. p.*137) states, in his book of vizirs, that he died in the month of the latter Rabi, A. H. 215 (June, A. D. 830).—On his death, al-Mâmûn received a memorial in which it was stated that he had left a fortune of eighty millions of dirhims (2) (*and that he must have therefore defrauded the state*), but the khalif wrote on the back of it: "This is but little for one who was at-"tached to our service so long; may his sons enjoy, with the blessing of God, "what he has left, and may He guide them in its management." Al-Masûdi mentions, in his *Murûj ad-Dahab*, that, when Ibn Masâda died, (*the government* made an inventory of his property, which had never been the case with any other vizir.—*Adana* is the name of a town on the coast of Syria, near Tarsûs; its castle was erected A. H. 144 (A. D. 761-2).—Having written thus far, I discovered a very elegant epistle of his, addressed to a person of high rank who was greatly displeased at his mother's contracting a second marriage; on perusing it, he felt quite consoled, and was delivered from his affliction. It is so beautiful a production that I am induced to insert it here: "Praise be to God who hath "removed from us the veil of passion, and guided us to the concealing of our "disgrace! who, by declaring certain things lawful, has confounded our jea-"lous pride, and forbidden us to hinder mothers from marrying again, as he "hath forbidden us to bury daughters alive! thus reducing disdainful minds "from haughtiness—haughtiness such as that which prevailed in pagan times. "He then held out an ample recompense to him who awaits with resignation the "accomplishment of his decrees, and promised a vast treasure to him who bears "with patience the trials which he sends him. May He who hath opened thy "heart to piety, increased thy patience under afflictions, and inspired thee with "resignation to his will and submission to his judgments, grant thee to enjoy "the blessing of that grace by which he disposed thee to fulfil thy duty to a pa- 544

" rent, one who has the highest of claims upon thee. May He, whose glory should " ever be extolled, grant that this mortification of thy pride and this grief which " thou strivest to suppress, be counted as titles to an increase of recompense and " to an augmentation of treasure (*in the world to come*)! To thy present anger " at her conduct may He join thy future sorrow at her burial, so that the stroke " of affliction may be complete and thy reward perfect! May God permit that " the bitterness which thy Lordship felt at her marriage be united to the patience " with which thou shalt endure her loss; and may He soon replace, for thy sake, " this nuptial couch by the bier! May God whose glory should ever be extolled, " grant that the satisfaction thou mayest feel at her death be unattended by his " displeasure, and that the gifts which He may bestow thee on taking her to him- " self be unmixed with future probations! The judgments of God—may his " glory be exalted and his name hallowed!—hold their course in spite of human " will; but He, may he be exalted! choseth for his servants, the true believers, " that which is best for them in this transitory world and more lasting for them " in the other life. May God, in taking her to himself, chose what is best for " her and most profitable, and make the tomb her fit abode. Adieu!" This letter is attributed by some to al-Fadl Ibn al-Amîd, whose life we shall give later; and it recals to my mind two verses which were composed by the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p.* 212) on a person who got a new husband for his mother; they are as follows :

> I blamed him for allowing his mother to marry, but he answered: "I have done a " thing lawful."—"True," I replied; "what you have done is lawful, but you have " given away the cracked pitcher (3)."

Amr Ibn Masâda wrote to one of his friends the following letter of recommendation in favour of a person to whom he was greatly attached : " The bearer of " my letter to you is Sâlim. Adieu!" In this he alluded to a verse wherein a poet says :

> They withhold me from Sâlim and I repel them; his very skin is *sâlim* (*in safety*) between my eyes and my nose.

That is : (*this person is so dear to me that, if it were possible,*) I should place him in that spot. The following lines were given, by Muhammad Ibn Dâwûd Ibn al-

Jarrâh (4) as having been composed by Muhammad al-Baidak an-Nasibi on Amr Ibn Masâda, who had been complaining of his health :

> "Abû 'l-Fadl," said they, "is ill."—I answered: "I would lay down my life to "save him from every danger. O that I had his illness; he the reward of those who "suffer, and I no reward whatever!"

Ibrahim Ibn al-Abbâs as-Sûli having fallen into distress for want of employment, Amr Ibn Masâda, who was his friend, sent him a sum of money. Ibrahim then wrote to him these lines :

> Till the end of my life I shall be thankful to Amr for kindness so freely granted and yet so great! He is one who never refuses money to his friend, and never utters a complaint at his failings. He saw my poverty, though I essayed to conceal it; and it hurt his eyes till it was removed.

The following anecdote is given by Ahmad Ibn Yûsuf al-Kâtib (5): "I one day "went in where al-Mâmûn was, and found him with a letter in his hand. He "kept looking at it for a long time, and I remained observing him. He then "said: 'O Ahmad! I perceive that my conduct maketh thee reflect! 'It is true,' "I replied, 'and may God avert from the Commander of the faithful every cause "'of trouble and protect him against every danger!' He answered: 'There "'is nothing in the letter to trouble me, but I found in it a passage which "'struck me by its similarity to an observation which I heard (*the khalif*) ar-"'Rashid make : speaking of eloquence, he defined it to be: distance from pro-"'lixity, closeness to the thought intended, and the expressing of it in few 545 "'words. I did not think it possible for any person to attain such a degree of "'perfection, till I read this letter!' He then handed it to me, saying : 'It is "'addressed to me from Amr Ibn Masâda!' I read it and its contents were "'these : 'From the under-signed to the Commander of the faithful. Those "'of his generals and troops who are under me show such submission as a troop "'can show whose pay is in arrear, and such obedience as that of brave men "'whose stipends are withheld. By this, they are disorganised and ruined.' "When I had perused the letter, he said : 'The admiration which it excited in "'me induced me to give orders that the troops under his command should re-"'ceive a donation equal to seven months' pay. And I am considering how to "'recompense a writer in a manner befitting one who holds such a rank in his "'profession!'"

(1) Abû Abd Allah Thâbit Ibn Yahya Ibn Yasâr ar-Râzi, surnamed Ibn Abbâd, was one of al-Mâmûn's vizirs. As a *kâtib* he displayed the highest abilities, but was very precipitate and passionate.—(*MS.* No. 895, fol. 202.)

(2) About two millions of pounds sterling.

(3) The original text may also signify *concedisti diffissionem vetulæ*; but this is so poor a quibble, that I suspect allusion is made to some proverbial saying, with which I am not acquainted.

(4) See vol. I. page 25, note (6).

(5) See vol. I. page 271, note (12).

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## IBN BANA.

Amr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Râshid, generally known by the appellation of Ibn Bâna, was a *mawla* to Yûsuf Ibn Omar ath-Thakafi and a singer of the very highest talent. Abû 'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni mentions him in the *Kitâb al-Aghâni* and says: "His father was at the head of one of the government offices "and held a distinguished rank among the *kâtibs*. He (*himself*) was an excellent "singer and a good poet. He left a work on the *Aghâni*, or popular songs. His "haughtiness and pride were excessive, and, although afflicted with leprosy, "the khalifs included him in the number of their boon companions and singers." He died A. H. 278 (A. D. 891-2), at Sarra man râa. The khalif al-Mutawakkil admitted him into his closest intimacy and familiarity. Ibn Bâna learned his art from Ishak Ibn Ibrahim al-Mausili (*vol. I. p.* 183) and other eminent masters. The work which he composed on singing is a sufficient proof of his abilities. Baghdad was the place of his residence, but he occasionally visited Sarra man râa. —His mother, *Bâna*, was the daughter of Rûh, the secretary to Salama al-Wasîf. In the life of Tâhir Ibn al-Husain (*vol. I. p.* 652) we have given two satirical lines of his, directed against that prince.

## IBN AL-MUSALAYA.

The *kâtib* Abû Saad al-Alâ Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Wahb Ibn al-Mûsalâyâ, surnamed Amin ad-Dawlat (*the trusty servant of the state*), was a native of Baghdad and *mûnshi* (*drawer up of state papers*) to the khalifate. He had been originally a Christian, but made his profession of Islamism to the khalif al-Muktadi billah and proved himself a sincere convert. He composed a number of elegant epistles and some good poems, which have been collected and form two volumes, one of prose and one of verse. His talents were of the highest order. In the year 432 (A. D. 1040-1) he entered into the service of the khalif al-Kâim, as writer in the chancery office. Some time before his death, he lost his sight. He died on the 19th of the first Jumâda, A H. 497 (February, A. D. 1104).—He had a sister's son, called Abû Nasr Hibat Allah Ibn Sâhib al-Khair al-Hasan Ibn Ali, and surnamed Tâj ar-Ruwasâ (*crown of the chiefs*), who was a *kâtib* and a man of abilities, possessing a knowledge of the belles lettres and a talent for eloquence. He also wrote a beautiful hand, and composed some good epistles which bear a high reputation and have been collected into a volume. He died at Baghdad, after a five days' illness, on the eve of Monday, the 11th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 498 (January, A. D. 1105), aged seventy years; and was interred at the Abrez Gate. He became a Moslim at the same time as his uncle (*cousin* (?) ); this occurred, A. H. 484 (A. D. 1091-2).—*Mûsalâyâ* is a name used among Christians (1).

(1) *Mûsalâyâ* or *Mûsaloiyo* signifies in Syriac *native of Mosul*.

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## IBN AS-SAWADI.

Abû 'l-Faraj al-Alâ Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abd Allah, a native of Wâsit and surnamed Ibn as-Sawâdi, was a *kâtib* and a poet. In the art of verse he displayed a great natural talent, combined with a subtle wit and some licentiousness of humour. His family was one of the first in the city, 546



and had been noted for producing able *kâtibs* and men of talent. In one of his pieces which are all very fine, he says:

> I complain to thee of thy own disdain, and, blinded by love, I imagine thou wilt grant me justice. I avoid thee, lest it should be seen that thou avoidest me; for then my jealous foes would receive some satisfaction.

This idea is borrowed from another poet, who says:

> I strive to conceal the love I bear you from those who might reproach (*me with folly*); I should not wish them to see what pains you cause me, for that would give them satisfaction.

I met this last verse before I knew those of Ibn as-Sawâdi, and, being pleased with the idea, I versified it in the following couplet:

> (*Fair maid*,) wand of the sands! thy stature is pliant; the days of thy kindness are, for me, days of rejoicing. If I conceal my grief when shunned by thee, 'tis done to prevent my envious rivals from exulting.

Imâd ad-dîn mentions, in the *Kharîda*, that Ibn as-Sawâdi recited to him the following line of his own composing:

> I swear by the (*sacred victims*) contained in the Musalla (1) and those within the ample valley of Mina (2), that for thee my heart yearns with love!

There are three verses in all, but, as I think this the best, I abstain from giving the others.—Abû 'l-Kâsim Hibat Allah Ibn al-Fadl, surnamed Ibn al-Kattân, a person whose life we shall give, directed against the *kâdi al-Kûdat* az-Zainabi (3) a satirical poem, rhyming in *k* and beginning thus:

> Brother! the condition (*of my existence*) is too strong (*to be resisted*); I cannot refrain from exposing vice.

It is a long poem, consisting of one hundred and eighteen verses, and, having been transmitted orally from one person to another, it obtained great publicity. When az-Zainabi heard it, he sent for Ibn al-Fadl and clapped him into prison after boxing his ears. The poet subsequently recovered his liberty, and it happened that, towards the same period, Ibn as-Sawâdi arrived at Baghdad and recited a panegyric on the *kâdi* in his presence. As the recompense which he



expected did not make its appearance, he went frequently to the *kâdi's* assemblies, but could obtain nothing. He then met Ibn al-Fadl and acquainted him with the circumstance, adding that he intended going down to Wâsit, his native place, and composing a satire on him. On this Ibn al-Fadl wrote to Abû 'l-Fath, a friend of az-Zainabi's, a piece of verse in which was the following passage:

> Abû 'l-Fath! when the heart boils, satire abounds. Rhymes will then assail the victim, and Satan himself will back them. Beware of the verses, rhyming in *k*, of one who is going down the river and whose ears you and your friends can never hope to box.

These verses came to az-Zainabi's knowledge, and he immediately sent a present to Ibn as-Sawâdi and calmed him. This poet was born at Wâsit on the eve of Wednesday, the 15th of the first Rabî, A.H. 482 (May, A.D. 1089), and he died at the same place, A.H. 556 (A.D. 1161).—*Sawâdi* means *belonging to the* *Sawâd (or cultivated plains)* of Irâk. This region was so called because the Arabs of the desert, when they first saw the verdure of the trees, exclaimed: "What "is that *sawâd (dark thing)?*" and this ever afterwards continued to be its name. 547

(1) The meaning of this word is explained in vol. I. p. 605.

(2) Mina is the name of the valley near Mekka where the pilgrims offer up sacrifice.

(3) Abû Tâlib al-Husain Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Hasan az-Zainabi, an eminent *imâm*, the chief doctor and principal *kâdi* of the Hanifite sect at Baghdad, was born A. H. 420 (A. D. 1029). Having studied the Koran, the Traditions and jurisprudence, he became mufti, professor, and chief of the sect. He received the honorary title of Nûr al-Huda (*light of the direction*), and was frequently employed by the khalif as his envoy to the neighbouring princes. He held also the posts of *nakîb*, or chief, of the descendants of Ali and of those of al-Abbâs. He died on the 21st of Safar, A. H. 512 (June, A. D. 1118), and was interred in the funeral chapel of Abû Hanîfa.—(*Nujûm*.)

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## THE KADI IYAD.

The kâdi Abû 'l-Fadl Iyâd Ibn Mûsa Ibn Iyâd Ibn Amr Ibn Mûsa Ibn Iyâd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mûsa Ibn Iyâd al-Yahsubi was a native of Ceuta (*as-Sibti*) and the first authority of his time in the Traditions, the sciences connected with them, grammar, philology, and the sayings, feats and genealogies of the Arabs of the

desert. He wrote some highly instructive works, such as the *Ikmâl*, or *Completion*, being an elucidation of the commentary composed by al-Mâzari on Muslim's collection of the Traditions, and entitled by him *al-Molim* (1). Another of his productions, the *Mashârîk al-Anwâr* (*orient-points of the lights*), contains an explanation of the obscure terms occurring in three *Sahîhs*; namely, the *Muwatta* (*of Mâlik*), the collection of al-Bukhâri and that of Muslim; it is a most instructive book. He wrote also a complete commentary on Omm Zarâ's Tradition (2), and, in another work, entitled *at-Tanbîhât* (*indications*), he compiled much curious and useful information. In short, we may say that all his productions are excellent. Ibn Bashkuwâl (*vol. I. p.* 491) speaks of him in these terms in the *Silat*: " He came to Spain in pursuit of learning, and received lessons at Cordova from"—a number of masters;—" he collected a great quan-" tity of Traditions, and, in this task, he devoted much pains and care to the " obtaining of them in a correct form. All the various branches of science (3) " were objects of his study, and his acuteness, perspicacity, and intelligence " were most remarkable. During a long period he acted as *kâdi* in his native " town"—Ibn Bashkuwâl means Ceuta—" and discharged the duties of his " place to general satisfaction. From thence he passed to the kadiship of Gra-" nada, but this post he did not long hold." The kâdi Iyâd composed some good poetry, of which we may quote these verses, given as his by his son Abû Abd Allah Muhammad, *kâdi* of Denia: " My father recited to me," said he, " the following lines descriptive of the *khâmât*, or green stalks of corn, when " shaken by the wind, with the anemony blossoms appearing among them:

> ' Behold the green stalks of the corn-field bending to the gale; they resemble a green ' squadron (4) put to rout, and the red anemonies represent the wounds.' "

His son gave also the following verses as his:

> Since I saw thee for the last time, God knows that I am as a bird whose wings disappoint his efforts. Were I able, I would cross the sea to meet thee, for thy absence causeth my death (5).

I met with an epistle addressed to him by Ibn al-Arîf (*vol. I. p.* 150), and was tempted to insert it here, but found it too long. The kâdi Iyâd was born at Ceuta on the 15th of Shaabân, A. H. 476 (December, A. D. 1083), and he died at Morocco on Friday, the 7th of the latter Jumâda—others say, in Ramadân—A. H.

544 (October, A. D. 1149). He was interred within the city, near the Ilân Gate. The place of *kâdi* at Granada was conferred upon him in the year 532 (A. D. 1137-8) (6).—His son, Abu Abd Allah Muhammad, died A.H. 575 (A.D. 1179-80).—*Yahsubi*, pronounced also *Yahsabi* and *Yahsibi*, means *descended from Yahsub* (or *Yahsab* or else *Yahsib*) Ibn Mâlik, the progenitor of a Himyarite tribe. 548 —*Ceuta* (*Sibta*) is a well-known town in Maghrib. *Granada* (*Gharnâta*) is a city of Spain.

(1) The life of al-Mâzari will be found in this work.

(2) Hajji Khalifa notices this work, but does not seem to have been acquainted with it, as he merely copies Ibn Khallikân's words. I have been unable to discover who the woman called Omm Zarâ was.

(3) Read التغفن in the printed text.

(4) Or *a dark squadron*. When Muhammad took Mekka, he had a body-guard so denominated, according to the author of the *Sîrat ar-Rasûl*, from the *green* or *dark* colour of their armour. These two adjectives were nearly synonymous with the ancient Arabs; see page 417 of this volume.

(5) The only thing remarkable in these two verses is the artifice of the rhyme, which is *janâ haini* in both.

(6) The MS. of the Bib. du Roi, No 1377, ancien fonds, contains the first part of a treatise on the kâdi Iyâd, his professors, literary productions, etc. It is an excessively prolix work; the author, Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Makkari was nephew to the compiler of the history of Spain, extracts of which have been translated and published by M. de Gayangos.

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## ISA IBN OMAR ATH-THAKAFI.

Abû Amr Isa Ibn Omar ath-Thakafi (*a member of tribe Thakîf*) was a grammarian and a native of Basra. Some say that he was a *mawla* to Khâlid Ibn al-Walid (*who belonged to the tribe of Kuraish*), but that he afterwards settled among the tribe of Thakîf, for which reason he obtained that patronymic. He had a habit of employing pompous terms and unusual words in ordinary discourse and (*even*) in his *reading* of the Koran (1). A close intimacy subsisted between him and Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ (*vol. II. p.* 399), and some of their epistles with a portion of their *sittings*, or private literary discussions, are still preserved. He learned the *reading* of the Koran from Abd Allah Ibn Abi Ishak by repeating it aloud under his tuition, and he acquired his knowledge of the various readings of the sa-

cred text from Abd Allah Ibn Kathîr (*vol. II. p.* 20) and Ibn Muhais (2); he took also lessons from al-Hasan al-Basri, (*vol. I. p.* 370), and some curious anecdotes are related of the mode in which he read certain passages of the Koran so as to adapt them to the rules of grammar. The *readings* of the Koran were transmitted down from him orally by Ahmad Ibn Mûsa al-Lûlûi (3), Harûn Ibn Mûsa the grammarian (4), al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad (*vol. I. p.* 493) Sahl Ibn Yûsuf, and Obaid Ibn Akil. He taught grammar to Sîbawaih (*vol. II. p.* 396), and is the author of the work on that subject, entitled *al-Jâmî* (*the collector*). It is said that Sîbawaih took this book, and having developed its contents, he inserted in it the observations made by al-Khalil (*Ibn Ahmad*) and others; when he had terminated the investigation of the various grammatical points and interpolated these observations, the work was attributed to him, and it is the same which is still known under the title of the *Kitâb*, or *book* of Sîbawaih. In proof of the truth of this statement, an anecdote may be inserted here: When Sîbawaih left Isa Ibn Omar and went to attend the lessons of al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad, he was questioned by the latter concerning Isa's works, and his reply was: "He composed upwards of seventy treatises on grammar, which were all collected by a rich amateur and were accidentally destroyed, when in his possession. None of them remain in existence, except two; the *Ikmâl* (*completion*), which is now in Fars, in the hands of such a one, and the *Jâmî*, that which I am now studying and on the obscurities of which I am consulting you." Al-Khalil here reflected for some time with down-cast eyes, and then, looking up, he exclaimed: "May God have mercy on Isa!" and recited the following lines:

> All the science of grammar is lost, except the portion which Isa Ibn Omar discovered to the world. There is the *Ikmâl* and here the *Jâmi*; they are a sun and a moon to enlighten mankind.

Al-Khalil himself received (*some grammatical information*) from him, and it is said, that whilst Abû 'l-Aswad ad-Duali had treated of the *fâil* and *maf'ûl* (*the agent and patient*) only, Isa Ibn Omar composed a book on grammar, founding his rules on the accordance of the majority of examples; that he had divided it into chapters, drawn it up in a regular form, and styled idioms the exceptions offered by the examples which were in minority. He used also to attack the Arabs of the desert (*in their productions*), and point out the faults into which

the most famous of them, such as an-Nâbigha and others, had fallen.—The anecdote which follows is related by al-Asmâi : Isa Ibn Omar said to Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ : " I speak more correctly than Maadd Ibn Adnân ever did (5)." On this Abû Amr said to him : " You are going too far; how would you recite this verse:

> ' Formerly they concealed their faces with a veil, but to-day, when they appear (*ba-*
> ' *dâna*) to the spectators—

" Would you say *baddna* or *badîna*?"—"I should say *badâna*," said Isa.—" Then you are wrong," replied the other; " the verb *bada*, with the aorist " *yabdû*, signifies *to appear*, but the verb *bada*, with the aorist *yabda*, signifies to " *commence a thing* (6); the right reading is *badûna*." It was Abû Amr's design to lead him into the mistake, for, in this case, the Arabs of the desert neither say *badâna* nor *badîna* but *badûna*.—An example of his pompous language is thus given by al-Jauhari in his *Sahâh :* " Isa Ibn Omar fell off his ass and the people " gathered round him, on which he said : *ma lakum? takâkâtum alaiya takâ-* " *kuwakum ala zi jinnatin! ifrankiû anni;* which means : *ma lakum? tajammâtum* 519 " *alaiya tajammuâkum ala majnûn! inkashifû anni* (*what is the matter with you?* " *you gather round me as you would round a madman! be off and leave me*)."—I find this story told differently in a collection of anecdotes, where it is said that, being troubled with asthma, he fell down in the street one day, and the people gathered round him, saying : " He has the falling-sickness;" and some began to recite passages of the Koran (*to conjure the evil spirit out of him*), whilst others prayed for protection against the genii. When he recovered from his swoon and saw the crowd about him, he pronounced the above words and one of the spectators said: " The " spirit which possesses him is speaking Indian."—It is related also that Omar Ibn Hubaira al-Fazâri, the governor of Persian and Arabian Irâk, having inflicted on him the punishment of whipping, the only words he said were : *wallahi! in kânat illa uthaiyâban fi usaifâtin kabadaha ashshârûka* (*by Allah! it was only some trifles of clothes in small baskets, and your tithe collectors have taken them*). Numerous anecdotes of a similar nature are told of him. He died A. H. 149 (A. D. 766-7).—Some say that it was Yûsuf Ibn Omar, another governor of the two Irâks, who had him punished. The reason of this was, that, on taking possession of his government as successor to Khâlid Ibn Abd Allah al-Kasri (*vol. I. p.* 484), he persecuted all his predecessor's friends, and one of them having confided

some property to Isa, he received information of the circumstance and dispatched a written order to his lieutenant at Basra, directing him to put Isa Ibn Omar in chains and send him to him. The lieutenant called in a blacksmith and ordered him to rivet the fetters; this operation being performed, he said to the prisoner :*" You have nothing to fear; the emir merely wants you to instruct " his son."—" And what then is the meaning of the fetters?" said Isa; which words passed into a proverb at Basra. When brought before Yûsuf and questioned concerning the deposit, he denied it, on which the emir ordered him to be flogged; and, on feeling the effects of the first strokes, he pronounced the words above mentioned.

(1) Such licences were permitted in early times. See page 401 of this volume.

(2) Ibn Muhais, a *mawla* to the tribe of Sahm and a native of Mekka, was the principal Koran-*reader* of his time in that city. His authority as a traditionist is well established. He died at Mekka, A. H. 123 (A. D. 740-1). Some say that his real name was Abd ar-Rahmân, others, Muhammad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân.—(*Tabakât al-Kurrâ*. MS. No. 742, fol. 21.)

(3) Ahmad Ibn Mûsa Ibn Abi Maryam al-Lûlûi, a member of the tribe of Khuzâa, was a teacher of the Koran-*readings* and the Traditions.—(*Tab. al-Kurrâ*, fol. 43.)—The date of his death is not mentioned.

(4) Abû Abd Allah Hârûn Ibn Mûsa Ibn Sharîk, a member of the tribe of Taghlib and a native of Damascus, was chief of the teachers of the Koran-*readings* in that city, and was generally designated by the name of Harûn al-Akhfash. In the pursuit of knowledge he visited various countries and received Traditions from numerous masters. He composed some works on the *readings* and on grammar, and died in the month of Safar, A.H. 292 (Dec.-Jan. A.D. 904-5), aged ninety-two years.—(*Tab. al-Kurrâ*, fol. 67.)

(5) See vol. I. page 529, note (3).

(6) It must be observed that *badâna*, the reading approved of by Isa, is a derivation from the verb *bada* (*to commence*).

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## ABU MUSA ISA AL-JUZULI.

Abû Mûsa Isa Ibn Abd al-Aziz Ibn Yalalbakht Ibn Isa Ibn Yùmârili al-Juzùli al-Yazdaktani was a grammarian of the highest eminence, skilled in the subtilities of the science, and well acquainted with its difficulties and exceptional points. He composed on this subject a *mukaddama* or introduction which he intitled *al-Kânûn* (*the canon*), and wherein he conveyed information of the most curious

kind. Though extremely concise, it contains a great quantity of grammatical matter, and this particularity distinguishes it from all previous works on the same subject. It has drawn the attention of many learned men, some of whom composed commentaries to explain it, and others made collections of examples to illustrate its rules; but all their labours are not sufficient to render the book intelligible, and those grammarians who have not read it under the tuition of a person well qualified to point out and explain its peculiar difficulties (1) acknowledge their inability to seize the meaning of the writer: the fact being, that it is all enigmas and obscure allusions. I even heard a grammarian of great note say: "I do not understand this introduction, but it does not therefore result that I "have no knowledge of grammar." In a word, it is a most original production. I have been informed that he made *dictations* (2) on grammar, but that they were never published. I saw also a work of his, containing an abridgment of the commentary intitled *al-Fasr*, which Ibn Jinni (*vol. II. p.* 192) composed on al-Mutanabbi's poems. It is stated that he had also some knowledge of logic. Having made a journey to Egypt, he studied under the tuition of Ibn Bari (*vol. II. p.* 70), whose authority he cites in some passages of the *Mukaddama*; and a modern author says: "Al-Juzûli read the *Jumal* under Ibn Bari and consulted "him on various points connected with the different sections of (*Sîbawaih's*) *Kitâb* "(*vol. II. p.* 396) and obtained satisfactory answers. These questions having "given rise to discussions among the other pupils, some useful remarks were "elicited which al-Juzûli wrote down in a separate book. These materials "served to form the *Mukaddama*, an obscure work, abounding in difficulties full "of subtle meaning, and indicating the principles of grammar by ingenious al- "lusions. This treatise, with its signification, he taught to his scholars." He then adds: "I have been told that, when he was asked if he had composed that "work himself, he replied in the negative; being prohibited by his strictly reli- "gious sentiments from claiming as his own the results of a discussion which 550 "were in fact the offspring of many minds. It was even said by his master Ibn "Bari that, although the work went under his name because he had drawn it up, "he could not possibly claim it as his own." Al-Jazûli then returned to Maghrib after performing the pilgrimage, and took up his residence at Bijâya (*Bougia*), where he remained for some time, giving lessons to numerous pupils, with some of whom I was afterwards acquainted; and he died at Morocco (*Marrâkush*), A. H.

610 (A. D. 1213-4). Such is the date given me by various persons, but I since met with an account of his life, by Abû Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâr al-Kudâi (3), wherein it is stated that his death occurred in A.H. 606 or 607.—*Yalalbakht* and *Yûmârîli* are Berber names.—*Juzûli* means *belonging to Juzûla* or *Kuzûla* (4), a tribe of the Berbers.—*Yazdaktani* means *belonging to Yazdaktan*, a branch of the tribe of Juzûla.—I have since found the following passage among my rough notes: al-Juzûli filled the place of *khatîb*, or preacher, at the principal mosque of Morocco. The tribe of Juzûla is nomadic, and inhabits the plains of Sûs, in the farthest extremity of Maghrib. As a teacher of the Koran-*readings*, grammar, and philology he held the highest rank, and he gave public lessons in the great mosque. He wrote a large volume as a commentary on his *Mukaddama*, containing much curious and instructive matter.—One of his scholars relates that he went to him with the intention of reading over Abû Amr's (*vol.II. p.* 399) edition, or *reading*, of the Koran under his tuition, and that a person present asked him if he wanted to take lessons in grammar from the master? He replied that he did not, and another asked him the same question and obtained a similar answer; then the *shaikh* said to him : "Answer them thus :" and recited these verses :

> I did not come to you for grammar, and have no wish to learn it. Leave *Zaid* to mind his business, and let him go wherever he likes. What have I to do with a man who is always *beating his neighbours?* (5)

He died at Haskûra (6) a canton in the kingdom of Morocco.

(1) Literally: Who have not read it under a *muwakkif*. The verb *wakkafa*, of which this is the active participle, means *to cause a person to notice and comprehend*.

(2) See page 159 of this volume.

(3) The hâfiz Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abi Bakr al-Kudâi, surnamed Ibn al-Abbâr, the author of the *Takmila*, or *completion* of Ibn Bashkuwâl's *Silat*, was a native of Valentia in Spain, and secretary to different princes of the Hafside dynasty. He was put to death by order of al-Mustansir, the sovereign of Tunis, in the month of Muharram, A. H. 658 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 1259-60). Ibn Khaldûn gives an account of this event in his *History of the Berbers*, a work which the writer is now publishing for the French government.

(4) The true pronunciation of this name is *Guzûla*, with a hard *G*.

(5) This is an allusion to the well-known grammatical example: *daraba Zaidon Amran* (*verberavit Zeidus Amrum*).

(6) Read بهسكورة in the printed text. All the secondary MSS. which I have consulted write this name wrong.

## AL-FAIZ AL-OBAIDI.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Isa, surnamed al-Fâiz, was the son of az-Zâfir Ibn al-Hâfiz Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Mustansir Ibn az-Zâhir Ibn al-Hâkim Ibn al-Azîz Ibn al-Moizz Ibn al-Mansûr Ibn al-Kâim Ibn al-Mahdi. We have already spoken of his father and other members of the family, and related how his father was murdered by Nasr Ibn Abbâs (*vol. I. p.* 222), the same person who took away the life of al-Aâdil Ibn as-Sallâr (*vol. II. p.* 350), and, in our notice on the latter, we have indicated Nasr's origin. — On the morning which succeeded to the night of az-Zâfir's death, Abbâs went to the Castle to pay his respects as usual, without appearing to have any knowledge of what had occurred, and asked to see the prince. The people of the Castle were not yet aware of his death, for he had gone out secretly, as has been mentioned in the article to which we have just referred. As none of them knew that he had left the Castle, the 551 eunuchs went in to ask his permission for Abbâs to enter, but they found him not. They then proceeded to the hall of the harem, but were informed that he had not passed the night there. In short, they sought for him in every part of the Castle where he might be expected to be found, but they could discover no sign of him, and they acquired the conviction that he had disappeared. Abbâs then ordered the two brothers of az-Zâfir, Jibrîl and Yûsuf, the father of al-Aâdid (*vol. I. page* 222, *vol. II. page* 72), to be brought forth and addressed them thus: "You two have murdered our imâm, and it is from "you alone that we can learn where he is." They replied with great earnestness and perfect truth that they were innocent, but Abbâs put them to death on the spot, with the hope of thus diverting every suspicion from himself and his son. He then sent for al-Fâiz, the son of az-Zâfir, a child of about five years old—some say, only two—and having seated him on his shoulder, he took his station in the palace-yard and gave orders that the emirs should be introduced. When they had entered, he said to them: "Here is the son of your master; his uncles have murdered his father, and I put them to death, as you may "perceive. What is essential now is, that the authority of this infant should be "fully recognised." To this they replied: "We hear and we obey!" and they uttered one single shout, so loud that the child was stunned by it and urined on

Abbâs's shoulder. They then gave him the surname of al-Fâiz (*the successful*) and sent him back to his mother; but that shout had troubled his reason, and ever after, he suffered from constant attacks of falling-sickness and trembling fits. Abbâs now proceeded to his own palace and, taking the direction of the state into his own hands, he ruled with uncontrolled authority. The secret of az-Zâfir's murder was discovered, however, by the people of the Castle, and they secretly plotted the death of Abbâs and his son Nasr. They wrote also to as-Sâlih Ibn Ruzzîk the Armenian (*vol. I. p.* 657) who was then governor of Munya tibni Khasîb in Upper Egypt, asking his assistance for themselves and their master, and encouraging him to revolt against Abbâs. They cut off their hair (*as a sign of mourning*) and sent it to him in the letter, which was coloured in black (*for the same reason*). On reading the contents, as-Sâlih communicated them to the soldiers who were about him, and consulted with them on the subject. Having obtained their promise to support him, he drew over to his cause a troop of nomadic Arabs, and they all marched in a body towards Cairo, dressed in black (*mourning*). On their approach, the emirs, soldiers, and negro troops went forth from the city to join him, and Abbâs, finding himself totally abandoned, left Cairo without a moment's delay, and fled with a portion of his riches. He was accompanied in his flight by his son Nasr, the assassin of az-Zâhir, and by Osâma Ibn Munkid (*v. I. p.* 177), who, it is said, had given them the counsel of murdering their sovereign. Of this we have already spoken in the life of Ibn as-Sallâr, but it is God only who knoweth things hidden! They set out with a small band of followers, and took the road which leads to Syria through Aila (1). It was on the 14th of the first Rabî, A. H. 549 (May, A. D. 1154), that they left Cairo, and Ibn Ruzzîk entered the city without meeting any resistance. His first act was to dismount at the palace where Abbâs made his residence, and which then bore the designation of the *dâr* or palace of al-Mâmûn al-Batâihi (2), but which now serves as a Hanifite college and bears the name of al-Madrasa as-Suyûfiya (3). Having then sent for the little eunuch who had been with az-Zâfir when he was murdered, he told him to show where the body was interred. The eunuch pointed out the spot, and, on tearing up the pavement which had been placed over it, they brought forth the corpse of az-Zâhir and those of the persons who had accompanied him and had been slain at the same time. The bodies were carried out, and the people cut off their hair (*in sign of mourning*), whilst Cairo was filled with

grief and lamentation. As-Sâlih Ibn Ruzzîk, accompanied by all the persons in the city, walked on foot before the bier to the funeral chapel appropriated to the family, and which was a conspicuous object within the precincts of the Castle. He then took charge of the child al-Fâiz and administered the state in his name. The sister of az-Zâfir wrote to the Franks at Ascalon (4), offering a large sum of money in case they arrested Abbâs. This induced them to sally forth to meet him, and in the combat which ensued, he lost his life, with his treasures, and his son was taken prisoner. Some of their companions escaped to Syria and, amongst the number, Ibn Munkid. The Franks then placed Nasr, the son of 532 Abbâs, in an iron cage and sent him under escort to Cairo, where the promised reward was immediately paid into the hands of their envoy. Nasr being then delivered up, was deprived of his nose and ears, paraded through the city, and finally attached to a cross at the Zawila Gate. The body was taken down and burnt on the day of Aashûra (10th of Muharram) A. H. 551 (March, A. D. 1156). This, though rather a long relation, is only a summary of what passed. —Nasr, the son of Abbâs, was taken into the Castle of Cairo on the 27th of the first Rabi, A. H. 550; and he was brought out on Monday, the 27th of the latter Rabi of the same year. In the interval, his right hand had been cut off and his body torn with pincers. Some say, however, that he was brought out to be exposed on Friday, the eighth of the month.—As for al-Fâiz, he did not reign long; his birth took place on Friday the 21st of Muharram, A. H. 544 (June, A. D. 1149); he was raised to the throne on the death of his father (*in Muharram, A. H.* 549), and he died on the eve of Friday, the 17th of Rajab, A. H. 555 (July, A. D. 1160). He had for successor al-Aâdid, of whom we have already spoken (*vol. II. p.* 72) and who was the last prince of the dynasty.

(1) Aila, or Akabat Aila, is the fortress situated at the extremity of the eastern bifurcation of the Red Sea.

(2) Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Mukhtâr Ibn Bâbek al-Batâihi, surnamed al-Mâmûn, was elected vizir by the emirs of Egypt on the death of al-Afdal Shâhanshâh. He was arrested and put to death by the Fatimite khalif al-Aâmir, A. H. 519 (A. D. 1125-6). It was for al-Batâihi that Abû Bakr at-Tortushi composed his *Sirâj al-Mulûk*.—(*Nujûm*.—*Husn al-Muhâdira*.)

(3) See vol. I. page 223, note (1).

(4) The relation which follows agrees in many points with that of William of Tyre (l. xviii, c. 9).

## AL-MALIK AL-MUAZZAM IBN AL-AADIL.

Al-Malik al-Muazzam (*the mighty prince*) Sharaf ad-dîn (*the nobleness of religion*) Isa, the son of al-Malik al-Aâdil (*the just prince*) Saif ad-dîn (*the sword of religion*) Abû Bakr, the son of Aiyûb, was a sovereign of Damascus, highly respected for his lofty spirit, resolution, courage, and abilities, and in whom every man of talent found a patron and a friend. He was the first of the Aiyûbite family who professed the principles of the Hanifite sect; to this doctrine he displayed a devoted attachment, and, in its study, he made no inconsiderable progress : the example which he thus set was followed by his children. Having set out from al-Karak to perform the pilgrimage to Mekka, on the 11th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 611 (A. D. 1215), he took for his conveyance the ordinary camels used by travellers, and followed the road of al-Ola (1) and Tabûk, with a band of chosen friends. This was the year in which he took Sarkhad from Ibn Karâjâ and conferred it on his mamlûk Izz ad-dîn Aibek, (*afterwards*) known by the title of Lord of Sarkhad. Aibek held this place till A. H. 644 (A. D. 1246-7), when al-Malik as-Sâlih Najm ad-dîn Aiyûb, the son of al-Malik al-Kâmil, wrested it from him and sent him to Cairo, where he was imprisoned in the palace of Suwâb at-Tawâshi (*the eunuch*). Al-Malik al-Muazzam was a friend to literature, and a number of eminent poets celebrated his merit in their poems; the belles lettres were cultivated by him as an amateur, and I have heard some pieces of verse which were stated to be his, but, as I neglected writing them down, I have forgotten them. It is said that he promised a gift of one hundred pieces of gold and a robe of honour to every person who got by heart az-Zamakhshari's treatise (*on grammar*) the *Mufassal*, and this induced numbers to commit it to memory. I even met individuals at Damascus who were said to have learned it from this motive. It is related also that at the period of his death, there were some who had finished the book, and others who had got to the middle, according to the time at which they had begun it. I never heard of any other person's having done so honorable an act. His principality was very large, extending from Emessa to al-Arîsh (*on the Egyptian frontier*), and including all the (*Syrian*) coast then possessed by the Moslims, the Ghaur (*or valley of the Jordan*), Palestine, Jerusalem, al-Karak, as-Shaubak, Sarkhad, and other places. His birth took place, A. H. 578 (A. D. 1182-)

but *Sibt* Ibn al-Jauzi (2) says in his historical work, the *Mirât az-Zamân* : "Al-
"Malik al-Muazzam was born, A. H. 576, at Cairo, and his (*half*-)brother al-
"Ashraf Mûsa came into the world on the night before; he died on the eve of
"the first day of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 624 (November, A. D. 1227)." Another 535
author states, however, that his death happened at Damascus, on the eighth hour
of Friday, the 30th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 624. His body was interred in the
castle of that city, but, on the eve of Tuesday, the first of Muharram, A. H. 627
(November, A. D. 1229), it was removed to the college at Mount Sâlihiya (3),
which contains the tombs of some of his brothers and other members of the family.
This college was founded by himself and therefore bore the designation of the
*Muazzamiya*.—He used frequently to recite this passage :

> The mole on the rosy cheek of that slender-waisted nymph adorns her with an excess of beauty (4). She darkened her eyes with antimony though already dark of themselves, and I exclaimed : "She gives us to drink of the sword, and has poisoned the draught."

This idea is similar to that which Ibn Hamdîs as-Sakalli (*vol. II. p.* 160) has expressed in the following line :

> To increase the darkness of her eyes, she applied antimony around them; poisoning the dart of which the point was already mortal.

May God have mercy upon this prince; he was so noble and so intelligent! Some anecdotes were related to me of what passed between him and Ibn Onain (5), wherein the penetration of the prince and the pertinency of his replies appeared to great advantage : one of them was, that Ibn Onain, being unwell, wrote to him these lines :

> Look on me with the eye of a master ever beneficent; hasten to relieve me or I perish. Me and what I want, you require not; but gain my gratitude and a just eulogium.

Al-Muazzam immediately took a purse of three hundred pieces of gold and went in to visit him, saying : "Here is the gift (*silat*) and I am the visiter (*adid*) (6)." Had this expression occurred to an able professional grammarian, to one who had passed his life in grammatical studies, it would have appeared surprisingly remarkable, coming even from him; how much more so then, when uttered by this prince! Numerous other anecdotes are told of him, too long to relate, but this

may give an idea of the rest.—He was succeeded by his son al-Malik an-Nâsir (*the assisting prince*) Salâh ad-din (*excellence of religion*) Dâwûd. This prince died on the 27th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 656 (May, A. D. 1258), at a village called al-Buwaida, situated close to the gate of Damascus, and he was interred near his father. His birth took place at Damascus, on Saturday, the 17th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 603 (December, A. D. 1206). Izz ad-dîn Aibek, the lord of Sarkhad, died in his prison at Cairo towards the beginning of the first Jumâda, A. H. 646 (August, A. D. 1248). He was interred outside the gate called Bâb an-Nasr, in the college of Shams ad-Dawlat, and I attended his funeral service. His body was afterwards removed to a mausoleum in the college which he had erected on (*the hill called*) *as-Sharaf al-Aala* (*the loftiest pinnacle*), outside Damascus, and which looks down on the Great Green Hippodrome.

(1) "Al-Ola, a village in the canton of Wadi 'l-Kura, is nearer to Medina than Diâr Thâmûd (*the country* "*of Thamûd*)."—(*Marasid.*)

(2) See vol. I. page 439, note (12), and page 674.

(3) See page 282 of this volume.

(4) In this line there is a play upon the words خال and عم, the first of which signifies *a mole* and *a maternal uncle*, and the second *to cover over*, and *a paternal uncle*.

(5) The life of Ibn Onain is given in this work.

(6) These words contain a very good quibble on two technical terms of grammar. To render it intelligible, let us take the Latin phrase *homo quem vidi* and put it into Arabic. It would then become *ar-rajul allezi râituhu*, literally, *homo que vidi-m*, where the *m* represents the *m* of *quem*. This construction is necessary in the Semitic languages because the relative pronoun is indeclinable. In such cases the relative is called the *silat*, and the pronoun employed to mark its case is the *aâid*. It may be seen from this that the *aâid* must be accompanied by a *silat*. Al-Muazzam avails himself of the double meaning of these terms to tell Ibn Onain that *visits* and *gifts* go together.

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## ISA AL-HAKKARI THE JURISCONSULT.

The *fakîh* (*jurisconsult*) Abû Muhammad Isa Ibn Muhammad al-Hakkâri, surnamed Diâ ad-din (*light of the faith*), was one of the most influential emirs under Salâh ad-dîn, highly respected for his rank and honoured (*with the sovereign's*)

confidence for the justness of his views and the soundness of his advice. His genealogy, as follows here, was dictated to me by his nephew's son: Isa Ibn Muhammad Ibn Isa Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Isa Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Zaid Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib. He began his career by studying jurisprudence at the Zajjâjiya College in Aleppo (1); he then became imâm to Asad ad-din Shirkûh, the uncle of Salâh ad-din, and used to say the five prescribed prayers with him every day. When the emir Asad ad-din proceeded to Egypt and obtained the vizirship of that country (*vol. I. p.* 626), Isa accompanied him, and, on his death, he concerted a plan with the eunuch Bahâ ad-din Karâkûsh (2) for raising Salâh ad-din to the vacant post. The consummate address with which they conducted this intrigue was completely successful, but it would be too long to relate the particulars. Salâh ad-din, being thus invested with authority, felt grateful to Isa for the service he had rendered, and, from that time, he placed the utmost reliance on him as a counsellor, and never rejected his advice. Isa continued to treat him with great familiarity, and spoke to him in terms so unceremonious that no other would have dared to use them. He was the means of doing much good, and numbers profited by the influence he derived from his rank; his favour continued without interruption till the last, and he died at the Camp (*al-Mukhaiyam*) near al-Kharrûba, on the morning of Tuesday, the 9th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 585 (December, A. D. 1189). His body was borne to Jerusalem and interred outside the city.—He used to wear the military dress with the turban of a jurisconsult, thus combining the two costumes; and I saw his brother, the emir Majd ad-din Abû Hafs Omar, attired in a similar manner.—*Al-Kharrûba* is the name of a place near Acre (*Akka*).—Majd ad-din Omar was born in Rajab, A. H. 560 (May-June, A. D. 1165), and he died at Cairo on the 23rd of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 636 (July, A. D. 1239). He was interred at the foot of Mount Mukattam, and I attended his funeral service.

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(1) See vol. I. p. 226.

(2) His life is given by our author.

## FAKHR AD-DIN ISA IBN MAUDUD, *LORD OF TIKRIT.*

Abû Mansûr Isa Ibn Maudûd Ibn Ali Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Shoaib, surnamed Fakhr ad-dîn (*glory of religion*), and lord of the city of Tikrit, belonged to one of the Turcoman tribes settled in Syria. He possessed considerable talents. and left a *diwan* of good poetry, spirited epistles, and tender couplets. As a specimen of his verses we may quote the following :

> The ringdove on the acacia branch, cooing plaintively in the darkness—driven from home by the hands of absence, and far removed from its family—now settled at the Zawra of Irâk (*Baghdad*) whilst its callow brood remain fatigued at Osfân (1)—sighing for them when the sun sheds abroad his rays—lamenting and complaining during the hour of night—shaken in its afflicted heart by that recollection, and revealing the passion it concealed—the sufferings of that dove are less intense than mine, when the lightning-flash (*announcing the blessings of rain*) or the (*perfumed*) breath of the zephyr recal (*your country, my friends! or*) yourselves to my remembrance.

A passage of a similar cast is the following, taken from one of his epistles : "(*Imagine*) a straggling flock of gazelles in the wide expanse of a desert (2) where "the foot of man never trod, into which *no fire-created demon ever entered* (3), and "which the breath of noon gifted with the parching sighs of burning heat;—a "flock sinking under fatigue and overcome by the proximity of destruction; "after three nights of emulous speed they reach the pool they sought, emaciated "by hardship and almost within the grasp of death; they find the water clear, "its surface rippling beneath the unsteady tread of the zephyr, and agitated by "streamlets (4) gushing from a heavenly source; but they perceive no path "whereby to reach that spot and take repeated draughts;

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> "They eye it askance (5), impelled by the pains of thirst to make a desperate (*spring*). "(*Well, my friends!*) thirst such as theirs is not more ardent than mine for your "presence, since that time wherein my heart was accustomed to your salutations.

"My wish and prayer are therefore adressed to Him who has prescribed duties "to man,—Him the lord of whatever moves and whatever remains fixed, that he "realise my hopes and replace our separation by mutual proximity! It is He "who hearkeneth to the call (*of the afflicted*)." The following is one of his *dûbaits* (6), or couplets :

Thou art mistress to grant or to refuse thy love; O thou whose waving ringlets (7) revive my hopes. They say thou art a gazelle; I answer: Mistake not! where could the inhabitant of the desert procure ear-rings?

Ibn Maudûd left many very elegant pieces in prose and verse. He was born in the city of Hamât, and was murdered by his brothers in the Castle of Tikrît, A. H. 584 (A. D. 1188-9); the following year, in the month of Shawwâl, one of them, named al-Yâs, delivered up this place to the khalif an-Nâsir. It will be perceived, in perusing the life of Muzaffar ad-dîn Kûkubûri, lord of Arbela, that Tikrît was one of the possessions of his father Zain ad-dîn. The latter had a page called Tabar (a word written by some with the ordinary *t* (ت) and by others with the accented one (ط) ), on whom he conferred the government of al-Imâdiya, another of his possessions, and afterwards sent him to Tikrît. Zain ad-dîn, having attained an advanced age and formed the resolution of removing to Arbela (see the life of his son Muzaffar ad-dîn), ceded all the cities under his authority to Kutb ad-dîn Maudûd, the sovereign of Mosul; but Tabar refused to deliver up Tikrît, and sent to Maudûd informing him of his intention to hold it, and, as it was absolutely necessary for him (*Maudûd*) to have a lieutenant in that place, that he was the man. Maudûd, not daring to resist his pretensions lest he should deliver Tikrît to the khalif, passed over his conduct in silence and confirmed him in his post. On Tabar's refusal to let Tikrît out of his possession, Zain ad-dîn was frequently heard to exclaim: "May God bring thee to shame, O Tabar! as thou hast brought me to shame "before Kutb ad-dîn." Tabar held the fortress till his death, and left an only daughter, who became the wife of his brother's son, Isa Ibn Maudûd, the subject of this notice. Isa obtained possession of Tikrît through this marriage, and he afterwards took a second wife, Matariya, by whom he had two sons, Shams ad-dîn, and Fakhr ad-dîn. Matariya subsequently sought, by a (*matrimonial*) alliance, to secure the succession to her own offspring, and, having married her son Shams ad-dîn to a daughter of Hasan Ibn Kifjâk (8) the emir of the Turkomans, she requested of him a troop of fifty horsemen, to remain with them in Tikrît and guard that fortress. When news of this arrangement came to the knowledge of Isa Ibn Maudûd's brothers, who were twelve in number, they attacked him and strangled him. Tikrît then fell into their power, but dissensions having arisen among them, the leading brother sold it to the imâm (*khalif*) an-Nâsir li-

din illah. — *Tikrît* is a large town with a strong castle; it is situated on the Tigris, at about thirty parasangs above Baghdad, and on the same side of the river as Mosul. Tikrît was so called after Tikrît the daughter of Wâil and sister to Bakr Ibn Wâil. The castle itself was built by Sâpûr Ibn Ardashir Ibn Babek, the second prince of that Persian dynasty (*the Sasanides*).

(1) "Osfân is situated between al-Johfa and Mekka; or, it is said, between Mekka and Medîna, at two days' "journey from the former place; some say that it is a large village, thirty-six miles from Mekka, on the "frontier of Tihâma."—(*Marâsid.*)

(2) In the original Arabic this passage commences with a negative, and the sense is suspended till the reader comes to the second of the verses with which the phrase concludes. The effect is excellent in Arabic, but could not possibly be reproduced in English. It was therefore necessary in the translation to make a slight alteration in the form of the passage.

(3) See Koran, surat 55, verse 14, and read جانّ in the printed text.

(4) Literally: *manes;* waterfalls being compared to the manes of white horses.

(5) Read in the printed text خوازرًا.

(6) The autograph has دوبيتيانه.

(7) Literally: O thou whose gracefully-formed *izâr* is my desire.—See vol. I. Introduction, p. xxxvi.

(8) Read قفجاق. in the printed Arabic text.

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## AL-HAJIRI AL-IRBILI.

Abû Yahya, surnamed also Abû 'l-Fadl, Isa Ibn Sinjar Ibn Bahrâm Ibn Jibrîl Ibn Khumârtikîn Ibn Tâshtikîn al-Irbili (*native of Arbela*), generally known by the name of al-Hâjiri and surnamed Husâm ad-din (*sword of the faith*), was a soldier of the regular troops (*jundi*), as his father before him. He left a *diwân* of poetry, principally in the sentimental style, and offering beautiful thoughts. This collection consists of poems, couplets (*dubâit*), and *mawâlias* (1); three species of composition wherein he displayed great talent; this is a circumstance which is 556 seldom observed, as the person who excels in one of them generally fails in the others. He wrote also some pieces of the kind called *kâna wa kâna* (2), and these he occasionally turned with great elegance. He was an acquaintance of mine and

recited to me a great deal of his poetry; I shall give here the following passage of his, containing a very good thought:

> That youth swore by every oath that, as long as time should endure, he would keep me company. He shunned me afterwards, and the *izâr* (*dark hair*) shaded his cheeks: "Behold," said I, "how blackness covers the face of the liar!"

He recited to me also the following lines:

> You have there a mole seated on a throne of anemony (*a rosy cheek*), which has sent thy ringlets as messengers to order mankind to love thee (3).

A piece of his composition which he recited to me, descriptive of a mole, contained this verse:

> That cheek had not borne a mole, were it not designed to resemble the anemony flower (4).

On the same subject:

> Behold that maid with the slender waist; her hair and her forehead shed darkness and light upon mankind. Blame not the mole upon her cheek; all anemonies have a black spot.

Similar to this are the following lines by Ibn Wakî al-Tinnîsi (*vol. I. p.* 396):

> The anemony, on seeing the beauties of her face, wished to imitate them all; it thus borrowed its redness from her cheek and its blackness from her mole.

Al-Hâjiri recited to me the greater part of his couplets, and, amongst others, the following, which he told me was one of the last things he composed, and that he was better satisfied with it than with any other piece of the kind which he had ever produced:

> A copious shower shed new life over the grounds (*of the tribe of my beloved*); O, how joyful was that year! (*Regions of*) Alwa! I shall never think of the days I passed in thy (*happy valley*) without complaining of the cruelty of later days.

I had a brother named Diâ ad-dîn (*light of religion*) Isa, and a close friendship subsisted between him and al-Hâjiri. In the year 619 (A.D. 1222-3), whilst he was at Arbela, the latter wrote him the following lines from Mosul:



> O thou whose presence is my sole desire! God well knows that our separation has left me nought but a lingering spark of life! Send then a letter and console therein the friends who may lament me, for I shall probably die before it arrives.

His collected poetical works are so well known and so generally read that it is an unnecessary task to lengthen this article by inserting more passages than we 557 have already given. When I left Arbela towards the end of the month of Ramadân, A. H. 626 (August, A. D. 1229), he was detained a prisoner in the citadel there, for reasons too long to relate; he had been confined, first in the fortress of Khuftidakân, and then removed to Arbela. He composed some poems on his imprisonment, one of them commencing thus :

> Chains and a narrow prison cause my sufferings; and often is the hair turned grey by anxious thoughts!

This poem contains the following passage :

> O lightning-flash! if you approach the mansions of Arbela, and when your brightness is dimmed by the lustre of that proximity, offer there the salutation of an outcast whose sighs still follow closely in the train of love. Say to it for me: "O beloved city! thou "for whose welfare I would die! thy imprisoned son is the most ardent of thy lovers! "By Allah! never did the evening zephyr fleet towards the land of Najd, but I was "always drowned in tears. How shall we meet, since frowning walls and bolted doors "prevent us?"

The following lines also were composed by him when in prison :

> O my friends! what voice pronounces our separation! what misfortune has befallen us to tear us asunder? O, may time never more afflict us with the grief of parting!— that grief which has already rent my inmost heart! Absent from you, I was ill at ease in the wide world; how now must I be, shut up in a narrow prison?

I have been informed that, subsequently to this, he obtained his liberty and, having entered into the service of al-Malik al-Moazzam Muzaffar ad-dîn, the sovereign of Arbela, he rose highly in his favour and adopted the dress of the *Sûfis*. On the death of his patron (*A. H.* 630) he left Arbela, but afterwards returned when it was in the possession of Shams ad-dîn Abû 'l-Fadâil Bâtikin, lieutenant of the Commander of the faithful. During a long period he made it his constant residence, but, one day in the forenoon, as he went out, he was poignarded by an assassin who, for some time previously, had been in pursuit of him.

When in the agonies of death, with his bowels protruding from the wound, he penned the following lines to Bâtikin:

> To thee, ruler of the land, I address my complaints; behold me in a state of terror which leaves not a member of my body in repose! If a miserable wretch (*lakita*) plunder me of my camels, in whose heart but thine can I hope to find a *Mâzin* (4)? How strange that a man cannot walk without dread, although protected by the sanctuary of the khalifate!

He expired the same day, Thursday, the 2nd of Shawwâl, A. H. 632 (June, A. D. 1235), and was interred in the cemetery at the Hippodrome Gate (*Bâb al-Maidân*). He was then aged about fifty years. — *Bâtikîn* was an Armenian by birth, and had been a *mamlûk* to the khalif an-Nâsir's mother. When the Tartars took Arbela in their first invasion, towards the end of the year 634 (A. D. 1237), he returned to Baghdad, and died there on Wednesday, the 23rd of Shawwâl, A. H. 640 (April, A. D. 1243). His body was interred in the Shûnizi cemetery. — *Hâjiri* means *native of Hâjir*; this was a village in Hijâz, but is now in ruins.—Al-Hâjiri himself did not really belong to this place, but, as he made 558 frequent mention of it in his poems, he obtained that particular surname; Arbela was however the native place of his family, the city in which he himself was born and had passed his youth. Notwithstanding this, the appellation of al-Hâjiri prevailed, and became at length for him as a proper name. In allusion to this, he composed the following couplet:

> Had I been spared the pains of separation whilst I loved thee, my tears each night had not resembled a gushing spring. Were it not for thee, my mouth had never pronounced the name of Najd (5); how far, how very far am I from Hâjir!

He again makes a similar declaration in a passage of a charming poem, which begins thus: "O the pretty dark eyes of that gazelle, the brunette!" and of which the last verse is: "O thou little maid of Arbela, the unfortunate Hâjiri is "captivated by thy love." Ibn al-Mustaufi mentions, in his History of Arbela, that *Kuraiya Jibrîl*, a place in that city, takes its name from the Jibrîl above-mentioned.—*Khuftîdakân* is a well-known fortress in the town of Arbela; it is called the *Khuftîdakân of Sârim ad-dîn*, to distinguish it from the *Khuftîdakân of Abû Ali* (6).

(1) See vol. I. Introduction, p. xxxv.

(2) See Freytag's *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst*, p. 461.

(3) In this verse, the word مرسلا, here rendered by *messengers*, bears also the meaning of *propendula* (*coma*). It is a mere quibble, but pleasing enough in Arabic

(4) The petals of the anemony are red and the parts of fructification black.

(4) This is an allusion to a well-known line of an ancient poet, given in the *Hamâsa*, p. 4, and of which the meaning is: "Had I been related to al-Mâzin, the sons of al-Lakita, of the tribe of Dohl Ibn Shaibân, "had not carried off my camels."

(5) Najd, as has been already observed, was the Arcadia of the Arabian poets.

(6) "KHUFTIDAKAN: two large castles in the dependencies of Arbela; one, situated on a hill by the road "leading to Marâgha and called Khuftidakân az-Zarzâri; the other, on the road to Shahrozûr and called Khuf-"tidakân Sarhân; the latter is the larger and stronger of the two."—(*Marâsid.*) It appears from this and from the words of Ibn Khallikân that those castles bore different names at different times.

## TUWAIS THE SINGER.

Abû 'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni says, in his *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, that the real name of Tuwais was Isa Ibn Abd Allah, and that he bore the surname of Abû Abd al-Munêm till the *Mukhannath*(1) changed it into Abd an-Naim (*the slave of pleasure*). He was a *mawla* to the Makhzoum family, and bore the surname of Tuwais. Ibn Kutaiba says, in his *Kitâb al-Maârif*, in the article where he speaks of Aâmir Ibn Abd Allah, the companion of Muhammad: "One of those who were *mawlas* "to the Kuraiz family was Tuwais, *mawla* of Arwa, the daughter of Kuraiz, her "who was mother to Othmân Ibn Affân. His name was Abd al-Malik and his "surname Abû Abd an-Naîm." Al-Jauhari says, in his *Sahâh*: "His real name "was Tâwûs (*peacock*); but, when he became a *Mukhannath*, they changed it "into Tuwais (*little peacock*), and he received also the name of Abd an-Naîm." Such, as the reader may perceive, is the difference in the statements respecting his name; but it is generally said that Isa was his real name, in as much as it is a point on which the majority of the learned are agreed. Tuwais attained so high a reputation as a singer that his talent became proverbial; and it is to him that a certain poet alludes in the following verse, wherein he praises Mâbad (*see vol. II. p.* 374, *note* (5)):

Tuwais sang, and after him as-Suraiji (2); but Mâbad alone deserved the palm.

A long account of him is given in the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*. In the proverb, *More inauspicious than Tuwais*, he is the person meant, and the reason was this: he came into the world on the day of the Prophet's death; he was weaned the same day on which Abû Bekr died; he was circumcised on the day in which Omar Ibn al-Khattâb was assassinated — some say that he attained the age of puberty on that day — he got married on the day in which Othman was slain; and he became a father on the day in which Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib was murdered—some say, the day in which al-Hasan, the son of Ali, died. This was certainly a singular series of coincidences. He was extremely tall, awkward in his movements, and squinted. He resided at Medîna, but afterwards removed to as-Suwaida, a place at the dis- 559 tance of two days' journey from that city and on the road to Syria; he continued to dwell there till his death, which happened in A. H. 92 (A. D. 710-1), being then eighty-two years of age. Some state that he died at Medîna. Yâkûb al-Hamawi (3) mentions, in his *Mushtarik*, that Tuwais the *Mukhannath* was interred at Sukya 'l-Jazl, but he does not indicate the situation of this place.—" *Tuwais*," says al-Jauhari, in the *Sahâh*, is the " diminutive of *Tâwûs* (*peacock*), and is " regularly formed after the suppression of the reduntant letters in the pri-" mitive word." Mention is made of him by Abû Hilâl al-Askari (4) in his work, the *Kitâb al-Awâil*.

(1) The word *Mukhannath* signifies *hermaphrodite*, but it bears also the meanings of *fool*, *an effeminate person*, *impotent*, and *muliebria patiens*. I refer to what Reiske says on the subject in his notes on Abû 'l-Fedâ; see *Annales*, tom. I. adnot. hist. No. 200.

(2) Ce Souraydji est le même qu'Ibn Souraydj, chanteur et compositeur d'un grand mérite. Il s'appelait Obayd et son prénom était Abou Yahya. Il était affranchi, on ne sait pas au juste de quelle famille, et son père était Turc. Il avait l'habitude de se voiler le visage lorsqu'il chantait, afin de cacher sa laideur. Ce fut lui qui le premier chanta à la Mekke des chansons arabes en s'accompagnant lui-même avec un luth fait à la manière des luths persans. Il était né en cette ville sous le califat d'Omar fils de Khattâb et il commença à chanter sous Othmân. Il était d'abord simple *nâyeh* (pleureur de morts, ou chanteur d'élégies funèbres). Il abandonna ensuite ce genre dans lequel il avait trouvé un égal en son élève Gharidh, et se livra exclusivement au chant des autres poésies. Entre autres traits qui montrent la puissance de son talent, on cite celui-ci: Un jour étant assis auprès du jardin d'Ibn Amir, au moment où le cortège des pélerins défilait, il se mit à chanter. Le cortège s'arrêta à l'instant; les pélerins montaient les uns sur les autres pour l'approcher et l'entendre. Il en résulta une affreuse confusion. Enfin un homme perçant la foule, dit à Ibn Souraydj: Crains Dieu et laisse continuer la marche. Ibn Souraydj cessa de chanter et s'en alla. Aussitôt les pélerins reprirent leurs rangs et la colonne se remit en marche. Ibn Souraydj mourut d'éléphantiasis à la Mekke, les uns disent sous le règne de Hechâm fils d'Abdelmélik, à l'âge d'environ 85 ans; suivant quelques auteurs,

sous le califat de Souleymân fils d'Abdelmélik, selon d'autres, à la fin du règne de Wélîd fils d'Abdelmélik. —(A. Caussin de Perceval.)

(3) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(4) Abû Hilâl al-Hasan Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Sahl Ibn Mihrân al-Askâri, a learned philologer, studied under Abû Ahmad al-Askari (*see vol. I. p.* 382). He composed the following works: a commentary on the Koran, in five volumes; the *Awâil* (*origins*); the *Kitâb as-Sanâatain* (*book of the two arts*), on prose and verse; the *Amthal* (*proverbs*); a commentary on the *Hamâsa* (*see Hajji Khalifa*). He left also a *Diwân* of poetry. In his conduct he was most exemplary. He died subsequently to A.H. 400 (A.D. 1009).—(As-Suyûti *de Interpretibus Corani;* ed. Meursinge. Lugd. Bat. 1839). Hajji Khalifa places his death in 395 (A. D. 1004-5).—(See Fluegel's *Hajji Khalifa*, tom. I. p. 490.)

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## SAIF AD-DIN GHAZI IBN ZINKI.

Saif ad-din (*the sword of the faith*) Ghâzi, the son of Imâd ad-din Zinki (*vol. I. p.* 539), the son of Ak Sunkur (*vol. I. p.* 225), was sovereign of Mosul. We have already mentioned that his father Zinki was murdered whilst besieging the castle of Jaabar. Alp Arslân, the son of the Sultan Mahmûd, and surnamed al-Khafâji the Seljûk, was there with him. On Zinki's death, the chief men of the empire assembled, and with them the vizir Jamâl ad-dîn Muhammad al-Ispahâni, surnamed al-Jawâd (*the generous*), and the kâdi Kamâl ad-dîn Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad as-Shahrozûri, persons of whom notice will be again taken in another part of this work. They then proceeded to the tent of Alp Arslân, and addressed him thus: "Zinki was thy servant (*ghulâm*), and we also are thy "servants, and all the country is thine." By these words they calmed the general agitation, and the army separated in two divisions, one of which marched off for Syria, under the orders of Nûr ad-dîn Mahmûd, son to Imâd ad-dîn Zinki (1); and the other, being joined by the troops of Mosul and Diâr Rabîa, proceeded with Alp Arslân towards Mosul. On their arrival at Sinjâr, Alp Arslân suspected treason and took to flight, but was overtaken by a troop of soldiers and brought back. When they arrived at Mosul, presents were distributed to them by Saif ad-dîn Ghâzi, who had been residing till then at Shahrozûr, which place he held as a fief from the Seljûk sultan Masûd. (We



shall give the life of this prince.) As soon as Ghàzi was established at Mosul, he caused Alp Arslân to be arrested, and sent him to a fortress where he remained a prisoner. Having thus become master of Mosul, and recovered the portion of Diàr Bakr which had been possessed by his father, he gave a regular organisation to his empire. As for his brother, Nûr ad-dîn Mahmûd, a prince of whom we shall again have occasion to speak, he obtained possession of Aleppo and the neighbouring parts of Syria, but Damascus at that time was in the power of neither. Ghâzi was animated with the spirit of piety and virtue; he loved learning and learned men, and he built a college at Mosul, now known by the name of al-Atika (*the Old*). His reign was but short, and he expired on the 29th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 544 (Nov. A. D. 1149), aged about forty years. He was interred in the college of which we have just spoken. His brother, Kutb ad-dîn Maudûd, a prince whose life we shall give, succeeded to the vacant throne.

(1) The life of this Mahmûd is given by Ibn Khallikân.

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## GHAZI IBN MAUDUD.

Saif ad-dìn (*the sword of the faith*) Ghàzi, the son of Kutb ad-din Maudûd (1), the son of Zinki (*see vol. I. page* 539), the son of Ak Sunkur, and sovereign of Mosul, was a brother's son of the prince whose life has just been given. He 560 succeeded to the empire on the death of his father Maudûd. His son, Sanjar Shâh, ruled at Jazîra tibni Omar. When his father died (*A. H.* 565), the intelligence reached Nûr ad-dîn at Tall Bâshir, who set out the same night for Mosul. He reached ar-Rakka in the month of Muharram, A. H. 566 (Sept.-Oct. A. D. 1170), and, having taken possession of that city, he proceeded to Nasibîn and occupied it towards the end of the same month; he then reduced Sinjâr, in the month of the latter Rabî, and marched from thence towards Mosul. Having led his army across the ford at Balad, a village near Mosul, he continued to advance, and finally established his camp opposite the

city. Not wishing to reduce it by force, he acquainted Saif ad-dìn, who was his brother's son, with his real intentions, and, a peace having been concluded between them, he made his entry into Mosul on the 13th of the first Jumâda (Jan. A.D. 1171); having then confirmed the reigning sovereign in the possession of the throne, he received his daughter in marriage, and gave up Sinjâr to his own brother, Imâd ad-dìn Zinki, the same prince of whom mention has been already made in the life of his grandfather, Imâd ad-dîn Zinki. On leaving Mosul, he returned to Syria, and entered Aleppo in the month of Shaabân of the same year (April-May). On the death of Nûr ad-din, (*the sultan*) Salâh ad-dîn obtained possession of Damascus, and afterwards laid siege to Aleppo. Saif ad-dìn then sent an army (*against him*) under the command of his own brother, Izz ad-dìn Masûd, a prince whose life will be found in this work, and the two parties came to an engagement at Kurûn, near Hamât. The particulars of this action will be given in our biography of Masûd. Izz ad-dîn Masûd having been defeated, Saif ad-dìn marched out in person, and the two armies drew up at Tall as-Sultân, a village between Aleppo and Hamât. This was on Thursday morning, the 10th of Shawwâl, A. H. 571 (April, A. D. 1176). Imâd ad-dìn al-Ispahâni states in his work entitled *al-Bark as-Shâmi*, as also Ibn Shaddàd, in his History of Salàh ad-dìn (2), that the left wing of that prince's army was broken by Muzaffar ad-dìn, son of Zain ad-dìn (3), who commanded Saif ad-dìn's right wing; then Salâh ad-dìn charged at the head of his troops, and routed the army of Saif ad-dìn, who returned to Aleppo and proceeded afterwards to Mosul. The Muzaffar ad-dìn of whom we have spoken was sovereign of Arbela, and his life will be found in this volume.—Ghâzi continued in possession of his empire, but, being attacked by a chronical disorder, he died on Sunday, the 3rd of Safar, A. H. 576 (June, A. D. 1180), after a reign of ten years and some months. He was succeeded by his brother Izz ad-dìn Masûd. — The malady which afflicted him was a lingering consumption, and he died at the age of about thirty years.

(1) The life of Maudûd will be found in the third volume of this work.

(2) See Schulten's *Vita et res gestæ Saladini*, p 43.

(3) The lives of all these persons will be found in this work.

## AL-MALIK AZ-ZAHIR, *SOVEREIGN OF ALEPPO.*

Abû 'l-Fath Ghâzi, surnamed also Abû Mansûr, and entitled al-Malik az-Zâhir (*the protecting prince*) Ghiâth ad-dìn (*aid to the faith*), was a son of the Sultan Salâh ad-din Yûsuf Ibn-Aiyûb, and sovereign of Aleppo. The character of this prince procured him general respect; he was resolute, vigilant, studious of the welfare of his subjects, well acquainted with the proceedings of (*contemporary*) princes, animated with a lofty spirit, skilful in the administration and government of the empire, diffusing justice throughout the land, fond of the learned, and generous to poets. His father granted him the kingdom of Aleppo in the year 582 (A. D. 1186-7), on the abdication of his (*az-Zâhir's*) uncle, al-Malik al-Aâdil (1), who, as is well known, accepted another post. From amongst the curious anecdotes told of his quick apprehension, the following may be cited as an example: Having taken his seat one day to review his troops, the (*members of the*) war office, who were in their places before him, questioned each soldier successively as he came up, and inscribed his name in the register. One of them being asked what he was called, kissed the ground in reply. None of the clerks understood his meaning, and when they repeated the question, al-Malik az-Zâhir, who had immediately perceived the motive of his conduct, said: "His name "is Ghàzi;" and this was really the case: the soldier having abstained, through respect, from pronouncing a name similar to that of the sultan. Numerous stories of this kind are related of him, but it is needless to lengthen our article by repeating them. He was born at Cairo, on the 15th of Ramadân, A. H. 568 (May, A. D. 1173), in the eighth year of his father's reign in Egypt; and he died at the castle of Aleppo, on the eve of the 23rd of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 613 (October, A. D. 1216). He was interred in the castle, but the Tuwâshi (*eunuch*) Shihâb ad-dìn Toghrìl, the *atâbek* (*tutor*) of his son, al-Malik al-Azìz, having founded a college at the foot of the castle, and erected in it a funeral chapel, caused the body of az-Zâhir to be removed thither. It is a singular coincidence that the very day and very month in which he died were the same in which he made his entry into Aleppo as sovereign in the year 582. The poet Abû 'l-Wafâ Sharaf ad-dìn Râjih (2) Ibn Ismaìl Ibn Abi 'l-Kâsim al-Asadi al-Hilli has displayed no inferior talent in the following *kasîda*, wherein he laments

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al-Malik az-Zâhir's death, and celebrates the praises of his two sons, the sultan Muhammad al-Malik al-Azìz (*the mighty prince*) and (*Ahmad*) al-Malik as-Sâlih (*the virtuous prince*), the sovereign of Aîn Tâb (3):

Ask of fate, provided it hearken to him that summons it, whom it has clutched in its beak and its talons? Reproach it, I implore thee, with the calamities it inflicts, even though it turn away the ear from him who reproaches it. May God protect me! how often, in my amazement, have I turned my eyes towards a sky of glory of which all the stars have set! What has happened to me? The light of as-Shahba (*Aleppo*) is, for me, changed into impenetrable darkness! Is it then true that the sacred person of the warrior (*al-Ghâzi*), the assister (*Ghiath*), the son of Yûsuf, has not been respected, and that his splendid retinue is frustrated of his presence?—Alas! 'tis too true! the sun of our eulogiums is eclipsed; the heavens of glorious deeds have been rolled up, and the paths of prosperity are straitened. Who can tell me about that mountain (*of glory*)? did its foundations sink? or did its side yield to the stroke of death? Yes! that mountain, firm as it was, has been shaken; and its shoulders have trembled before the storms of fate. That ocean (*of beneficence*), once overflowing, and whose waves dashed to earth's remotest bounds, is now dried up! Blasted be the hand of fate! what a spiteful sword did it wield against such glory! broken be the blade of that sword! Though the raindrops of Ghiâth ad-dîn's beneficence be now withheld, its showers were once shed over every land. How can the man who lived in hope and now finds his efforts fruitless—how can he feel pleasure in life after the loss of Ibn Yûsuf? His desires have obtained no success; his camels have not halted in a land of bounty; their pasture was the parsimonious gift of a frowning year (4) and his (*empty*) saddle-bag is dissatisfied with its owner. He is gone, the prince who placed mankind under the shadow of his justice, and secured them from the treacherous stings of fate (5). How many haughty fortresses have been violated by his sword! how many the unprotected whom his squadrons have defended! I now see the throne of the empire vacant; is there one among you to tell me where is its master? If any ask me wherefore flow my tears, my heart may give him answer with its sighs. How many wounds cover (*our*) faithful hearts, consumed, alas! with burning grief whilst the female mourners are lamenting! Has he yielded before the points of his spears were broken?—before the edges of his swords were blunted in the combat? before his warriors recoiled from the shock of death?—before his war-horses were overwhelmed by the ranks of the foe? Was no vengeance taken in a day of dreadful battle, where his steeds might be seen dashing through the clouds of dust? O thou who hast clothed me in an ample robe of grief! would it be right in me to let consolation strip it off? I served thee faithfully whilst the garden of thy glory covered me with its shade—whilst the lake of thy generosity offered its limpid draughts. Thou badest me draw near and sit in a place of honour, because I spoke thy praises; yet these were exacted by thy virtues and could apply to thee alone. (*But now, when I seek thy wonted presence,*) why does the permission tarry? I who was never of those whom the usher repelled from the palace-door! On the day we lost thee, the sun withheld his light; and yet, that day no eclipse obscured his disk. How could the sword of thy resolution be thus blunted? How could the steed of generosity have stumbled whilst thou wert its rider. O Ghiâth! who will shed kindness upon the orphans, when showers quench (6) no longer the thirsty year? Who will now uphold the princes for whom thou wert a protecting shade in every vicissitude of fortune. O thou who hast aban-

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doned me! behold me now offer peace to my enemy; when he injures me in earnest, I must take it as a jest. May the grey (7) clouds of morning water thy grave; may the copious rains of evening descend upon it! Though the light of thy flambeau be quenched, yet long did its rays dispel the darkness of night. But now, in the *mighty prince* (8) Muhammad, we find what we were expecting—a morning dawn to guide us—a hero in whom the lofty pride and dignity of his fathers fail not; who subdues every adversary. But he who had his father for guide in noble enterprises, cannot but reach the object of his efforts. And as-Sâlih promotes the welfare of his subjects; he is for them a guardian whose salary shall not be withheld. To behold true kings, let mortals look on Ahmad and Muhammad; all other princes will then appear contemptible. They have attained the goal of honour which Ghâzi the son of Yûsuf already reached, and the glory which he acquired did not fade in their possession. Were it not for them, the horizon of the world had been darkened from east to west on the death of Ghâzi. Despite of Fortune, their territories shall be protected by lances the points of which bear death to lions. How many misfortunes whose first stroke was painful, and which yet ended in joy! O ye two propitious moons which have dispelled the darkness (*of affliction*), so that the last of its flying bands turned not back towards the earth! shall thy father's slave and eulogist remain in Aleppo, or must his camels depart with their burden? We have lost al-Ghaith; but if you will, you can assist a man wounded by the arrows which misfortune aimed against him. I am now as if I had never stood before him, addressing him (*on each success*) with loud congratulations, whilst his gifts smiled in the faces of my hopes. May you both enjoy the rank you have attained, and may you be preserved till you reach the highest station in an exalted empire!

This *kasîda*, so remarkable for its elegance, contains some passages borrowed from the elegy composed by Omâra tal-Yamani on the death of as-Sâlih Ibn Ruzzik, and of which we have already quoted a portion (*vol. I. p.* 659). It would seem that our poet had taken that piece for his model; the measure is certainly the same, and although the penultimate letter in which it rhymes is different, the *wasl*, or final letter, is the same. He must probably have read Omâra's poem and composed his own in imitation of it.—On the death of al-Malik az-Zâhir, the supreme authority and the sovereignty of Aleppo devolved to his son, Abû 'l-Muzaffar Muhammad, surnamed al-Malik al-Aziz (*the mighty prince*) Ghiath ad-din (*aid to the faith*). This prince was born at Aleppo, on Thursday the 5th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 610 (April, A. D. 1214), and he died in that city on Wednesday, the 4th of the first Rabî, A. H. 634 (November, A. D. 1236). I was at Aleppo when his death took place. He was interred in the castle, and his son, Abû 'l-Muzaffar Yûsuf, surnamed al-Malik an-Nâsir (*the helping prince*) Salâh ad-din (*the weal of religion*), was raised to the throne. This prince's kingdom acquired great extension, as he obtained possession of a number of towns in Mesopotamia

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after the defeat of the Khowarezmites, towards the latter end of the year 641 and the commencement of 642 (9). In that campaign his army was commanded by al-Malik al-Mansûr, lord of Emessa. He then obtained possession of Damascus and the province of Syria, on Sunday, 17th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 648 (July, A. D. 1250). His birth took place in the castle of Aleppo, on the 19th of Ramadân, A. H. 627 (August, A. D. 1230). When the Tartars came against him and obtained possession of Syria, he went forth from Damascus, in the month of Safar, A. H. 658 (Jan.-Feb., A. D. 1260), and lost his life near Marâgha, in the province of Adarbaijân, on the 23rd of Shawwâl (October) of that year: so, at least, it has been stated. His history is well known (10).—His uncle Ahmad, son of al-Malik az-Zâhir, lord of Aîn Tâb, and surnamed al-Malik as-Sâlih (*the virtuous prince*) Salâh ad-dîn (*weal of religion*), died at that place in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 651 (October, A. D. 1253). He was born at Aleppo, in the month of Safar, A. H. 600 (Oct.-Nov. A. D. 1203).—Although al-Aziz was younger than his brother as-Sâlih, they chose him for sovereign, because his mother, Safiya Khâtûn, was daughter to al-Malik al-Aâdil Ibn Aiyûb; they were decided in their preference by the fact of his descent from such a grandfather, and of his possessing (*such powerful*) maternal uncles, whilst as-Sâlih's mother was only a concubine. —As-Sharaf (*Sharaf ad-dîn*) al-Hilli (*native of Hilla*), one of the most celebrated poets of that time, died at Damascus on the eve of the 27th day of Shaabân, A. H. 627 (July, A. D. 1230). He was interred outside the city, near the mosque of an-Nârenj, which edifice is situated to the east of the Musalla of the Festival. He was born in the middle of the month of the latter Rabî, A. H. 570 (November, A. D. 1174.)

(1) His life will be found in this work.

(2) Read راجح. Further notice is taken of this poet at the end of the article.

(3) Aîn Tâb lies at three days' journey to the north of Aleppo.

(4) Read معبّس حقبه.

(5) Literally: Who secured them from fate of which the scorpions crawl.

(6) Read ينقع, and, two verses higher up, read كاسف.

(7) Read الغرّ.

(8) This is an allusion to the prince's surname.

(9) See Abû 'l-Fedâ's Annals and M. Reinaud's *Extraits*, page 444.

(10) See, in the index to Deguigne's *Histoire générale des Huns*, the name: Iousouf (naser).

## ZU 'R-RUMMA.

Abû 'l-Harith Ghailân Ibn Okba Ibn Buhaish (1) Ibn Masûd Ibn Hâritha Ibn Amr Ibn Rabîa Ibn Sâeda Ibn Kaab Ibn Aûf Ibn Rabîa Ibn Milkân Ibn Adi Ibn Abd Manât Ibn Udd Ibn Tâbikha Ibn al-Yâs Ibn Modar Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maadd Ibn Adnân, generally known by the surname of Zû 'r-Rumma, was a poet of the first rank and enjoyed great celebrity. It is related that, as he was reciting his verses in the camel-market, he said to al-Farazdak, who stopped to hear him: "Well, "Abû Firâs! what dost thou think of that which thou hast heard?" and that al-Farazdak replied: "What thou hast uttered is really admirable."—"Why then," said the other, "is my name not mentioned with those of the first-rate poets?"— "Thou hast been prevented from attaining their eminence," answered al-Farazdak, "by thy lamentations over dunghills, and thy descriptions of the excrements "of cattle and their pinfolds (2)."—He was one of the celebrated Arabian lovers, and his mistress Maiya was the daughter of Mukâtil Ibn Talaba Ibn Kais Ibn Aâsim al-Minkari. This Kais Ibn Aâsim was the same who went to the prophet with the deputies of the tribe of Tamîm; the Prophet received him honourably and said: "Thou art the lord of the people of the hair(*-tents*) (3)."—But Abû Obaid (4) al-Bakri calls her Maiya, the daughter of Aâsim Ibn Talaba Ibn Kais Ibn Aâsim.—Zû 'r-Rumma often extolled her beauty in his poems, and it is to this couple of lovers that Abû Tammâm (*vol. I. p.* 348) alludes in one of his *kasîdas*, where he says:

> Maiya's cottage, inhabited by herself, with Ghailân lurking about it, was not more 565 fair, by its hills, than the cottage of my mistress, though it be now deserted.

Ibn Kutaiba (*vol. II. p.* 22) relates as follows in his *Tabakât as-Shuâra*: "Abû "Dirâr al-Ghanawi said (5): 'I saw Maiya and, behold! she had with her "'children of her own!'—'Describe her;' said I.—'Her face and cheeks were "'long,' said he, 'her nose was aquiline and her countenance still exhibited traces "'of beauty!'—'Did she repeat to thee any of Zû 'r-Rumma's verses?'—'She "did."— For a long time Maiya had been hearing the verses of Zû-Rumma but had never yet seen him; she therefore vowed to sacrifice a camel the very day she cast her eyes upon him. But when she did see him, she found him an

ugly swarthy man, whilst she herself possessed great beauty : " O, how ugly!" she exclamed, " how horrid!" and to this Zû 'r-Rumma replied by the following lines :

> On Maiya's face is a varnish of beauty, but be assured her dress conceals her ugliness. Knowest thou not that the taste of water is bad, and yet its colour is clear and pure? How completely thrown away was that poetry so long continued and which ended in Maiya's praise! but then I could not control my heart.

Amongst the vérses of his which have become quite popular, are the following on Maiya :

> The breezes, blowing from the quarter of Maiya's people, agitate my heart with a passion which draws tears from my eyes; but every soul loves the spot where its mistress dwells.

Zû 'r-Rumma celebrated also the charms of Kharkâ, a member of the tribe of Bakkâ (6) Ibn Aâmir Ibn Sâsâa. The cause of his praising her beauty was, that, being on a journey, he passed near some Bedwin Arabs, and lo! Kharkâ came forth from a tent. And he looked at her, and she left an impression on his heart. He therefore tore his water-skins and, approaching her that he might taste of her discourse, he said : " I am a man (*mounted*) on the back of travel, and my " water-skins have been torn; so mend them for me."—" By Allah!" she exclaimed, " a very pretty occupation for me who am the *kharkâ*."—The *kharkâ* is a female who is allowed to do no work on account of the fondness which her family bear her.— From that time Zû 'r-Rumma extolled her beauty and called her Kharkâ, and it is she whom he means in the following verses, which are extremely emphatic :

> Kharkâ's two water-skins, worn and weak in the seams, which the water-carrier wishes to pour out, but finds not therein a single drop (7), are even more retentive of their contents than thy eyes are of their tears, as often as thou thinkest of a vernal cottage or of a station where a tribe sojourns.

Al-Mufaddal ad-Dubbi (8) related as follows : " As I was going on the pilgri- " mage I stopped with a desert Arab, and he said to me one day : ' Wouldst " ' thou like me to show thee Kharkâ, the beloved of Zû 'r-Rumma?'—' If thou " ' doest that,' said I, ' thou wilt cure me (*of all my pains*).' We then proceeded " together to find her, and he made me turn off the road for about a mile, till we

" came to some tents covered with hair-cloth. He then asked at a tent to open " for him and, on its opening, there came out to us a female, tall, *hussâna* and " in the force of age."—A *hussâna* woman is one greater in beauty than the (*simple*) *hasnâ*, or handsome.—" I then saluted, and sat down, and we conversed " for a time, when she said to me : 'Didst thou ever make the pilgrimage?' "—'More than once;' said I.—" And what then has hindered thee from visiting " '*me?* dost thou not know that I am one of the objects to be visited during the " 'pilgrimage?'—'And how is that?'—'Hast thou never heard what thy uncle " 'Zû 'r-Rumma said :

> 'To complete the pilgrimage, the caravan should stop at Kharkâ's (*abode*) whilst 'she is laying aside her veil.' "

Zû 'r-Rumma composed numerous eulogiums on Bilâl Ibn Abi Burda (*see page 2 of this volume*), and it is of him he speaks in the following line addressed to his camel Saidah :

> When thou reachest Bilâl the son of Abû Mûsa, the butcher may wield his axe to disjoint thy limbs. 565

This idea was taken by him from a verse of a poem addressed by as-Shammâkh (9) to Arâba tal-Aûsi (10), and in which he says to his camel :

> When thou hast borne me and my baggage to Arâba, be thou choked with thy heart's blood !

After him came Abû Nuwâs, who in his poem on al-Amin Muhammad, the son of Harûn ar-Rashîd, revealed the real nature of the thought and set it forth clearly, saying :

> When the camels bear us to Muhammad, let their backs be for ever interdicted to riders !

A learned man, whose name I do not at present recollect, expressed himself thus, on reading the verse of Abû Nuwâs : " By Allah! this is the very thought " about which the Arabs were always turning, but could not hit it : as-Shammâkh " expressed it thus, and Zû 'r-Rumma thus "—here he quoted the lines above-mentioned—" but none of them set it forth in its true light except Abû Nuwâs,

" and he there attained the height of beauty. The origin of this idea is to be " found in the words addressed by the Ansârian female who had been imprisoned " at Mekka and succeeded in making her escape on a camel and joining the " Prophet. When she reached him, she said: 'O messenger of God! I vowed " that, if I escaped on this camel I would sacrifice it.' And the Prophet replied: " 'It is a bad recompense thou makest it.' The thought of which we are " speaking is equivalent to the following: 'I have no need of travelling to any " other than thee, for thou hast satisfied my wants and made me rich.' But " as-Shammâkh promised to his camel that she should be sacrificed, and Zû 'r-" Rumma makes a similar vow; but Abû Nuwâs declares that the back of his " shall never be profaned by a rider, and he grants rest to the animal after the " fatigues of its travels; this is the best expression of the sentiment, for he does " good to the camel in return for the service which it rendered by bearing him " to the person whose qualities he means to laud."—" Zû 'r-Rumma had three " brothers, Hishâm, Aûfa, and Masûd; Aûfa died first, and Zû 'r-Rumma " followed, and Masûd lamented their death in the following lines."—Such are the words of Ibn Kutaiba, but the author of the *Hamâsa* gives a different account of the verses in the elegiac section of his work (11):

> The loss of Ghailân suspended my grief for Aûfa's death, although my eyes were already filled with tears. My later afflictions did not make me forget Aûfa, but a wound on a part already wounded is the most painful of any.

These verses are merely an extract from Masûd's piece. It is to the same Masûd that Abû Tammâm alludes in a poem where he says:

> Did even Masûd water their ruined dwellings with torrents from his eyes, I should not be one of Masûd's (*men*).

Speaking of this verse Abû 'l-Kasim al-Aamidi (12) says in his *Muwâzina*: " Masûd was brother to Zû 'r-Rumma, and he used to blame him for his (*com-" posing*) lamentations on ruined dwellings (*in the desert*); this led Zû 'r-Rumma " to speak of him in these terms:

> '—On the evening when the tear-drop trickled down my cheek and Masûd said: Is ' it over a (*deserted*) dwelling that thou weepest when the pains of love excite thy tears? ' and yet thou art a man whom our people consider as a sage.'

" Abû Tammâm means to say (*in the verse before these*), that if Masûd aban-
" doned his opinion and became a weeper over ruins, he would not be (*one of*)
" his. Now as Masûd really held the opinion (*that lamenting over ruins was*
" *absurd*), Abû Tammâm's threat of renouncing him is expressed with the utmost
" energy; indeed it is analogous to the following: *If Hâtim were avaricious or*
" *as-Samûl faithless, I should not be one of theirs* (13), and this is certainly much
" more energic than to say: *If the miser were avaricious, and if the traitor were*
" *faithless, I should not be one of theirs.*" Such is the meaning of al-Aâmidi's 566
observations, but he expresses them in other terms.—The anecdotes told of Zû
'r-Rumma are very numerous but we prefer being brief. He died A. H. 117
(A. D. 735-6). On the approach of death he said: " I have attained the half
" of old age; I have reached my fortieth year." He then recited this verse:

O thou who art to take away my soul when it must appear for judgment! O pardoner of sins! keep me far from the fires of hell.

He was called *Zû 'r-Rumma* for having said of a tent-peg: " A stake fastened
" to a piece of an old rope (*rumma*) which had been used as a halter (14)." *Rumma*
means *a worn-out rope*, and the same word, but pronounced *rimma*, signifies *a*
*mouldering bone*. Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ said (*v.II. p.*399): "Poetry finished with Zu
" 'r-Rumma and *rajaz* (15) with Rûba Ibn al-Ajjâj." It was here observed to
him that Rûba was still living, on which he answered: "It is true, but his talent
" for poetry is worn out like his clothes and gone like his faculty for tasting, and
for enjoying sexual pleasure." They then said to him: " And these, our later
poets (*what thinkest thou of them*)?" To which he replied: " They are patchers
" and botchers, and a burden to all but themselves."—He said again: " Poetry
" began with Amr al-Kais and ended with Zû 'r-Rumma." It was related by
Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ that Jarir (*vol. I. page* 294) said: " Had Zû 'r-Rumma kept
" silent from the time he recited his *kasîda* which begins thus: 'Why flow those
" ' tears from thy eyes?' he would have been the greatest poet among men."—
Abû Amr relates also that he heard Zû 'r-Rumma say: " When a traveller stops
" at our tent, we ask him which he prefers, new milk or buttermilk? and if he
" answers: 'Buttermilk;' we say: 'Whose slave art thou?' but if he answers
" 'New milk;' We say: 'Who art thou?'—Zû 'r-Rumma's verses," said Abû
Amr, " are like the sugar-plums scattered at a marriage feast; they disappear

" quickly; or they are are like the dung of gazelles; at first, it has an odour but " it soon becomes mere dung." We shall now close our observations by the summary remark that he was one of the most illustrious among the poets of his age, and one of the most able versifiers of his time.—Muhammad Ibn Jaafar Ibn Sahl al-Kharâiti (16) states, in his *Itilâl al-Kulûb* (*distractions for the heart*) that Muhammad Ibn Salama ad-Dubbi (17) related as follows: " I made the " pilgrimage, and, on my return, I went towards a certain watering-place; and I " saw a house at a distance from the road. I then halted in the court of it and " said: 'May I get down?' And the lady of the house answered: 'Get down.' " —'May I go in?' said I; and she replied: 'Come in.' And lo! there was a " maiden fairer than the sun, and I sat down to converse with her, and (*words* " *like*) pearls were scattered from her lips. Whilst we were thus engaged, an " old woman, with a coarse cloak wrapped round her loins and another thrown " over her shoulder, came in from (*another apartment*) and said: 'O Abd Allah " '(*servant of God*)!' why sittest thou here with this gazelle of Najd (18), from " 'whose toils thou canst not escape, and whose possession thou canst not hope " 'for?' On this the maiden said to her: 'Dear grandmother, let him beguile " his feelings to the degree which Zû 'r-Rumma describes, where he says:

> " And though thou beguilest my hopes, and that but for a short hour, yet that short
> " hour will suffice me!"

" I passed my day thus, and when I retired, my heart was inflamed with " love (19)."

(1) The autograph has نُهَيش.

(2) Al-Farazdak's observation will be perfectly comprehensible to any person who has read the opening lines of an Arabic *kasida* composed in the first ages of that literature. See the Introduction to vol. I. p. xxxiv.

(3) *The people of the hair-tents*, the Bedwin Arabs.

(4) Read عُبَيْد. See vol. I. p. 319.

(5) It is chronologically impossible that this conversation could have taken place between Abû Dirar and Ibn Kutaiba. The latter must be supposed to speak here, not in his own name, but in that of the person who related to him the anecdote.

(6) Bakkâ was the surname of Rabia Ibn Aâmir. I have since discovered the origin of this surname in al-Maidani, and it is really, as Ibn Khallikân states (*vol. I. page* 546), too improper to be mentioned. See Freytag's *Meidani*, vol. I. p. 404, No 176.

(7) Literally: Which the water-carrier pours out, but is not wetted.

(8) This philologer is noticed by Ibn Khallikân.

(9) Chammâkh fils de Dhirâr, de la tribu de Dhobyân, est un poëte qui a vécu dans le paganisme et l'islamisme. Son véritable nom était Mâkal معقل. Il est un de ceux qui ont satirisé leur propre tribu et leurs hôtes. Il excellait à faire la description des ânes. Le calife Wélîd fils d'Abd el-Mélik disait à ce sujet : Chammâkh connaît et dépeint si bien les ânes qu'il faut croire qu'il en compte quelqu'un parmi ses ancêtres.— A. C. de Perceval.

(10) Arâba tal-Ausi was probably one of the Prophet's companions.

(11) The author of the *Hamâsa* says that this elegy was made on the deaths of Zû 'r-Rumma and Aûfa Ibn Dalham, a different person from Zû 'r-Rumma's brother. See *Hamâsa*, page ۳۱۸, where the piece is given with a commentary.

(12) See vol. I. page 348.

(13) Hâtim's name was proverbial for the generosity of his conduct, and the fidelity of as-Samûl was not less celebrated. See Rasmussen's *Additamenta*, page 14.

(14) The surname *Zu 'r-Rumma* means *old-rope man*.

(15) See vol. I. page 528.

(16) See vol. I. p. 323, note (5).

(17) His life will be found in this work.

(18) The province Najd, in Arabia, was the Arcadia of the Arabic poets.

(19) Literally: In my heart were as if live coals of *ghada* wood, owing to my love for her.—The charcoal of the ghada tree is frequently mentioned by the poets as retaining its fire a great length of time.

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## FATIK AL-MAJNUN.

The emîr Abû Shujâ Fâtik the Great, surnamed al-Majnûn, was a Greek by birth. He, his brother and his sister had been carried off captives from a place near the castle called Zû 'l-Kelâa, in Asia Minor. He learned writing in Palestine, and was one of those slaves whom al-Ikhshîd took away from Ramla against the will of their masters and without even paying their value. His former master then declared him free, and from that time he continued to live a freeman among the *mamlûks* belonging to the Ikhshîd family. He was distin- 567 guished for his generosity, lofty spirit, and daring courage, and this quality procured him the surname of *al-Majnûn* (*the madman*). During the life of al-Ikhshîd, he and Kâfûr were both in his service, but, when he died, leaving a son to the care of Kâfûr, Fâtik refused to remain in Old Cairo, lest he should be obliged to give the precedence to his former comrade and ride in his suite. He there-

fore retired to his fief, which consisted of al-Faiyûm and its territory, and he there took up his residence, although the air and the water of that province were noxious in their qualities and prejudicial to the constitution. Kâfûr stood in dread of him, and treated him with high respect whilst he dissimulated his real feelings. Fâtik's indisposition continuing to increase, he was obliged to proceed to Old Cairo for medical assistance, and he arrived there whilst al-Mutanabbi was living as a guest with Kâfûr. The poet had often heard of Fâtik's generous character and undaunted courage, but dared not now wait upon him lest he should offend Kâfûr; as for Fâtik, he inquired after him regularly and sent him polite letters. They met at length by accident in the desert (*outside the city*), and had a long conversation. When Fâtik returned to his house, he immediately sent to al-Mutanabbi a present to the value of one thousand dinars, and this he followed up by others. The poet then obtained permission from Kâfûr to celebrate the praises of his benefactor, and, on the 9th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 348 (August, A. D. 959) he pronounced the eulogium of Fâtik in the celebrated and splendid *kâsida* which begins thus :

> As thou (*O poet*) hast neither steeds nor wealth to offer, let eloquence aid thee, since fortune aids thee not.

It is the same poem which contains this admirable verse :

> (*Glory belongs only*) to *the like of* Fâtik! nay, "*the like of*" weakens the idea;—to *the like of* the sun, then, it belongs; but where has the sun its like?

Fâtik died at Old Cairo on the eve of Sunday, the 11th of Shawwâl, A. H. 350 (November, A. D. 961), and al-Mutanabbi, who had left Egypt some time before, lamented his death in the *kasîda* which begins thus :

> Grief troubles the mind and resignation calms it; thus, between them both, (*my*) tears are rebellious and obedient.

In this poem we find the following elegant thoughts :

> I am weak on quitting my friends, but if my soul hears of death and battle, I am strong. I am increased in force by the wrath of the foe; but if a friend even hint a reproach, I tremble with sorrow. The stream of life is limpid for the fool; for him who thinks not of the past and of the future; for him who is blind to inevitable fate, and, in the pursuit of vanity, yields to the delusions of hope. Where is he who built the pyramids? what was his people? what, his life? his death? Monuments remain for a time after their founders; then ruin strikes them and they follow (*them to oblivion*).

The whole elegy is of singular beauty (1). When al-Mutanabbi left Baghdad, he composed a poem in which he described his journey from Egypt and deplored the loss of Fâtik. This piece, which was recited by him on Tuesday, the 9th of Shaabân, A. H. 352 (September, A. D. 963), begins thus :

> How long must we travel as the stars do, through the darkness; (*the unwearied stars*) which travel not with the feet of camels or with those of men ?

The following are the lines in which he mentions Fâtik :

> Egypt has no other Fâtik whom we may visit; he has left no successor amongst men. 868
> He whom the living could not equal in virtues is now on an equal with the dead in the dust of the tomb. I have lost him, and I seem to be journeying in search of him, but the world only offers me a void.

(1) See it in M. Grangeret de Lagrange's *Anthologie Arabe.*

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## AL-FATH IBN KHAKAN.

Abû Nasr al-Fath Ibn Muhammad Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Khâkân Ibn Abd Allah al-Kaisi (*member of the tribe of Kais*) al-Ishbîli (*native of Seville*) was the author of the *Kalâid al-Ikiyân* (*collars of gold*) and of other works. In the *Kalâid* he has united (*a series of notices on*) a great number of Moorish poets, and he employs, in each of these articles, a highly elegant style and the most refined allusions. He is also the author of the work called *Matmah al-Anfus wa Masrah at-Taânnus fi Mulah Ahl il-Andalus* (*the aspiring-point for souls and open field for familiarity, containing elegant anecdotes of Spaniards*). He gave three editions of this treatise, a large one, a medium, and a compendium ; it contains much information, but is rarely to be found in our countries (*the East*). In these works the great genius and extraordinary accomplishments of the author are eminently conspicuous. He was a great traveller, and seldom staid long in one place. He died a violent death, A.H. 535 (A.D. 1140-1), in the *funduk* (or *caravan-serai*) of

Morocco.—The *hâfiz* Ibn Dihya (*vol. II. p.* 384) says, in his work entitled *al-Mutrib fi Ashaâr Ahl il-Mughrib* (*the amusing book, treating of the poetry of the Western Arabs*): "I met a number of his disciples, and they spoke to me of his works "and astonishing (*talents*); in his conduct he was a libertine, but in his written "compositions he displayed a style which might be called lawful magic and "limpid water. He was murdered in the *funduk* where he resided, in the "capital of Morocco, towards the commencement of the year 529 (Oct.-Nov. "A. D. 1134). The person who abetted this crime was the Emir of the Mos-"lims himself, Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifin." This *Emir of the Moslims* was the brother of Abû Ishak Ibrahim Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifin, him for whom Abû Nasr had composed his *Kalâid al-Ikiyân*, as it appears from his own statement in the preface of the work (1).

(1) For further information respecting Ibn Khâkân and his productions, see M. Weyer's *Specimen criticum exhibens locos Ibn Khacanis de Ibn Zeidouno*, and the first volume of his *Orientalia*. I feel myself bound to say that the *Kalâid al-Ikiyân* is a work as barren in facts as it is brilliant in style.

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## FITYAN AS-SHAGHURI.

Fityân Ibn Ali Ibn Fityân Ibn Thumâl, surnamed as-Shihâb (i. e. *Shihâb ad-dîn, flambeau of the faith*), was a member of the tribe of Asad, a follower of the Hanifite doctrines and a native of Damascus. He bore the designation of as-Shâghûri al-Muallâm (*the preceptor*), and he acquired distinction by his abilities and by his talent for poetry. He was engaged in the service of different princes, and their praises were celebrated by him whilst he instructed their children. The *diwân*, or collection, of his poems contains a number of fine passages, and, as he dwelt for a time at az-Zabadâni, he made it the subject of some charming pieces. One of these, which we here give and in which he has reached the acme of perfection (1), is on the Garden of az-Zabadâni, an extensive tract of country offering a delightful sight in spring for the variety of its flowers, but, in winter, covered with snow:

Kânûn (*January*) has congealed the wine in every cup, and even extinguished the embers which were lighted in the brasier (*kânûn*). O Garden of az-Zabadâni! thou displayest a handsome face even when the face of the weather is contracted with frowns. The snow which covers thee is like cotton; the clouds shake it out, the air cleans it, and the rainbow is the bow (2).

Happening, when an old man, to take a bath, and finding the water very hot, he said:

I think your water is as hot as hell, and I suffer from it pains and smarting. I remember seeing you scald kids, but what makes you now scald old goats? 569

I have since found, in the *Kharîda*, a piece of five verses, containing the same idea; they are inserted in a biographical notice on the *kâtib* Saad Ibn Ibrahim as-Shaibâni al-Asârdi (*a native of Asârd in Mesopotamia*), and surnamed al-Majd (i. e. *Majd ad-dîn*, or *glory of religion*). Speaking of these lines, Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni, the author of the *Kharîda*, says: "They were recited to me by "Saad himself to exemplify what could be said in dispraise of a bath, but he "did not give them as his own." The fifth verse is as follows:

It was a well-known custom to scald kids, but what has induced you to scald old goats?

Imâd ad-dîn continues: "He (*Saad*) was still alive on the 6th of the latter Rabi, "in the year 587 (A. D. 1191) and serving with the victorious army outside Acre (3)." I warn the reader not to take the verse for Fityân's; he has merely inserted it amongst his own.—Fityân was attached to the service of the emir Nûr ed-dîn Maudûd Ibn al-Mubârak, the resident agent (4) at Damascus and brother of Izz ad-dîn Farrûkh Shah, the son of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn's brother by the mother's side. He was employed to teach Maudûd's children writing, and this induced Ibn Onain to address him the following lines:

O thou who art wrongly surnamed as-Shihâb (5), for thy darkness would infect even the shooting stars in the heavens! be not too proud of thy place in Maudûd's empire, even though thou thinkest to hold it in firm possession. If thou utterest a single bark therein, thou wilt have to twist thy tail about thy nose (6).

This last verse is borrowed from a passage in the *Hamâsa* (7).—Ibn Onain and as-Shâghûri were in correspondence, and some raillery passed between them,

too long to be related.—As-Shâghûri was born at Bânyâs, somewhat later than A. H. 530 (A. D. 1135-6).—In one of his pieces he says :

> Why should I be active and stirring, since tranquillity is happiness? Yet I do not disapprove the search of fortune; but I see the worthless wretch placed by his vices above the honest man whose advancement is impeded by his virtues.

He left a second *diwân* of verses, a small collection, and consisting exclusively of couplets. I saw a copy of it at Damascus and extracted from it the following :

> The rose in thy cheek is brilliant and blooming; the magic in thy eyes is complete and copious; the lover who adores thee is absent-minded and sleeps not; he hopes and fears, complains and is grateful (8).

He died on the morning of the 22nd of Muharram, A. H. 615 (April, A. D. 1218), and was interred in the cemetery outside the Lesser Gate (*al-Bâb as-Saghîr, at Damascus*).—*Shâgûri* means *belonging to as-Shâgûr*, a habitation in the vicinity of Damascus.—*Az-Zabadâni* is a village between Damascus and Baalbek, abounding with trees and well watered; I saw it repeatedly and consider it a most beautiful and delightful spot.

(1) He means perfection of style to suit the taste of that age. The piece is a mere tissue of quibbles.

(2) This is an allusion to the mode then employed of cleaning cotton. In modern times the operation is performed by a machine called a *gin*.

(3) Imâd ad-dîn means the army commanded by Salâh ad-dîn, which endeavoured, vainly however, to prevent the Crusaders under Richard Cœur de Lion from besieging and capturing the city of Acre.

(4) *Resident agent*, or *Shohna*; see vol. I. page 172, note (4).

(5) This word signifies properly *shooting star*.

(6) In English we should say: Thou wilt have to clap thy tail between thy legs.

(7) See *Hamâsa*, page ١٨٧.

(8) In the original Arabic these verses are turned most ingeniously.

## AL-FADL IBN YAHYA AL-BARMAKI.

Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Fadl was the son of Yahya Ibn Khâlid Ibn Barmak (*or Bermek*) al-Barmaki (*the Barmekide*). He surpassed in generosity all the members of the family, beneficent as they were, nay even his brother Jaafar (*vol.I. p.* 301) who, however, was his superior as a letter-writter and a *kâtib*. Al-Fadl acted as vizir to Harûn ar-Rashîd previously to his brother Jaafar's appointment, and the khalif, who wished to confer that post on the latter, said to their father Yahya: "Dear father;"—for he used to call him father—"I wish to transport to Jaafar 870 the signet which is now held by my brother al-Fadl."—He used to call al-Fadl his brother, because they were born nearly at the same time, and his mother al-Khaizurân had given the breast to al-Fadl whilst al-Fadl's mother, Zubaida, who was a mulatto girl from Medîna, had given hers to ar-Rashîd. They were therefore foster-brothers (1). Alluding to this circumstance, Marwân Ibn Abi Hafsa said in a eulogium on al-Fadl:

> A single advantage is quite sufficient for thy glory; the noblest of free women nourished thee and the khalif with the same breast. Thou art an honour to Yahya in every solemn assembly, as Yahya is an honour to Khâlid.

Ar-Rashîd then said to Yahya: "I am ashamed to write that order to al-Fadl; 'do it for me." Yahya in consequence wrote these words to his son al-Fadl: "The Commander of the faithful has ordered that the signet should be passed "from thy right hand to thy left." In reply to this, al-Fadl wrote as follows: "I have heard the Commander of the faithful's words respecting my brother, "and I obey them. No favour is lost for me which goes from me to Jaafar, and "no rank has been taken from me when he receives it." On hearing this answer, Jaafar exclaimed: "What an admirable being is my brother! how noble "his soul! how clearly the marks of his excellence appear! how great the gift of "intelligence he possesses! how vast his abilities in the just expressing of his "thoughts (2)!"—Ar-Râshîd confided his son Muhammad (*al-Amîn*) to the special care of al-Fadl, and his other son, al-Mâmûn, to that of Jaafar. - Al-Fadl being afterwards entrusted by him with the administration of Khorâsân, proceeded to that province and remained in it for some time. Ar-Rashîd then received a letter

from the post-master (3) of Khorâsân, stating that al-Fadl Ibn Yahya was so much occupied with hunting and the enjoyment of pleasures that he neglected the affairs of the people. Having perused the contents of this dispatch, he handed it to Yahya, who was sitting in his presence (*to transact business*), and said: "Dear "father; read that letter and write to al-Fadl what may turn him from those "courses." Yahya then wrote on the back of the letter: "God keep thee, my "dear son, and grant thee to enjoy the pleasures of life! the Commander of the "faithful has learned with displeasure that thy passion for hunting and thy "continual parties of pleasure make thee neglect the affairs of the people. "Return to a conduct more becoming to thee; for he who returns to what is "becoming or to what is dishonourable becomes publicly known by that line "which he adopts. Adieu!" At the foot of the letter he inscribed the following lines:

Pass the day in the pursuit of honours and bear with patience the absence of thy beloved. But when the darkness approaches and veils our vices, pass the night to thy satisfaction, for night is the clever man's day. How many the men whom you think devotees, that play strange pranks in the face of the night! It lets down the veils of darkness around them, and they spend their hours in pastime and enjoyments till morning. The fool exposes his pleasures to public gaze, and all his watchful foes denounce the scandal.

Ar-Rashîd, who was looking on whilst Yahya wrote this letter, exclaimed when it was finished: "Father, thou hast hit the mark!" From the moment al-Fadl received it, he passed all his days in the mosque, till he was removed from his post.—One of his deeds is thus related: When the government of Khorâsân was conferred on him, he entered the city of Balkh, which was the native place of the family and contained the fire-temple called an-Nûbehâr. The Magians adored this element, and his ancestor Barmek had been the servant (*or priest*) of 571 that temple (4). Al-Fadl now wished to destroy the edifice, but the solidity of its construction resisting his efforts; he could succeed in ruining a portion of it only, and therein he built a mosque.—Al-Jihshiâri (5) mentions, in his History of the Vizirs, that, in the year 176 (A. D. 792-3), ar-Rashîd conferred on Jaafar Ibn Yahya the government of all the western provinces, from al-Anbâr to Ifrîkiya, and invested al-Fadl with the administration of all the eastern provinces from Sharwân (6) to the farthest extremity of the country of the Turks. Jaafar fixed his residence in Egypt and appointed deputies to govern the provinces placed

under his care, and, in the year 178, al Fadl proceeded to his post. On arriving in Khorâsân, he put an end to the rule of injustice, founded mosques, constructed cisterns, erected *ribâts* (7), burned the registers of the arreared taxes, increased the pay of the troops, and, in the following year, spent ten millions (8) of dirhems on the military leaders, the *kâtibs*, and the persons who went to visit him. Having appointed deputies to administer the provinces, he returned to Irâk towards the close of the year, and was received with the highest honours by ar-Rashîd and the assembled people. This prince even commanded the poets and the *khatîbs* to extol the merits of al-Fadl, so that his eulogists increased manifold. Amongst the number was Ishak Ibn Ibrahim al-Mausili (*vol. I. p.* 183), who composed a piece containing these verses :

> Were I known to excellence (*fadl*), to Fadl the son of Yahya, he would assist me in my adversity. He is truly a man; illustrious by his deeds and fortunate in his undertakings, he risks all to purchase glory.

Abû 'l-Haul al-Himyari made a satire on al-Fadl, but afterwards went to ask him a favour. Al-Fadl then said to him : " Shame on thee! with what sort of a " face canst thou come into my presence?"—"With the same," replied the other, " with which I shall appear before Almighty God, and certainly I have committed " worse faults against him than against thee." On hearing this, al-Fadl laughed and made him a present.—One of his sayings was : " The joy of him who is pro- " mised a favour is not equal to mine in granting one." A person having observed to him one day that his generous character would be perfect were he not so abrupt in his manner, he made this reply : " I learned generosity and abruptness of " manner from Omâra Ibn Hamza (9)." Being then asked on what occasion, he related as follows : " My father was administering the revenue in a province of " Persia, when he lost an immense sum by a bankruptcy. Being then carried a " prisoner to Baghdad, he was called upon to account for the money (*as it belonged* " *to the state*), and had to deliver up all his personal property. Three millions of " dirhems, which still remained due, were urgently required, and, as he could de- " vise no means to procure them, he remained in utter despair. There was only " one man, as he knew, capable of assisting him, but that was Omâra Ibn Hamza, " and a profound enmity subsisted between them. He at length said to me one " day, and I was then a boy : ' Go to Omâra and make him my salutations; then



" 'inform him of the misery to which I am reduced, and request of him this
" 'sum as a loan till such time as God may enable me to repay it!'—'Thou
" 'knowest,' said I, 'your mutual feelings towards each other; why then
" 'should I go on such a message to thy enemy. I am certain that if he were
" 'able to bring thee to ruin, he would do it!'—'Thou must go to him;'
" said my father, 'God may subdue him and open his heart to pity.'—To this I
" could make no reply, and I set out reluctantly, now advancing and then rece-
" ding, till I at length arrived at Omâra's house. Having obtained permission
" to go in, I found him at the farthest extremity of his hall of state, reclining
" on soft cushions, his hair perfumed with civet (10) and his beard with musk,
" and with his face turned towards the wall."—Omâra's absence of mind was
so great that he never sat in any other way.—"I stood at the foot of the hall
" and offered him my salutation, but he did not return it; I then saluted him
" in the name of my father, and told him my business. He remained silent
" for a time and at length said: 'We shall see about it.' On this I retired,
" bitterly repenting to have directed my steps towards him, and convinced
" that he meant to refuse my application; I uttered complaints against my
" father for exposing me uselessly to such humiliation, and my anger against
" Omâra was so great that I even resolved not to go back to him. I staid
572 " away about an hour, but, having got cool, I returned and found a number
" of loaded mules at the door. Having asked what they were, I was in-
" formed that Omâra was just sending them off to us with the money. I
" then went home to my father and, not to diminish the value of the favour
" thus conferred, I abstained from mentioning what had passed between Omâra
" and me. A short time after, my father was reinstated in his post, and having
" soon gained great wealth, he gave me the amount of the debt, telling me to take
" it to Omâra. On arriving, I went in and found him as before: I saluted him,
" but he made no reply; and I then offered him my father's salutation, thanked
" him for his kindness to us and informed him that I had brought the money.
" On hearing these words, he exclaimed, in a passion: 'Was I then thy father's
" 'banker, scoundrel? be off and be damned to thee! and keep the money.' I
" immediately withdrew and returned the money to my father, who was as much
" astonished as myself at the singularity of Omâra's character. He then said to
" me: 'By Allah! my son, I cannot consent to let thee have it all; so take one

" 'million of dirhems and leave two to thy father.' "—The same anecdote, with some slight variations, is related by al-Jihshiâri in his History of the Vizirs: thus he states that the sum lent was one million of dirhems; that the occurrence took place in the reign of al-Mahdi; that Yahya was farming the revenues of the province of Fars when he lost his money by the bankruptcy; and that al-Mahdi, who was angry with him, had told the person commissioned to make him pay in his receipts to government, that if he did not receive the amount before sunset, he should bring him Yahya's head.—"It was thus," continued al-Fadl, "that I "learned generosity and abruptness of manner from Omâra (11)." Omâra Ibn Hamza descended from Ikrima the *mawla* of Ibn Abbâs (*vol. II. p.* 207), and was himself a *mawla* and *kâtib* to Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr. He was hasty, proud, generous, eloquent, and one-eyed. Al-Mansûr and his son al-Mahdi admitted him to their convivial parties, and bore with his strange humours on account of his merit, his elegant language, and faithful services. He had been employed by them in the highest posts of the (*financial*) administration. A collection of epistles was left by him, and one of them, called *Risâla tal-Khamîs* (*the Thursday epistle*), was usually read to the members of the Abbaside family.—It is related that al-Fadl's chamberlain went in to him one day and said: "There is a man at the door who "claims relationship with thee."—"Let him come in," said al-Fadl; and the stranger was introduced. He was still young and well-looking, but miserably dressed. When he made his salutation, al-Fadl signed to him to be seated, and he sat down. Al-Fadl waited for some time, and at length asked him what he wanted.—"The shabbiness of my dress," replied the other, "will in-"form thee."—"That is true; but how art thou related to me?"—"I was born "about the time of thy birth, I lived in thy neighbourhood, and my name is "derived from thine."—"As for the neighbourhood, that may be," said al-Fadl, "and the names may be similar, but who told thee of our births?"—"It was my "mother; when she brought me forth, a person said to her: 'On this very night " 'Yahya Ibn Khâlid has got a son to whom they have given the name of al-" 'Fadl.' My mother therefore testified her respect for thy name by bestowing "it on me, but she gave it the diminutive form of Fudail (*little Fadl*) to indicate "my inferiority." Al-Fadl smiled and asked him his age. "Thirty-five years." —"True; that is the age I count myself to be. What has become of thy "mother?"—"She is dead."—"And what hindered thee from coming to me

" long before this?"—" I could not induce myself to do so, because I felt that " my ignorance and youth were obstacles to my entering into the society of " princes; but as this desire had clung to my heart since many years, I made " such studies as might qualify me to meet thee, and this I at length decided to " do."—" What art thou good for?"—" For business of any kind, important " or trifling." Jaafar immediately ordered his attendant to give the man one thousand dirhems for each year of his age, and ten thousand more to defray his personal expenses till such time as he could be placed. To this he added the present of a noble horse.—When ar-Rashid put Jaafar to death, as we have already related (*vol. I. p.* 310), he arrested his father Yahya, and his brother al-Fadl, who were then living in the palace. On setting out for ar-Rakka, he took them both with him, and kept all the members of the Barmekide family in custody, with the exception of Yahya. When they reached ar-Rakka, ar-Rashid sent to inform Yahya that the might take up his residence in that city

573 or wherever he pleased. Yahya replied that he preferred being with his son, and the khalif then sent to ask him if he would like to dwell in a prison. Yahya declared that he would, and from that time he was kept with al-Fadl in confinement. At first, they were allowed some liberty, but subsequently they experienced alternations of rigour and relaxation, according to the nature of the reports which reached ar-Rashid concerning them. He then confiscated the property of every member of the family.—It is said that Masrûr the eunuch was sent by him to the prison, and that he told the guardian to bring al-Fadl before him. When he was brought out, he addressed him thus: " The Commander of the faithful " sends me to say that he ordered thee to make a true statement of thy property, " and that thou didst pretend to do so, but he is assured that thou hast still great " wealth in reserve; and his orders to me are, that, if thou dost not inform me " where the money is, I am to give thee two hundred strokes of a whip. I " should therefore advise thee not to prefer thy riches to thyself." On this al-Fadl looked up at him and said: " By Allah! I made no false statements, and " were the choice offered to me of being sent out of the world or of receiving a " single stroke of a whip, I should prefer the former alternative; that, the Commander of the faithful well knoweth, and thou also knowest full well that we " maintained our reputation at the expense of our wealth; how then could we " now shield our wealth at the expense of our bodies? If thou hast really got any

"orders, let them be executed." On this, Masrûr produced some whips which he brought with him rolled up in a napkin, and ordered his servants to inflict on al-Fadl two hundred stripes. They struck him with all their force, using no moderation in their blows, so that they nearly killed him. There was in that place a man skilled in treating (*wounds*), who was called in to attend al-Fadl. When he saw him, he observed that fifty strokes had been inflicted on him, and when the others declared that two hundred had been given, he asserted that his back bore the traces of fifty and not more. He then told al-Fadl that he must lie down on his back on a reed-mat, so that they might tread on his breast. Al-Fadl shuddered at the proposal, but having at length given his consent, they placed him on his back. The operator then trod on him, after which he took him by the arms and dragged him along the mat, by which means a great quantity of flesh was torn off the back. He then proceeded to dress the wounds, and continued his services regularly, till one day, when, on examining them, he immediately prostrated himself in thanksgiving to God. They asked him what was the matter, and he replied that the patient was saved, because new flesh was forming. He then said: "Did I not say that he had received fifty strokes? Well, by Allah! one thousand "strokes could not have left worse marks; but I merely said so that he might take "courage, and thus aid my efforts to cure him." Al-Fadl, on his recovery, borrowed ten thousand dirhems from a friend and sent them to the doctor, who returned them. Thinking that he had offered too little, he borrowed ten thousand more, but the man refused them and said: "I cannot accept a salary for curing "the greatest among the generous; were it even twenty thousand dinars, I should "refuse them." When this was told to al-Fadl, he declared that such an act of generosity surpassed all that he himself had done during the whole course of his life. For he had learned that the doctor was poor and in great distress.— The following verses, which, I believe, are by Abû 'l-Atâhiya, were frequently recited by al-Fadl in his prison:

> We address our complaints to God in our sufferings, for it is his hand which removeth pain and affliction. We have quitted the world, and yet we exist therein; we are not of the living, neither are we of the dead. When the gaoler happens to enter our cell, we wonder and exclaim: "This man has come from the world!"

I have since discovered that these verses are by Sâlih Ibn Abd al-Kaddûs;





they form part of a poem which he composed when in prison. Some, however, attribute them to Ali Ibn al-Khalil, who, having been suspected of atheism at the same time as Sâlih, was imprisoned along with him by the order of the khalif 574 al-Mahdi.—The praises of the Barmekides were celebrated by all the contemporary poets. Marwân Ibn Abi Hafsa, or Abû 'l-Hajnâ as some say, composed the following lines on al-Fadl :

> The power of doing good and of harming is in the hands of princes, but the Barmekides do good and harm not. If punishment is to be inflicted, that duty is imposed on others; but to them all good is justly attributed. When thou knowest not the origin and ancestry of a man, examine his acts; when the roots are swollen with moisture (12), the sprouts flourish and the crop is abundant.

Al-Attâbi(13) the poet incurred the displeasure of ar-Rashid, but was pardoned through al-Fadl's intercession. On this occasion he pronounced these lines :

> I was cast into the abyss of death, from which neither counsel nor artifice could save me. But your words ceased not in my favour till you snatched my life from the grasp of fate.

Abû Nuwâs praised him also in a *kasîda* wherein he said :

> I shall complain to al-Fadl, the son of Yahya, the son of Khâlid, of the pains of love; perhaps he may unite me to my mistress.

On its being remarked to the poet that he was wrong in addressing such a strange request to al-Fadl, he replied that he meant a union of preference (*and affection*), not a union of the persons. Al-Mutanabbi imitated this where he says :

> Perhaps the emir may see my abasement, and intercede with her who made me an example of (*unrequited*) love.

A certain poet composed one single line on al-Fadl, which was this :

> What we have all experienced from al-Fadl's generosity has converted the human race into (*grateful*) poets.

Fault having been found with this verse because it was isolated, al-Ozâfir Ibn Ward Ibn Saad al-Kummi composed the following to match it :

> He taught the most unprolific geniuses amongst us how to compose in verse, and the avaricious how to show generosity.

This line was much admired.—The affection of al-Fadl for his father was extreme: it is related that, when they were in prison and unable to procure warm water, which however was necessary for his father, as he could not make use of cold water in winter, al-Fadl took the copper ewer which contained the water for their use and applied it to his stomach, that he might thus, in some measure, diminish its coldness and render it fit for his father's use.—The anecdotes told of al-Fadl are very numerous. He was born on the 22nd of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 147 (February, A.D. 765), but at-Tabari says, in his History, towards the commencement of his chapter on the reign of Hârûn ar-Rashîd: "The birth of "al-Fadl Ibn Yahya took place in the year 148."—God best knows the truth! —He died in prison, at ar-Rakka, on a Friday morning in the month of al-Muharram, A.H. 193 (Oct.-Nov., A.D. 808); some say, in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 192. When ar-Rashîd was informed of his death, he said: "My fate is near unto his;" and so it proved, for he expired at Tûs, on the eve of Saturday, the 3rd of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 193 (March, A. D. 809); some state, however, that he died on the 15th of the month, and others, that he breathed his last on the eve of Thursday, the 15th of the first Jumâda; but Ibn al-Labbân al-Faradi (14) mentions that his death occurred in the month of the latter Rabî; 575 they all agree, however, as to the year. We have already stated that al-Fadl and ar-Rashîd were born about the same time.—On the death of ar-Rashîd, his sons, Muhammad al-Amîn and (*Abû Jaafar*) al-Mansûr the governor of Khorâsân, were established as his successors in the khalifat.

(1) By the Moslim law, foster-brothers and foster-sisters are assimilated in most respects to real brothers and real sisters.

(2) Ibn al-Athîr, the historian, does not fail to remark, in his *Kâmil*, that, as long as al-Khaizurân lived, ar-Rashîd did not attempt to deprive al-Fadl of the vizirate; but, the very year in which she died, he put that project into execution.

(3) See vol. I. page 355, note (24).

(4) Al-Masûdi says, in his *Murûj ad-Dahab*: "The grandee entrusted with the guardianship (*sidâna*) of "this temple (*the Nûbehâr at Balkh*) was entitled al-Barmak (*the Barmek*)."

(5) See vol. II. page 137.

(6) This town lay in Adarbaijân. A manuscript has here *Nahrâwan*, which seems preferable, this place being situated in Irâk.

(7) See vol. I. page 159.

(8) I read الأذى الوى, but all my manuscripts give the reading reproduced in the printed text.

(9) See vol. II. page 208.

(10) The verb غلى signifies: To perfume the hair or beard with *ghâlia* غالية. This word, the precise meaning of which I did not recollect when writing the note in page 259 of vol. I., means *civet*. The Arabs call a *civet-cat*, *Katt al-Ghâlia*, and the same word, *gato de algalia*, has passed into the Spanish and Portuguese languages.

(11) Here, in the Arabic, follow the words والقسطار الصيرفى *al-kistâr as-sairafi* (*nummularius callidus*). If they form a surname, the phrase which follows must begin thus in the translation: *Al-Kistâr as-Sairafi and Omâra Ibn Hamza descended, etc.* But in two of my MSS. the phrase *Al-Jihshiâri relates the same anecdote, etc.*, is inserted between the words *as-Sairafi* and *Omâra*. The true reading is therefore uncertain, and I prefer not hazarding a translation.

(12) The word ندى *nada* means both *moisture* and *generosity*. Here the poet confounds the two ideas.

(13) Abû Amr Kulthûm Ibn Omar Ibn Taghlib at-Taghlibi, a poet and *kâtib*, was a native of Damascus, established at Kinnisrîn. He bore the surname of al-Attâbi. The Barmekides honoured him with their patronage, and at a later period he enjoyed the friendship of Tâhir Ibn al-Husain.—(*Fihrist*, fol. 166.)

(14) Abû 'l-Husain Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah al-Basri (*a native of Basra*), and surnamed Ibn al-Labbân (*the son of the milkman*), was an eminent jurisconsult of the Shafite sect, and possessed such skill in the calculation of inheritance-shares, that he obtained the surname of al-Faradi. A number of works were composed by him on this subject, and Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi declared that no one had ever produced any thing like them. Ibn al-Labbân was heard to say that there was not an inheritance-calculator on earth who had not been his disciple or a disciple of his disciples; otherwise that person could do nothing good in his profession. He gave his lessons in a college built purposely for him at Baghdad, and he died in the month of the first Rabî, A. H. 402 (October, A. D. 1011).—(*Tabakât as-Shâfiyîn*.)—We here again find another college built before the time of Nizâm al-Mulk, who has been generally supposed to have founded the first establishment of the kind. See Introduction to vol. I. page xxvii.

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## AL FADL IBN AR-RABI.

Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Fadl was the son of ar-Rabî Ibn Yûnus Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abi Furwa.—This last, whose real name was Kaisân, was a *mawla* to (*the khalif*) Othmân Ibn Affân (*vol. I. pp.* 521,526).—We have already spoken of his father ar-Rabî (*vol. I. p.* 521) and mentioned something of what passed between him and Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr.—When the sovereign authority devolved to ar-Rashîd, this prince chose the Barmekides for his vizirs, and al-Fadl, who had aspired to an equality with them and hoped to rival them in influence, conceived a deep hatred against them on finding all his efforts for that purpose ineffectual. Obaid Allah Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Wahb (*vol. I. page* 29) said:

"When God wills the destruction of a family (*or people*) and the ruin of their "prosperity, he disposes certain causes to effect that purpose; and one of the "causes which contributed to the fall of the Barmekides was their disdain for "al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî. He therefore wrought against them underhand, and "having succeeded in forming a close intimacy with ar-Rashîd, he turned that "prince's heart against them. In this he was seconded by the *kâtib* Ismail Ibn "Sabîh till the event was brought to pass." It is related that Yahya Ibn Khalid al-Barmaki was one day holding a court for the dispatch of public business, with his son Jaafar seated before him to write his decisions on the memorials which were presented, when al-Fadl came in with ten written applications from different persons. To each of these Yahya made an objection, and ended by refusing his sanction to every one of them, on which al-Fadl gathered them up, saying: "Go back (*to those who sent you! applications*) repelled and rejected!" He then turned to go out and recited the following lines:

> Fortune may yet alter her present course and produce some change; Fortune is apt to stumble in her gait. She may grant certain wishes, procure satisfaction for certain offences, and replace this state of things by another.

Yahya, overhearing these words, immediately recalled him, saying: "Come "back, Abû 'l-Abbâs! I insist upon it;" and set his approval to all the memorials. It was very shortly after this, that the fall of the Barmekides was brought about through al-Fadl's means, and he then became vizir to ar-Rashîd. In allusion to this event, Abû Nuwâs (*vol. I. p.* 391), or Abû Hazra according to some, recited the following lines:

> Fortune slighted the merits of the Barmekides when she overthrew their power by a fatal stroke. But certainly that same fortune which respected not the deserts of Yahya will have no regard for those of the family of ar-Rabî.

A discussion having arisen one day in the presence of ar-Rashîd between Jaafar Ibn Yahya and al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî, the former called his adversary a foundling, in allusion to the circumstance that no one know who ar-Rabî's father was (*vol. I. p.* 523). Stung with the insult, al-Fadl exclaimed: "Bear witness to that, Com-"mander of the faithful!" On this Jaafar turned to ar-Rashîd and said: "Commander of the faithful! before whom does this ignorant man cite thee to "bear witness? thee, who art the judge of the judges!"—After the death of ar-

Rashîd, al-Fadl continued to act as vizir; having enjoyed the confidence of that prince, he procured al-Amîn's elevation to the throne, without taking the least notice of al-Mâmûn, who was then in Khorâsân. This prince immediately resolved on dispatching a body of troops to intercept him on his return from Tûs, where ar-Rashîd had breathed his last, but he was dissuaded from his purpose by his vizir al-Fadl Ibn Sahl who felt apprehensive of the consequences. Al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî then foresaw the danger which awaited him in case of al-Mâmûn's accession to the khalifate, and he therefore persuaded al-Amîn to deprive him of 376 his rights as declared successor to the throne, and confer them on his own son Mûsa Ibn al-Amîn. This produced a misunderstanding between the two brothers, and at length al-Mâmûn, by the advice of his vizir al-Fadl Ibn Sahl, dispatched an army from Khorâsân under the command of Tâhir Ibn al-Husain (*vol. I. p.* 649) (1). Al-Amîn then took counsel of al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî, and sent Ali Ibn Isa Ibn Mâhân at the head of an army from Baghdad to repel the invaders. In the battle which ensued, the latter general lost his life. This occurred A.H. 194 (809-10). From that moment the affairs of al-Amîn fell into confusion and the power of al-Mâmûn was consolidated; as for al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî, he retired to a place of concealment in the month of Rajab, A. H. 196 (March-April, A. D. 812), on perceiving that all his plans had gone to ruin. He appeared in public, some time after, when Ibrahîm Ibn al-Mahdi (*vol. I. p.* 16) usurped the the khalifate at Baghdad, and he entered into his service. On the failure of Ibrahîm's undertaking, ar-Rabî concealed himself a second time, and finally obtained his pardon from al-Mâmûn through the intercession of Tâhir Ibn al-Husain, who conducted him into the presence of the prince. This circumstance is sometimes related in a different manner. From that time till his death he remained unemployed, having never, as far as I can discover, occupied any post under al-Mâmûn. The poet Abû Nuwâs wrote al-Fadl the following lines to console him on the loss of ar-Rashîd and congratulate him on the accession of al-Amîn :

> O Abû 'l-Abbâs! be consoled in thy sorrows over the noblest of the dead by the aspect of the best that ever was or will be among the living. The vicissitudes of time revolve and now produce evil, now good. The prince who lives repays for (*the loss of*) him who is dead and hidden in the dust of the grave; thou hast not suffered by the exchange, neither hath the dead deceived (*thee by appointing an unworthy successor*).

In another piece of verse composed in praise of al-Amîn, Abû Nuwâs said of him :

It is not repugnant to God that (*the good qualities of*) all mankind should be united in a single individual.

(*Speaking of the verses given before this last,*) Abû Bakr as-Sûli said : "The "*kâtib* Ahmad Ibn Yûsuf (*vol. I. p.* 271, *n.* (12) ) took the idea of these verses, "and having enlarged upon it, he addressed his piece to one of his *brethren* "whose parrot had died, and who had a brother of a most untractable temper, "called Abd al-Hamîd, still living." The piece is as follows :

Thou survivest; and may our lives be the ransom of thine! May God, the possessor of all grandeur, grant thee consolation! Great was the stroke which fate inflicted on thee when it killed thy parrot. How strange that death should come unto it and miss Abd al-Hamîd, thy brother. Abd al-Hamîd was a fitter object for death than thy parrot. Every sort of misfortune has come over us; the loss of the one and the presence of the other.

In the life of Ibn ar-Rûmi (*vol. II. p.* 300) we have inserted two pieces similar to this, and addressed to the vizir Abû 'l-Kâsim Obaid Allah on the death of one of his sons and the existence of the other. The idea is borrowed from the verses just given, but it was Abû Nuwâs who opened the way. Succeeding poets appropriated the thought with some slight difference in the mode of its expression.— Al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî died in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 208 (March-April, A. D. 824); some say in the month of the latter Rabî. It was on him that Abû Nuwâs composed his poem, rhyming in *d*, which contains the expression : *and good works became* (for him) *a custom.*

(1) When al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî advised al-Amîn to deprive al-Mâmûn of his right to the throne and confer it on his own son Mûsa, some of the more prudent of that prince's counsellors endeavoured to dissuade him from so dangerous a project; but their representations were of no avail, and the fatal influence of al-Fadl predominated. Al-Amîn then essayed to draw al-Mâmûn to Baghdad, so that he might secure his person, but the latter would not let himself be circumvented in this manner, and sent a letter of excuse. The two princes then entered into a long correspondence, and al-Mâmûn was almost induced to transfer his rights to Mûsa, when his vizir al-Fadl Ibn Sahl had a private interview with him and encouraged him to resist, assuring him that, by adopting resolute proceedings, he could not fail to obtain possession of the khalifate. Al-Mâmûn followed his vizir's advice, and al-Fadl Ibn Sahl began to gain partisans to the cause of his master and to strengthen the frontier garrisons. The war broke out soon after, and al-Amîn fell a victim to the injudicious counsels of his minister al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî.—(*Ad-Dual al-Islâmiya*, MS. No. 895, fol. 200.)

## AL-FADL IBN SAHL.

Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Fadl Ibn Sahl as-Sarakhsi was the brother of al-Hasan Ibn Sahl, him whose life has been given (*vol. I. p.* 408). He made his profession of 577 Islamism (1) to al-Mâmûn in the year 190 (A. D. 805-6); but some say that it was his father Sahl who made the profession, and that it was al-Mahdi who received it. Al-Fadl Ibn Sahl served Al-Mâmûn as vizir and domineered over him to such a degree that he once outbid him for a female slave whom he wanted to purchase. When Jaafar the Barmekide resolved on placing al-Fadl in the service of al-Mâmûn, Yahya (*Jaafar's father*) spoke of him so favourably in the presence of ar-Rashid, that the latter ordered him to be brought in. On appearing before the khalif, al-Fadl was so completely overcome with confusion that he could not utter a word. Ar-Rashid then turned towards Yahya with the look of one who blamed his choice, but Fadl (*recovered himself and*) said: "Commander of the faithful! it is an excellent proof of a servant's merit that "his heart is seized with respect in the presence of his master." "To this ar-Rashid replied: "If you kept silent that you might frame this answer, I "must say that you have succeeded well; but if it came to you extempore, "it is still better and better." To every succeeding question which the khalif addressed him, he replied in a manner suited to justify the character given of him by Yahya. Al-Fadl was highly accomplished, and he received the surname of *Zû 'r-Riâsatain* (*the holder of the two commands*) because he exercised the authority of the vizirate, and that of the sword (*as commander in chief of the army*). (*Like his master al-Mâmûn*) he acknowledged the rights of the family of Ali (2). In astrology he displayed the greatest skill, and most of his predictions received their accomplishment. Abû 'l-Husain Ali as-Salâmi relates, in his History of the governors of Khorâsân, that, when al-Mâmûn resolved on sending Tâhir Ibn al-Husain (*vol. I. p.* 649) against his brother Muhammad al-Amin, al-Fadl Ibn Sahl examined the horoscope of this general, and finding the *indicator* in the middle of the sky and that it was *zû 'yaminain* (3), he told al-Mâmûn that Tâhir would conquer al-Amin provided he were surnamed Zû 'l-Yaminain. Al-Mâmûn then conceived a high admiration for al-Fadl's talent, and gave this surname to Tâhir; he became also an assiduous student in the



science of the stars. The same writer says: "One of al-Fadl Ibn Sahl's "astrological predictions wherein he perfectly succeeded was the following: "when Tâhir Ibn al-Husain was nominated to march forth against al-Amin, "al-Fadl designated a fortunate hour for his departure and, at that moment, "he knotted his standard (4) and placed it in his hand, saying: 'I here knot for "'thee a standard which shall not be untied for six and fifty years.' Now, "from the time of Tâhir Ibn al-Husain's going forth against Ali Ibn Isa, al-"Amin's general, till that of Muhammad Ibn Tâhir Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir "Ibn al-Husain's capture at Naisâpur by Yakûb Ibn al-Laith as-Saffâr, precisely six and fifty years intervened." Ibn Al-Laith took Muhammad prisoner on Sunday, the 2nd of Shawwâl, A. H. 259 (August, A. D. 873).—Another instance of his successful predictions was that concerning himself: when al-Mâmûn obliged al-Fadl's mother to deliver up all the property which he had left on his decease, she brought to him a coffer, locked and sealed. On opening it he found a little box, closed also with a seal, and within it a paper folded up, and containing a piece of silk bearing the following inscription in his own handwriting: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement! This is the "fate which al-Fadl Ibn Sahl has predicted for himself: he will live forty-eight "years, and be killed between water and fire." He lived precisely to this age, and was murdered in his bath at Sarakhs, by Ghâlib, the maternal uncle of al-Mâmûn. Many other instances are given of his successful predictions.—It is related that he one day said to Thumâma Ibn al-Ashras (5): "I know not what "to do; I am overwhelmed by the number of persons who apply to me for fa-"vours."—"Quit thy seat," said Thumâma, "and it shall be my business to "prevent a single one of them from meeting thee." Al-Fadl acknowledged the counsel to be good, and from that period Thumâma remained charged with all his personal affairs.—During his residence in Khorâsân, al-Fadl had a fit of sickness which brought him to the brink of death; on his recovery, he held an audience, in which numerous congratulations, all drawn up with great elegance, were addressed to him. When the speakers had finished, he turned to them and said: "Sickness has advantages which no reasonable man can "deny: it expiates sins; it prepares for us the reward due to patient suffering; "it rouses us from supineness; it makes us grateful for the benefit of health; "it calls us to repentance, and it incites us to charity."—His praises were 378

celebrated by some of the most eminent poets of the age; thus Ibrahim Ibn al-Abbâs as-Sûli (*vol. I. p.* 22) said of him :

**There is no hand like that of al-Fadl Ibn Sahl. Its gifts are wealth, and its stroke is death. Its palm is formed for liberality, and its back to receive grateful kisses.**

It was from this that Ibn ar-Rûmi took the idea of the following passage; it belongs to one of his poems in which he addresses the vizir al-Kasim Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Wahb :

**I am placed between poverty and the necessity of maintaining a respectable appearance; in this position the worthiest of men would die of inanition. Stretch then forth to me that hand of which the palm is accustomed to bestow, and the back to be kissed.**

It was of al-Fadl that Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad (some say Ibn Aiyûb) at-Taimi (5) said :

**Rest assured that the noblest in every city, great though they be, are all al-Fadl's inferiors. When it pleases him, you may see the greatest of mankind humbled before him, and he humbleth himself only before God. The more God exalts him, the more he is humble and the more each man of rank is humble before him.**

Muslim Ibn al-Walid al-Ansâri, surnamed Sarî al-Ghawâni (*vol. I. p.* 25), said of him in one of his *kasîda's* :

**You established one khalifate and overthrew another; great was that which you established and that which you overthrew.**

Al-Jihshiâri (*vol. II. p.* 137) relates that al-Fadl Ibn Sahl having been plunged into the deepest affliction by the loss of a son called al-Abbâs, Ibrahîm Ibn Mûsa Ibn Jaafar al-Alawi (6) went in to him and recited this verse :

**Better for thee than the possession of al-Abbâs is that indemnity for his loss which God reserves thee; and a better company than thine for al-Abbâs is that of God.**

Al-Fadl acknowledged the truth of his words and made him a present; from that time, he felt consoled.—Al-Mâmûn at length found the influence which al-Fadl had acquired so onerous to himself, that he suborned his maternal uncle

Ghâlib as-Saûdi the black (7) to murder him. Al-Fadl was at Sarakhs and in his bath, when Ghâlib entered suddenly with some others and slew him: this occurred on Thursday, the 2nd of Shaabân, A. H. 202 (February, A. D. 818); some say, A. H. 203. He was then aged forty-eight years; some say, forty-one years and five months. At-Tabari states, in his History, that al-Fadl died at the age of sixty; others again say that he was murdered on Friday, the 2nd of Shaabân, A. H. 202. This last date I consider to be the true one. Elegies were composed on his death by Muslim Ibn al-Walid, Dibil (*vol. I. p.* 507), and Ibrahim Ibn al-Abbâs (*vol. I. p.* 22).—His father Sahl died also in the year 202, soon after the assassination of his son. His mother, who was also the mother of his brother al-Hasan (*vol. I. p.* 408), lived to witness the marriage of Bûrân (*vol. I. p.* 268) with al-Mâmûn. On the death of al-Fadl, this prince went to console his mother and said: "Grieve not for him, neither be afflicted at his "loss; for God has given thee a son in me to replace him; so you need not "conceal from me the sentiments which you used to confide to him." On this she wept and answered: "O Commander of the faithful! why should I not "grieve for a son who gained me another such as you?"—*Sarakhsi* means *belonging to Sarakhs*, a city in Khorâsân.

(1) Ibn al-Athîr says, in his *Kâmil*, year 190, that al-Fadl Ibn Sahl was originally a *Majûsi*, or fire-worshipper.

(2) "It was he," says Ibn al-Athîr, "who advised al-Mâmûn to designate Ali Ibn Mûsa ar-Rida as suc-"cessor to the khalifate."

(3) *Zû 'yamînain* signifies *doubly fortunate*, and *ambidexter*.

(4) See vol. II. page 141, note (3).

(5) Abû Maan Thumâma Ibn al-Ashras, a member of the tribe of Numair and a native of Basra, was surnamed al-Mâjin (*the libertine*) for his disorderly life. The khalifs ar-Rashid and al-Mâmûn admitted him into their society, and many amusing anecdotes are told of him. One evening after sunset, he went out in a state of inebriation, and seeing al-Mâmûn riding towards him, he took the other side of the street; but the khalif remarked him and rode up, upon which the following dialogue ensued: "Is it you, Thumâma?"—"Yes." "Are you drunk?"—"No."—"Do you know me?"—"Yes."—"Who am I?"—"I don't know." This answer threw al-Mamûn into such a fit of laughter, that he nearly fell off his horse. Thumâma died A. H. 213 (A. D. 828-9) (*an-Nujûm az-Zâhira*). He professed the Motazilite doctrines, but held some others peculiar to himself, and of which as-Shahrastâni gives an account: see Dr Cureton's *Shahrestâni*, Arabic text, page 49.

(5) *At-Taimi* (التيمى) is the true reading. The *Khatîb* says, in his History of Baghdad (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 634, fol 119, and fonds Asselin, MS. No. 541, fol. 25 verso), that Abû Muhammad



Abd Allah Ibn Aiyûb at-Taimi, a member of the tribe of Taim Allah Ibn Thaalaba, was one of the eminent poets of the Abbaside dynasty, and celebrated the praises of al-Amîn and al-Mâmûn.

(6) This is the same Alide who revolted in Yemen, A.H. 200.—See Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*.

(7) Al-Mâmûn's complexion was dark or tawny; what is here said by Ibn Khallikân accounts for that peculiarity.

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## AL-FADL IBN MARWAN.

579 Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Fadl Ibn Marwân Ibn Mâsarkhas was vizir to al-Motasim. That prince having accompanied his brother al-Mâmûn to Asia Minor and being with him when he died there, it was al-Fadl Ibn Marwân who administered the oath of fealty to the people. Al-Motasim, having thus succeeded to his brother, hastened to testify his satisfaction to al-Fadl for his conduct, and, having made his entry into Baghdad on Saturday, the 1st of Ramadân, A. H. 218 (September, A.D. 833), he invested him with the dignity of vizir, confiding to him at the same time the administration of all his affairs. Al-Fadl had directed his education, and, by the length of time thus passed in his service, he acquired the highest influence over him, even before the expiration of al-Mâmûn's reign. He was originally a Christian, and possessed but a slight knowledge of (*Moslim*) science; he displayed, however, a full acquaintance with the duties of his office. A collection has been made of the epistles composed by him, and he left a work entitled *al-Mushâhidât wa 'l-Akhbâr* (*observations and narrations*), containing an account of the events which had passed under his own observation. One of his sayings was: "A *kâtib* is like a wheel for raising "water; he gets out of order if not kept at work." At an audience which he held one day for the dispatch of public business, he noticed, among the memorials presented to him, a paper on which were inscribed these lines:

> Thou actest like Pharaoh, O Fadl Ibn Marwân! but take warning. Thy predecessors were al-Fadl, and al-Fadl, and al-Fadl; three princes now gone their ways; whom fetters, prison, and violence deprived of life. Thou hast become a tyrant among men, and thou shalt perish as those three before thee have perished.

The Fadls here meant were those whose lives have been just given; namely al-Fadl Ibn Yahya al-Barmaki, al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî and al-Fadl Ibn Sahl. These verses are attributed by al-Marzubâni (1), in his *Mojam as-Shuarâ*, to al-Haitham Ibn Firâs as-Sâmi, a descendant of Sâma Ibn Luwai, and az-Zamakhshari makes a similar statement in his *Rabî al-Abrâr*. An anecdote of a similar kind is told of Asad Ibn Razîn the *kâtib*: when Abû Abd Allah al-Kûfi was appointed to replace Abû Jaafar Ibn Shîrzâd (2) and had occupied the residence and filled the seat of his predecessor, Asad wished to go into his presence, but the usher refused him admittance. On this he returned home and wrote al-Kûfi these lines:

> We have seen the curtain of thy door drawn against us, but this humiliation was not effected by thy will. Hear my words, and be not angry with me; I seek neither money nor honours: Gratitude survives when all else perisheth; how many attained, like thee, a princely station, yet their power ended and they themselves departed. In that palace—in that hall—on that very throne—I saw the power high exalted which is now overthrown.

When Abû Abd Allah read these verses, he sent for the author and after many apologies, he granted the request which he had intended to make. Something similar to this will be found in the life of Abd al-Malik Ibn Omair, where we mention the observation made by him to Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân, when the head of Musâb Ibn az-Zubair was presented to him (*see p.* 117 *of this volume*). —The feelings of al-Motasim for al-Fadl Ibn Marwân underwent at length a total change, and he caused him to be arrested in the month of Rajab, A.H. 221 (June-July, A. D. 836); he said at the same time: "He was disobedient to God whilst "serving me, so God hath given me power over him." Al-Fadl was afterwards employed by other khalifs, and he died in the month of the latter Rabî, A. H. 250 (May-June, A. D. 864); aged eighty years. It is stated, however, in the *Fihrist* (3) that he lived to the age of ninety-three: God only knows the truth! At-Tabari places his fall in the month of Safar of the year before mentioned. As-Sûli (*vol. I. p.* 22) says: "When al-Motasim disgraced him, he seized in his "house one million of dinars (4) and took away, besides, furniture and vases to "the value of another million. He detained him in prison five months, and "having then ordered him to remain a prisoner in his house, he chose for vizir "Ahmad Ibn Ammâr (5)."—A favorite saying of al-Fadl Ibn Marwân was: 580 "Attack not thy enemy when he is advancing, for he has thus an advantage

" over thee; neither attack him in his retreat, for thou hast already got rid of " him."

(1) The life of Abû Abd Allah Muhammad al-Marzubâni is given by our author.

(2) I am inclined to think that this Abû Jaafar Ibn Shîrzâd was the same person whom the author of the *ad-Dual al-Islâmiya* calls Ahmad Ibn Sâlih Ibn Shîrzâd al-Kutrubulli. According to this writer, he possessed great abilities and became vizir to al-Motamid, but he held his post for about a month only, and died A. H. 266 (A. D. 879-80).—(MS. No. 895, fol. 235.)

(3) See vol. I. page 630, note (3).

(4) About five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

(5) See the life of Muhammad Ibn az-Zaiyât.

## AL-FUDAIL IBN IYAD AT-TALAKANI.

Abû Ali al-Fudail Ibn Iyâd Ibn Masûd Ibn Bishr at-Tâlakâni al-Fundîni, a celebrated ascetic and one of the *Men of the Path* (1), drew his origin from a family of the tribe of Tamîm which had settled at Tâlakân. He commenced his life as a highway robber and intercepted travellers on the road from Abiward to Sarakhs, but his conversion was operated by the following circumstance: As he was climbing over a wall to see a girl whom he loved, he heard a voice pronounce this verse of the Koran: *Is not the time yet come unto those who believe, that their hearts should humbly submit to the admonition of God* (2)? On this, he exclaimed: "O Lord! that time is come." He then went away from the place, and the approach of night induced him to repair for shelter to a ruined edifice. He there found a band of travellers, one of whom said to the others: "Let us set " out;" but another answered: "Let us rather wait till daylight, for al-Fudail is " on the road and will stop us." Al-Fudail then turned his heart to God, and assured them that they had nothing to fear. He ranked amongst the greatest of the *Saiyids* (*or saints*). Sofyân Ibn Oyaina (*vol. I. p.* 578) relates the following anecdote concerning him: "Harûn ar-Rashîd called for us, and when " we entered into his presence, al-Fudail followed, with his cloak drawn over " his face, and said to me: 'Tell me, Sofyân! which of these is the Com-

" 'mander of the faithful?'—'There he is;' said I, pointing out ar-Rashid.
" He then addressed (*the khalif*) in these terms: 'O thou with the handsome
" 'face! art thou the man whose hand governeth this people and who hast taken
" 'that duty on thy shoulders? verily, thou hast taken on thyself a heavy burden.'
" Ar-Rashid wept on hearing these words, and ordered to each of us a purse of
" money. We all received the gift, except al-Fudail; and ar-Rashid said to him:
" 'O Abû Ali! if thou dost not think it lawful to accept it, give it to some poor
" 'debtor, or else feed therewith the hungry, or clothe the naked.' He requested,
" however, the permission to refuse it; and, when we went out, I said to him:
" 'Thou hast done wrong, O Abû Ali! why didst thou not take it and spend it
" 'in works of charity?' On this he seized me by the beard, and exclaimed: 'O
" 'Abû Muhammad! how canst thou, who art the chief jurisconsult of this city
" 'and a man whom all look up to, how canst thou make such a blunder? had
" 'the money been lawfully acquired by those people (*the khalif and his officers*,
" 'it had been lawful for me to accept it.' "—It is related that ar-Rashid once
said to him: " How great is thy self-abnegation!" to which he made answer:
" Thine is greater."—" How so?" said the khalif.—" Because I make abnega-
" tion of this world, and thou makest abnegation of the next; now, this world
" is transitory and the next will endure for ever."—The following anecdote is
related by az-Zamakhshari in his *Rabî al-Abrâr*, Chapter on Food: " Al-Fudail
" said one day to his companions: 'What say you of a man who, having some
" 'dates in his sleeve, sits down in the privy and throws them into it one after
" 'the other?' They answered that he must be mad. 'Then,' said he, 'whoso-
" 'ever throws them into his belly till he fills it is yet more insane; for that privy
" 'is filled from this one.' " It was a saying of his that, when God loves a man,
he increases his afflictions, and when he hates a man, he increases his worldly
prosperity. He said another time: " If the world with all it contains were
" offered to me even on the condition of my not being taken to an account for
" it, I should shun it as you would shun a carrion, lest it should defile your
" clothes."—" The display (3) of devotional works," said he again, " to please
" men is hypocrisy, and acts of devotion done to please men are acts of poly-
" theism." Other sayings of his were: " I am certainly disobedient to God,
" and I perceive it in considering the tempers of my ass and of my slave (*for they*
" *do not always act to please me*)."—" If I had the power of offering up a prayer

" which should be certainly fulfilled, I should ask for nothing else than a proper " *imâm* (*or head of the Moslim community*); for with a good *imâm*, the people " would enjoy peace."—" For a man to be polite to his company and make " himself agreeable to them, is better than to pass nights in prayer and days in " fasting."—Abû Ali ar-Râzi (4) said: " I kept company with al-Fudail during " thirty years, and I never saw him laugh or smile but on one occasion, and that " was the death of his son. On my asking him the reason, he replied: 'What- " ' ever is pleasing to God, is pleasing to me.' " His son was a generous-minded youth, and ranks among the greatest of the holy men; he was one of those who died through love for the Creator. They are all mentioned in a book which I heard read a long time ago, but I cannot now recollect the name of the author. It was said by Abd Allah Ibn al-Mubârak (*vol. II. p.* 12) that, when al-Fudail 381 died, sadness (*in person*) was removed from the world. He was born at Abiward— some say at Samarkand—he passed his youth at Abiward and then went to Kûfa, where he heard Traditions; from thence he removed to Mekka and continued to reside there till his death, which occurred in the month of Muharram, A.H. 187 (January, A. D. 803)—*Tâlakâni* means *belonging to Tâlakân* in Khorâsân (*vol. I. p.* 216).—*Fundîni* means *native of Fundîn*, a village in the dependencies of Marw. —*Abîward* is a small town in Khorâsân.—*Samarkand* is the greatest city of Transoxiana: Ibn Kutaiba says in his *Kitâb al-Maârif*, under the head of Shamir Ibn Ifrîkis, king of Yemen: " This prince went forth with a vast army, and en- " tered Irâk, whence he set out for China; he directed his course through Fars, " Sijistân and Khorâsân, taking cities and castles, slaying and making captives. " He entered the city of as-Soghd and destroyed it, for which reason it was called " *Shamirkend* (شمركند), which means: *Shamir destroyed it*; *kend*, in Persian, " signifying *to destroy*. This name was then altered to suit the genius of the " Arabic idiom and it became *Samarkand* (سمرقند). This city was afterwards " rebuilt and it still retains the name."

(1) See vol. I. page 259.

(2 Koran, surat 57, verse 15.

(3) In place of نركث, as given in the printed text and the MSS., I am confident we must read نزاء.

(4) According to the author of the *Tabakât al-Hanafiya* (MS. fonds St-Germain, No. 132, fol. 102), Abû Ali ar-Râzi was an imâm (*of the law*) and had been taught jurisprudence by the celebrated Abû Yûsuf.

## ADUD AD-DAWLAT IBN BUWAIH.

Abû Shujâa Fannâkhosrû, surnamed Adud ad-Dawlat (*the arm of the empire*), was the son of Rukn ad-Dawlat Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Buwaih ad-Dailami. The remainder of the genealogy has been already given in the life of his uncle Moizz ad-Dawlat Ahmad (*vol. I. p.* 155). When his uncle Imâd ad-Dawlat was on his death-bed in Fars, he received the visit of his brother Rukn ad-Dawlat, and they agreed that Abû Shujâa Fannâkhosrû should be put in possession of that province; it was at this period that he received the title of Adud ad-Dawlat. We have already spoken of his father (*vol. I. p.* 407), of his eldest uncle, Imâd ad-Dawlat (*vol. II. p.* 332), and of his cousin Bakhtyâr (*vol. I. p.* 250); but none of them, notwithstanding their great power and authority, possessed so extensive an empire and held sway over so many kings and kingdoms as Adud ad-Dawlat. In fact, he not only united his relations' states to his, (and we have already mentioned, in the lives of each, what these states were,) but he joined thereto Mosul, Mesopotamia, and other provinces; having brought countries and nations into subjection, and reduced the most refractory to obedience. He was the first monarch after the promulgation of Islamism who was addressed by the title of *Malik* (*king*), and the first also for whom prayers were offered up from the pulpits of Baghdad after those offered for the prosperity of the khalif. Another of his titles was *Tâj al-Millat* (*crown of the faith*), and this led Abû Ishak as-Sâbi to give the title of *at-Tâji* (*the imperial,* or *coronarius*) to the history of the Buwaih family which he composed by this prince's orders. Of this circumstance we have already spoken (*vol. I. p.* 31). Adud ad-Dawlat possessed a considerable degree of information in various sciences, and, being a man of talent, he loved the society of the learned. It was for him that the *shaikh* Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi composed his grammatical treatises, the *Idâh* and the *Takmila* (*vol. I. p.* 380). The greatest poets of the day visited his court and celebrated his praises in magnificent *kasîdas*; one of them was al-Mutanabbi (*vol. I. p.* 102), who arrived at Shîrâz in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 354 (May, A. D. 965), and recited his celebrated *kasîda* rhyming in *h*, wherein he bestows on the prince the following eulogium:

> Having seen all other kings, I journeyed on till I saw their master—him whose hand controls their fate, and who orders it to strike or to spare them—Abû Shujâa of 582





Persia, Adud ad-Dawlat Fannâkhosrû Shahanshâh (*king of kings*). Such are his names; they cannot make him better known, but it gives us pleasure to pronounce them.

This was the first *kasîda* he recited in his presence; and a month had not elapsed when he pronounced another, rhyming in *n*, and containing the following passage, in which he mentions the Valley of Bawwân (*Shîb Bawwân*):

My steed said (*to me*) in the Valley of Bawwân: "Must we then quit this (*delightful* "*spot*) for the battle-field? Adam, thy forefather, has given thee the example of dis- "obedience and taught thee how to abandon Paradise." I replied: "When thou seest "Abû Shujâa, thou wilt forget the rest of men and think of this spot no more; for "mankind and the world itself are but a road whereby to reach him who has no equal "amongst men."

He afterwards praised him in a number of other poems, and the same year, in the beginning of Shaabân, he recited to him the *kasîda* rhyming in *k*, in which he offers his adieu to the prince and promises to revisit his court. This was the last piece composed by al-Mutanabbi, as he was killed on his way home. It contains the following passage:

I now depart after closing up my heart with the seal of thy love, lest any other mortal should essay to harbour there. (*I depart*,) burdened with (*a debt of*) lasting gratitude, so heavy that I have not strength to move. I fear that its weight will break down my camels; (*but*) then, they will not bear me (*from thee*) to another. It is perhaps God's will that this journey enable me (*later*) to fix my abode at thy court. Were it possible, I should keep my eyes closed and shut out the sight (*of all other men*) till I see thee again. Deprived of thy presence, how shall I endure with patience? thy copious bounties have overwhelmed me, and yet they seemed to thee insufficient.

How ingeniously has he said in the same poem:

When we part, whom shall I find to replace thee? since (*the merit of*) all other men is but a false illusion! I am like an arrow shot into the air; it finds nought to retain it and returns again.

His praises were celebrated also by the greatest poet of Irâk, Abou 'l-Hasan Muhammad as-Salâmi, a person whose life will be found in this work. The admirable *kasîda* which he recited to Adud ad-Dawlat contains this passage:

To reach thee, a man who made the sight of thy palace the term of his camel's journey, crossed the wide-extended desert. I, and my courage in the depths of darkness, and my sword, were three (*closely-united*) companions, like the stars of (*the constellation*

*of*) the eagle. I encouraged my hopes with the sight of a king who, for me, would replace mankind, of a palace which, for me, would be the world, and of a day of meeting which, to me, would be worth an eternity (1).

Such verses, I must say, do really deserve the name of *lawful magic*. The 583 idea here expressed has been wrought up by Abû Bakr Ahmad al-Arrâjani (*vol. I. p.* 134) into this form :

Know that he whom I went to praise is a man without defects. How often, at eve, has the recital of his virtues been suspended, like handsome ear-rings, to the ears of listeners. I saw him, and, for me, he was the human race; eternity was in that hour, and the world in that abode.

But how far above the earth are the Pleiads! al-Mutanabbi has expressed the very same idea in the last hemistich of a single verse; he says :

(*Thy dwelling-place*) is the sole object of my journey; a sight of thee is all I wish for; thy dwelling is the world, and thou art all created beings.

He has not, indeed, completed the thought, neither has his verse the beauty of as-Salâmi's, because he omitted the *day worth an eternity*. Let us return to Adud ad-Dawlat: this prince once received a letter from Abû Mansûr Iftikin the Turk, governor of Damascus, containing the following communication: " Syria is free (*from the presence of foreign troops*), it is now within our grasp, and " the rule of the monarch of Egypt has ceased therein; aid me therefore with " money and soldiers, so that I may attack those people even in the seat of their " power." To this, he replied by a note of which (*every two words*) were similar in their written form, so that it could not be read until the vowels and diacritical points were added; it ran thus : " Thy power has misled thee, and the result of " that undertaking would be thy disgrace; fear therefore the dishonour which " may attend it. By this, perhaps, thou mayest be guided." In the composition of this letter he has displayed the utmost ingenuity. Iftikin was originally a *mawla* to Moizz ad Dawlat Ibn Buwaih, and afterwards obtained dominion over Damascus: he marched in person against al-Azîz al-Obaidi, the sovereign of Egypt, and a sanguinary conflict ensued; the troops of Iftikin were routed, and he himself was intercepted in his flight by Daghfal Ibn al-Jarrâh al-Badawi (2) who passed a rope about his neck and led him to al-Azîz. That prince set him

at liberty and treated him with great kindness. Iftikin survived his defeat but a short time, and died (*in Egypt*) on Tuesday, the 7th of Rajab, A. H. 372 (December, A. D. 982).—Adud ad-Dawlat left some pieces of poetry, and the following passage is quoted from one of his *kasîdas* by ath-Thaâlibi, in the *Yatîma*; this writer says: "I selected it from that *kasîda* which contains an unequalled "verse:—

'We drink not wine unless the rain (*keep us at home*); and in the morning only, we 'hearken to the song of the maidens, perfect in beauty, stealing away the reason whilst 'they sing (3) to the double-corded lyre; they bring forth the goblet from its shrine, and 'pour out the liquor to him who surpasses all mankind—the arm of the empire (*Adud 'ad-Dawlat*) the son of its pillar (*Rukn ad-Dawlat*), the king of kings, the vanquisher of 'fate.'"

It is related that when Adud ad-Dawlat was on the point of death, the only words which he could pronounce were the following, and these he did not speak, but chant: "Nought has availed my wealth! my power has expired!" It is said that he died very soon after. He was carried off by an epileptic attack on Monday, the 8th of Shawwâl, A. H. 372 (March, A. D. 983) at Baghdad, and his body was interred in the palace, till removed to Kûfa, where it was deposited in the Mash'had of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib. Adud ad-Dawlat died at the age of forty-seven years, eleven months and three days. The Adudian Hospital (*al-Bîmâristân al-Adudi*) situated on the west side (*of the river Tigris*) was so called after him: he 584 spent an immense sum on this establishment which, for excellent arrangements, has not its equal in the world. He completed its erection in the year 368 (A. D. 978) and provided it with more furniture and utensils than could possibly be described.—It was he who brought to light the tomb of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, at Kûfa, and erected over it the *Mash'had*, or funeral chapel, which is still subsisting. He spent a large sum on this building, and left directions that he should be buried in it. A great difference of opinion prevails respecting the tomb (*discovered by Adud ad-Dawlat*); some consider it to be the tomb of al-Moghaira Ibn Shôba ath-Thakafi (4), and pretend that the place of Ali's tomb is not known; but the truth, I am inclined to believe, is, that Ali was buried in the government palace (*Kasr al-Imâra*) at Kûfa.—*Shîb Bawwân* (*the valley of Bawwân*) is a spot near Shîrâz, abounding in trees and water. It was so called after Bawwân, the son of Irân, the son of al-Aswad, the son of Sem,

the son of Noah. Abû Bakr al-Khowârezmi states that there are four delightful spots in the world: the Ghûta of Damascus, the river al-Obolla (5), the valley of Bawwân, and the Soghd of Samarkand, but the Ghûta of Damascus, says he, surpasses the others.

(1) In vol. I. p. 14, this verse has been mistranslated.

(2) See *Abulfedæ Annales*, tom. II. p 521 et seq.

(3) The MSS. and the printed text have ناعمات, but I read ناغمات.

(4) Abû Isa (or Abû Muhammad) al-Moghaira Ibn Shôba Ibn Aâmir, well known as one of Muhammad's companions, bore so high a reputation for sagacity that he was surnamed *Moghaira tar-Râi* (*Moghaira of foresight*). He contracted, it is said, seventy marriages; a number which his readiness in divorcing his wives easily accounts for. He died A. H. 50 (A. D. 670-1).—(*Nujûm.*) The *Khatîb* says, in his abridged history of Baghdad (MS. No. 634, fol. 9), that al-Moghaira accompanied Muhammad to al-Hudaibiya (A.H. 6) and was with him in the rest of his expeditions; he made the campaigns of Irâk against the Persians, and then governed Basra, as the khalif Omar's lieutenant, for about two years. Moawia entrusted him with the government of Kûfa in A. H. 41 (*al-Bahr az-Zâkhir*, MS. No. 659 A), and he died in that city.

(5) The *Nahr*, or river of al-Obolla, was the name given to a canal branching off the Tigris and falling into the canal of al-Makil near Basra.

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## AL-KASIM IBN MUHAMMAD.

The genealogy of Abû Muhammad al-Kâsim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr is so well known that we need not retrace it here (1). He was one of the most eminent of the *Tâbis*, and of the seven great jurisconsults of Medîna (*vol. I.* 264). In real merit he surpassed all his contemporaries. He handed down Traditions from a great number of Muhammad's companions, and Traditions were received from him and taught to others by many of the principal *Tâbis*. "I never met "any one," said Yahya Ibn Saîd (2), "whom I could pronounce superior in "merit to al Kâsim Ibn Muhammad." (*The imâm*) Mâlik pronounced al-Kâsim one of the (*great*) jurisconsults of the Moslim people. The following anecdote is related by Muhammad Ibn Ishak (3): "A man went to al-Kâsim and asked him "whether he or Sâlim (*vol. I. p.* 552) was the most learned in the law; and "he replied: 'Such, with the blessing of God, is Sâlim.' He made this reply "to avoid telling a falsehood by saying that Sâlim was more learned than him-

"self, and to avoid extolling his own merits by declaring himself more learned "than Sâlim; and yet he was really the more learned of the two." In making his prostrations during prayer, he used to implore God to pardon his father's criminal conduct towards Othmân (4). We have stated in the life of Ali Zain al-Aâbidîn (*vol. II. p.* 210) that he, al-Kâsim and Sâlim Ibn Muhammad were cousins by the mothers' side, and that their mothers were daughters to Yazdegird, the last of the Persian kings. Al-Kâsim died at Kudaid, A.H. 101 (A.D. 719-20) or 102; others say A.H. 108 or 112. On his death-bed he said: "Shroud me in the clothes which I always wore at prayers; my shirt, my *izâr*, "and my *rida* (5)." To this his daughter replied: "My dear father, shall "we not add two suits more?" and he answered: "Abû Bakr was thus "shrouded, but *the living have more need for new clothes than the dead* (6)." He died at the age of seventy or seventy-two years.—*Kudaid* is a halting place for caravans between Mekka and Medîna.

(1) See page 98, note (1), of this volume.

(2) Abû Saîd Yahya Ibn Saîd Ibn Kais, a member of the tribe of Najjâr, a native of Medîna and one of the *Tâbis*, received Traditions from Anas Ibn Mâlik, amongst others, and taught them to Mâlik, al-Laith Ibn Saad, and other celebrated imâms. Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr appointed him *kâdi* of al-Hâshimiya in Irak, and he died there A.H. 143 (A.D. 760-1).—(*Tab. al-Muhaddithîn. Siar as-Salaf.*)

(3) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(4) Muhammad the son of Abû Bakr was accessory to the murder of Othmân. See Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 35.

(5) See vol. I. page 4, note (4).

(6) These were Abû Bakr's words when a similar question was made to him. He asked to be buried in his old clothes. See Kosegarten's *Taberistanensis Annales*, tom. II. p. 141

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## ABU OBAID AL-KASIM IBN SALLAM.

Sallâm, the father of Abû Obaid al-Kâsim Ibn Sallâm, was a Greek slave be- 585 longing to an inhabitant of Herât. His son Abû Obaid made the Traditions, philology, and jurisprudence the objects of his studies, and was distinguished for piety, virtuous conduct, orthodox principles and eminent talent. "Abû Obaid," said



the *kâdi* Ahmad Ibn Kâmil (1) " was conspicuous for piety and learning, a doctor " versed in the various branches of Islamic science, such as the Koran *readings*, " jurisprudence, grammar, and history, and a correct transmitter of poems and " narrations preserved by oral tradition. Never, to my knowledge, has any " person impeached the sincerity of his faith."—" Abû Obaid," said Ibrahîm al-Harbi (*vol. I. p.* 46), " was like a mountain into which the breath of life had " been breathed, so that it produced every thing well." He exercised the functions of *kâdi* in the city of Tarasûs (*Tarsus*) during eighteen years. The traditional knowledge which he handed down was received by him from Abû Zaid al-Ansâri (*v. I. p.* 570), al-Asmâi (*v. II. p.* 123), Abû Obaida, Ibn al-Aarâbi (2), al-Kisâi (*v. II. p.* 237), al-Farrâ (3), and many others. Of his own productions (*kutub musannafa*) upwards of twenty, relating to the Korân, the Traditions and the obscure expressions occurring in the Traditions, were delivered down orally. He composed works entitled: *al-Gharîb al-Musannaf* (*original collection of rare expressions*); al-Amthâl (*proverbs*); *Maâni as-Shîr* (*the ideas recurring in poetry*), and a number of other instructive treatises: it is said that he was the first who composed a book on the obscure expressions occurring in the Traditions (*Gharîb al-Hadîth*). He attached himself, for some time, to Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir (*v. II. p.* 49), and, when he wrote out his *Ghârib*, he presented it to this emir (4), who expressed his satisfaction and said: "A mind which led its master to com- " pose a book like this deserves to be dispensed from the necessity of searching " for him the means of subsistence." He then settled on him a monthly pension of ten thousand dirhems (5). Muhammad Ibn Wahb al-Masûdi (6) said: " I heard Abû Obaid relate as follows: 'I was forty years composing this " 'work, and whenever I happened to receive a useful hint from the mouths of " 'men, I wrote it down in its proper place in this book, and I was unable to " 'sleep that night, through joy at having procured such a piece of information. " 'Now, one of you (*scholars*) will come to me for four or five months, and then " 'say: I have remained here very long.' "—" Almighty God," said Hilâl Ibn al-Alâ ar-Rakki (7), " bestowed, out of his bounty, four men on this (*Moslim*) " people at different times: he gave them as-Shâfi, who founded a system of ju- " risprudence on the Traditions; Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (*vol. I. p.* 44), who showed " such firmness under persecution that, without his example, the people had re- " lapsed into infidelity; Yahya Ibn Mâin (8), who, from among the genuine Tra-

"ditions relative to the Prophet, expelled those which were false; and Abû Obaid "al-Kâsim Ibn Sallâm, who explained the obscure terms of the Traditions, and "had he not done so, the people had rushed into error."—Abû Bakr Ibn al-Anbâri (9) said: "Abû Obaid divided the night in three parts, one of them for prayer, "one for sleep, and one for the composition of his works."—"Abû Obaid," said Ishak Ibn Râhwaih (*vol. I. p.* 180), "surpasses us all in science, in philological "knowledge, and in the mass of information which he has collected; we stand in "need of Abû Obaid, and he standeth not in need of us." Thâlab (*v. I. p.* 83) declared that if Abû Obaid had been (*born*) among the children of Israel, he would have been the admiration of his people. Abû Obaid always wore his hair and beard dyed red with *hinna* (10), and he had a dignified and venerable aspect. On arriving at Baghdad he read his works to the public, after which, in the year 222 (A. D. 837) or 223, he set out to perform the pilgrimage, and having fulfilled that duty, he died at Mekka, or, according to another statement, at Medina. Al-Bukhâri (11) places his death in the year 224, and another author adds, in the month of Muharram. The *Khatîb* (*vol. I. p.* 75) says, in his History of Baghdad, that Abû Obaid died at the age of sixty-seven years; the *hâfiz* Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. II. p.* 96) refers his birth to the year 150 (A. D. 767-8), and Abû Bakr az-Zubaidi (12) states, in his *Kitâb at-Takrît*, that he was born A. H. 154.—It is related that, when Abû Obaid had accomplished the pilgrimage and hired (*camels*) to take him back to Irâk, he had a dream on the night preceding his intended departure, and, in this dream, he saw the Prophet sitting, with persons standing near him to keep off the crowd; whilst a number of persons went in and saluted him and placed their hands in his. "As often as I tried to enter," said Abû Obaid, "the ushers kept me back, and I spoke to them, saying: 'Why will you "'not leave the way free between me and the Apostle of God?' to which they "answered: 'No, by Allah! thou shalt not enter, neither shalt thou salute him, "'because thou intendest to go hence to-morrow for Irâk.' On this I replied: 586 "'In that case, I shall not depart.' They then took my engagement to "that effect and allowed me to approach the Prophet; and I went in and "saluted him, and he took me by the hand. The next morning, I broke off my "bargain for the hire of the camels, and took up my abode at Mekka." He continued to inhabit this city till his death, and he was interred in the quarter called Duar Jaafar. Some say that he had this dream at

Medina, and that he died three days after the departure of the pilgrims. He was born at Herât.—*Tarasûs* (*Tarsus*) is a city on the coast of Syria, near as-Sis and al-Missîsa (*vol. I. p.* 112). It was (*re-*)built by al-Mahdi, the son of al-Mansûr, A. H. 168 (A. D. 784-5), according to Ibn al-Jazzâr (*vol. I. p.* 672), in his History.—Besides the works above-mentioned, Abû Obaid composed treatises on the words which terminate in a long or in a short *elif*, on the Korân-readings, and on the genders; the book entitled *Kitab an-Nisab* (*book of genealogies*), the *Kitâb al-Ahdâth* (*book of accidents*) (13), the *Adab al-Kâdi* (*duties of a kâdi*), on the number of verses contained in the Korân, on Faith, on Vows, *de Menstruis*, the *Kitâb al-Amwâl* (*liber opum*), etc.

(1) See vol. I. page 183, note (3).

(2) The lives of Abû Obaida and Ibn al-Aarâbi will be found in this work.

(3) The life of Yahya Ibn Ziâd al-Farrâ is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(4) In the Introduction to the first volume, page xxv, note (1), I risked two conjectures on the meaning of the word *musannaf*. We here find Abû Obaid presenting his *Gharîb al-Musannaf* to Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir, and Ibn Khallikân has just stated, that a number of this doctor's *kutub musannifa* were taught by oral transmission. From this it would appear that my first conjecture is untenable. I therefore conclude that the *kutub musannafa* were original works, and that the *kutub* were mere *compilations* of traditional information.

(5) About two hundred and sixty pounds sterling. A large monthly pension, if the statement be true.

(6) This may perhaps be the same person as Muhammad Ibn Wahb, a celebrated devotee and a disciple of al-Junaid, whose death is placed by the author of the *Mirât* (MS. No. 640, fol. 211) in A.H. 271 (A.D. 884-5).

(7) I find in ad-Dahabi's *Târîkh al-Islâm*, year 337, that Hilâl Ibn al-Alâ was one of the masters of Ishak Ibn Ibrahîm al-Jurjâni, a *hâfiz* who died in that year.

(8) His life will be found in this work.

(9) The life of Ibn al-Anbâri is given by our author.

(10) See vol. I. page 46, note (3).

(11) His life is given in this work.

(12) His life will be found in this work.

(13) This seems to have been a treatise on the pollutions and other *accidents* which invalidate prayer. Every work on Moslim law contains a chapter on this subject.





## ABU 'L-KASIM AL-HARIRI.

Abû Muhammad al-Kâsim Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Othmân al-Hariri al-Basri (*native of Basra*) al-Harâmi, the author of the *Makâmât* (*stations*), was one of the ablest writers of his time, and obtained the most complete success in the composition of his *Makâmas*, wherein is contained a large portion of the language spoken by the Arabs of the desert, such as its idioms, its proverbs, and its subtle delicacies of expression. Any person who acquires a sufficient acquaintance with this book to understand it rightly, will be led to acknowledge the eminent merit of this man, his extensive information and his vast abilities. The circumstance which induced him to compose it is thus related by his son, Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd Allah (1): "My father was sitting in his mosque, (*situated*) in the (*street of* "*Basra called*) Banou Harâm, when in came an elderly man dressed in tattered "clothes (2), carrying the implements of travel (3), and miserable in his appear-"ance, who spoke with great purity and expressed himself with elegance. The "assembly asked him whence he came, and he replied: from Sarûj; they then "desired to know his name, and he answered: Abû Zaid. In consequence of "this, my father composed the *Makâma* called *al-Harâmiya*, now the forty-eighth "of the collection, and gave it under the name of this Abû Zaid. It then got "into circulation, and its existence came to the knowledge of Sharaf ad-dîn Abû "Nasr Anûshrewân Ibn Khâlid Ibn Muhammad al-Kâshâni, the vizir of the "*imâm* (*khalif*) al-Mustarshid billah; and he, having read it, was so highly "pleased, that he advised my father to add some more to it. My father "therefore completed his work in fifty *Makâmas*."—It is to this vizir that he alludes in the passage of his introduction to the *Makâmas*, wherein he says: "And "one whose advice is an order, and whom all are eager to obey (4), recom-"mended me to compose some *Makâmas* in the style of Badi az-Zamân's (5); "yet (*I knew that*) the foundered steed could never come up to the point which "the sound one had already reached."—I found the circumstance thus related in a number of historical works (6), but I have since met at Cairo, in the year 656 (A. D. 1258), with a copy of the *Makâmas*, the whole of it in the handwriting of the author al-Harîri, and I found written on the cover in his own hand also, that he had composed the work for the vizir Jamâl ad-dîn Amid ad-Dawlat Abû Ali



al-Hasan Ibn Abi 'l-Izz Ali Ibn Sadaka. Jamâl ad-dìn also was one of al-Mustarschid's vizirs, and there can be no doubt that this statement is more exact than the former, since it is the author himself who makes it. The vizir Jamâl ad-dìn died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 522 (July, A. D. 1128).—Such was al-Harîri's motive for putting the *Makâmas* under the name of Abû Zaid as-Sarûji (7). It is stated by al-Kâdi 'l-Akram Jamâl ad-dìn Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Yûsuf as-Shaibâni al-Kifti, the vizir of Aleppo (8), in his work entitled *Anbâ ar-Ruwât fi Abnâ in-Nuhât* (*relations of historical traditionists concerning the sons of grammarians*), that the real name of the person designated as Abû Zaid was al-Mutahhar Ibn Salâm (9), "who was," says he, "a native of Basra, a gramma-" "rian, and a pupil of al-Harìri, under whom he studied in that city, and by" "whose lessons he attained proficiency: he was licensed also by al-Harìri to teach" "orally some pieces of traditional literature which he had communicated to" "him. The kâdi Abû 'l-Fath Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Mandâi al-Wâsiti" "taught al-Harîri's *Mulha tal-Irâb* with the authorisation of Abû Zaid, and he" "mentioned that he had learned it from him as he had learned it from the au-" "thor. He came to us at Wâsit in the year 538, and we learned that work from 587" "his lips. He then went up to Baghdad and died there after a short residence(10)." Such also is the statement made by as-Samâni in his *Zail* (*supplement*) (*v.II. p.*157), and by Imâd ad-dìn in the *Kharîda*.—The latter adds: "His honorary title was" "Fakhr ad-dìn; he exercised the *Sadriya* (*magistracy*) (11) at al-Mashân and" "died there subsequently to the year 540 (A. D. 1145-6)."—"In choosing the" "name of *Hârith the son of Hammâm* for the person who is supposed to relate the" "*Makâmas*, al-Harìri meant to designate himself." So I have found it written" "in some commentaries on that work; and the name itself is taken from the saying of Muhammad: "Every one of you is a *hârith* and every one of you is a *hammâm*," wherein *hârith* means *a gainer*, and *hammâm*, *one who has many cares*; and there is no person but is *hârith* and *hammâm*, because every one is employed in *gaining* his livelihood and is *solicitous* about his affairs. A great number of persons have commented the *Makâmas*, some in long, and others in short, treatises.—I read in a certain compilation that, when al-Harìri had composed his *Makâmas*, which were at first only forty in number, he left Basra and went with the work to Baghdad, where he gave it as his own production. But a number of the literary men of that city refused to believe him, and they declared that it was not he who composed it, but

a native of Maghrib, an elegant writer, who died at Basra and whose papers al-Harîri had appropriated. The vizir therefore called al-Harîri before the *diwân*, or council, and asked him his profession; to which he replied that he was a *mûnshi* (12). The vizir then required him to compose an epistle on a subject which he indicated, and al-Harîri retired, with ink and paper, into a corner of the diwân, where he remained a long time without being favoured with any inspiration on the subject. He at length rose up and withdrew in confusion (13). Among the persons who denied al-Harîri's claim to the composition of the *Makâmas* was the poet Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Aflah (*vol. II. p.* 324); and he, on this occasion, made the two following verses, which are, however, attributed by others to Abû Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Harîmi, surnamed Ibn Jakina (14), a native of Baghdad and a celebrated poet:

> We have a *shaikh*, sprung from Rabîa tal-Faras, who now plucks his beard through frenzy. May God send him back to prate at al-Mashân (15), as he already struck him dumb in the diwân.

It must be here observed that al-Harîri pretended to draw his origin from Rabîa tal-Faras (16), that he had a custom of plucking his beard when absorbed in thought, and that he inhabited al-Mashân in the neighbourhood of Basra.—Having returned to his native town, al-Harîri composed ten more *Makâmas*, and sent them (*to Baghdad*), attributing, at the same time, the embarrassment and inability which he manifested in the diwân to the awful respect with which he had been overcome.—Al-Harîri has left some (*other*) fine works; such are the *Durra tal-Ghawwâs fi auhâm il-Khawâss* (*the pearl of the diver, being a treatise on the mistakes committed by persons of rank* [in speaking Arabic]) (17); the *Mulha tal-Irâb* (*elegancies of grammar*) (18), a treatise in verse which he afterwards explained in a commentary; a *diwân*, or collection of epistles, and a great number of poetical pieces besides those contained in his *Makâmas*. One of them offers a very fine thought and merits insertion (19). The following verses are given as his by Imâd ad-dîn, in the *Kharîda :*

> How many (*were*) the gazelles at Hâjir (20) which fascinated with their eyes! How many the noble minds struck with amazement by fair maidens! How often did the graceful movements of a nymph, advancing with a stately gait, excite an ardent passion in (*my*) bosom! How many were the pretty cheeks whose aspect induced the censurer (*of my foolish love*) to excuse me! How many pains combined to afflict my heart, when the ringlets of her I loved were unveiled and disclosed to sight!



Al-Hariri left some *kasîdas* in which he made a frequent use of the rhetorical ornament called *tajnîs* (*alliteration*). It is related that he was dwarfish and ugly: a stranger who went to visit him for the purpose of learning something (*of his compositions*) from his own lips, could not dissemble his contempt when he saw him. Al-Harîri observed it, and the visitor having asked him to dictate something to him, he replied: "Write down as follows:

'Thou art not the first nocturnal traveller whom moonlight has deceived (21), nor the 'first pasture-searcher (*of a nomadic tribe*) who was pleased at the sight of the green 'herbs which flourish on dung (22). Choose some one else, for I am like al-Moaidi; 'listen to what is said of me, but look not at me.'"

These words covered the stranger with confusion and he hastened to withdraw. Al-Harîri was born, A. H. 446 (A. D. 1054-5), and he died at Basra, in the street of the Banû Harâm, A. H. 516 (A. D. 1122-3); some say A.H. 515. He left two sons; Abû Mansûr al-Jawâliki (23) said: "I was authorized to teach the "*Makâmas* by Najm ad-dîn Abd Allah and the chief *kâdi* of Basra, Diâ al-Islâm "Obaid Allah (24), who had both received a similar authorisation from their fa-"ther, the author of that production."—Al-Harîri received the surname of *al-Harâmi* because he dwelt in the street of the *Banû Harâm*. These people were an Arabian tribe which took up their residence in that street and it was called after them.—*Harîri* means *a manufacturer* or *seller of* harîr (*silk*).—*Al-Mashân* is a village above Basra, abounding with date-trees and notorious for its unhealthiness: it was the native place of al Harîri's family; it is said that he possessed there eighteen thousand date-trees and was a wealthy man.—The vizir Anûshrewân held a high eminence by his talents, his learning and his influence; he composed a small historical work entitled: *Sudûr Zamân il-Futûr wa Futûr Zamân is-Sudûr* (*the great men of the times of relaxment, and relaxment of the times of great men*), from which copious extracts are made by Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni in his history of the Seljûk dynasty, entitled: *Nusra tal-Fitra wa osra tal-Fetra* (*succour against languor and asylum for the human race* (?)). This vizir died in the year 532 (A. D. 1137-8).—As for the person called Ibn Mandâi, and whose real names were Abû 'l-Fath Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Bakhtyâr Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Jaafar al-Wâsiti (*native of Wâsit*), he had a number of distinguished men for disciples, and, amongst others, Abû Bakr al-Hazîmi (25). He was born at Wâsit in the month of the latter Rabî, A. H. 517

(June, A. D. 1123), and he died in the same city on the 8th of Shaabân, A. H. 605 (Feb. A. D. 1209).—The name of *al-Moaîdi* occurs in the proverb: *Hear speak of al-Moaîdi, but avoid seeing him*, or, as it is sometimes expressed: *Hear speak of al-Moaîdi; that is better than to see him.* Al-Mufaddal ad-Dubbi (26) states that this saying was first uttered by al-Mundir Ibn Mâ is-Samâ in addressing Shikka Ibn Dumra at-Tamîmi ad-Dârimi, of whom he had heard a great deal. On seeing him, he was so much struck by his ill looks that he made use of this expression, which thenceforward became proverbial. Shikka then made the following reply: "Prince, mayest thou be preserved from every malediction (27)! men are not to be "chosen for their bodies like animals selected for slaughter; to appreciate a man "thou must examine the two smallest of his members; his heart and his tongue." Al-Mundir highly admired his answer, as being a proof of his wisdom and his talent for elegant expression. This proverb is employed when speaking of a man who bears a high reputation, but is deficient in personal appearance (28). The word *Moaîdi* means *descended from Maadd the son of Adnân;* it is an adjective formed from the diminutive *Moaîd*, which is itself formed regularly from *Maadd*, after suppressing a *d*.

(1) Imâd ad-dîn says, in the *Kharîda* (MS. No. 1373, fol. 169), that Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd Allah, the son of al-Harîri, held an eminent post under government and inhabited Baghdad.

(2) Literally: Wearing two tattered garments. I have already made the remark that, with the Arabs, two garments, an upper and a lower, formed a complete suit of clothes.

(3) The implements of travel: a staff, a cup for drinking, a long knife, a bag of provisions, and perhaps a cloak.

(4) Literally: The obeying of whom is a booty. That is, all strive to obtain the opportunity of obeying him, as they would strive for a rich booty.

(5) See vol. I. page 112.

(6) The author here refers to the narration made by al-Harîri's son. The intervening passage is a later addition.

(7) It may be perceived from this that the preceding passages are later additions, but they are certainly by the author himself.

(8) This kâdi was born at *Kift*, a town in Upper Egypt, whence his surname. He was distinguished for the great variety of the sciences which he cultivated and for the number of his works, one of which, containing the history of the philosophers (*Târîkh al-Hukamâ*), is very often cited by Abû 'l-Faraj in his *Dynasties:* an abridgment of it by az-Zuzeni is in the Bib. du Roi. Al-Kifti died A. H. 646 (A. D. 1248-9). For an account of his life, see Fleischer's *Abulfedæ Historia Anteislamica*, pp. 234-5.

(9) In some of the manuscripts, this name is written Sallâr سلار, and such is also the reading of the *Kharîda*, in the notice on Zain al-Islâm Abû'l-Abbâs Muhammad, one of al-Harîri's sons. (MS. No. 1373, fol. 169 verso.)

(10) The following note, communicated to me by M. Reinaud, member of the Institute, contains some interesting remarks on the origin of the *Makâmas:*

Hariri s'est peint dans ses Macâmas sous le nom de Harets fils de Hemmâm. A l'égard d'Abou-Zeyd, qui joue le principal rôle dans cette longue suite de tableaux, ce n'était pas un personnage imaginaire; on a vu le témoignage du fils de Hariri, rapporté par Ibn Khallekan. Hariri lui-même s'est exprimé à cet égard d'une manière positive. Il dit qu'Abou-Zeyd était originaire de Saroudj en Mésopotamie; que cette ville ayant été prise de force par les chrétiens, fut mise au pillage, que sa propre fille fut faite captive, et que, dépouillé de tout, il n'eut pas d'autre ressource que de prendre la fuite et de recourir à la générosité publique. Hariri fait ainsi parler Abou-Zeyd dans sa Macâma XLVIII<sup>e</sup>, laquelle fut composée la première de toutes (voy. l'édition de Hariri, par M. Silvestre de Sacy, pag. 570 et 571): « Je suis un des anciens habitants de Saroudj; je vivais » au milieu de l'abondance et environné de la considération publique. Tout-à-coup Dieu voulut que ma situa- » tion changeât. Les Romains sont entrés dans mon pays en ennemis furieux; ils ont fait les femmes captives » et se sont emparés de tous les biens. J'ai pris la fuite, et je me suis mis à implorer la générosité de chacun, » après avoir vu si souvent implorer la mienne. Maintenant il pèse une charge sur moi, dont il me tarde de » me débarrasser. Ma fille est restée captive entre les mains de l'ennemi, et je suis impatient de recueillir la » somme nécessaire pour la racheter. » Dans la Macâma XIV<sup>e</sup>, Abou-Zeyd s'exprime ainsi: « Saroudj est ma » patrie; mais comment y retourner? L'ennemi y a établi sa demeure et s'y livre à tous les excès (voy. *ibidem*, » pag. 140). » D'un autre côté, un écrivain arabe dit avoir entendu faire ce recit à Hariri: « L'homme de » Saroudj est un scheyk éloquent et un esprit plein de ressources. Étant venu à Bassora, il entra un jour » dans la mosquée des benou Haram, et se mit à adresser la parole à un chacun, demandant des secours. Un des » vâli de la ville était présent, et la mosquée renfermait beaucoup de personnes de mérite. L'élégance qu'Abou- » Zeyd mettait dans ses discours, la facilité qu'il avait à s'exprimer sur tous les tons, les traits piquants dont il » assaisonnait ses paroles, frappèrent les assistants d'admiration. Le soir de ce même jour plusieurs personnes » distinguées de la ville s'étant réunies chez moi, je témoignai mon étonnement du talent singulier dont ce » mendiant faisait preuve. Là-dessus les diverses personnes de l'assemblée se mirent à raconter ce qu'elles avaient » eu chacune occasion de voir dans les autres mosquées de Bassora; Abou-Zeyd les avait parcourues succes- » sivement, chaque fois sous un costume différent et chaque fois employant un artifice nouveau. Frappé d'un » fait si singulier, je me mis la nuit même à composer sur ce modèle ma première Macâma, qui eut un succès » extraordinaire. » — (Voy. l'édition de Hariri, par M. de Sacy, pag. 563.) — Or les Romains dont parle Hariri ne sont pas autres que les Francs ou guerriers d'Occident qui avaient pris part à la première croisade et qui ne tardèrent pas à s'emparer de Saroudj. Voici ce que raconte Ibn Alatir, dans son *Kamel al-Tevarykh*, sous l'année 494 (1101): « Les Francs se rendent maîtres de la ville de Saroudj en Mésopotamie. Précédemment » les Francs s'étaient emparés de la ville d'Édesse, à la suite d'une invitation des habitants eux-mêmes. En effet, » la plupart des habitants étaient de race arménienne, et il n'y avait parmi eux qu'un petit nombre de Musul- » mans. Cette année, Socman rassembla dans Saroudj une troupe considérable de Turcomans et se disposa à atta- » quer les Francs. Ceux-ci s'avancèrent à sa rencontre. On en vint aux mains au mois de rebi premier (janvier » 1101), et Socman fut mis en fuite. Après la défaite des Musulmans, les Francs se portèrent vers Saroudj et en » entreprirent le siége. La ville ayant été prise, un grand nombre des habitants furent mis à mort; les femmes » furent faites esclaves et leurs biens pillés; il ne se sauva que les personnes qui s'étaient dérobées au danger » par la fuite. »

(11) M. de Sacy, in his translation of Ibn Khallikân's life of al-Hariri (see *Chrestomathie*, tom. III. p. 175, and his edition of the *Makâmas*, introduction, p. xv), considers the word *Sadrîya* as the equivalent of *Sadr al-Islâm*, which title he renders by *chef du clergé musulman*. As the Moslims have no established clergy, I hesitate adopting his opinion, and the following extract from the *Kharîda*, in which the author, Imâd

ad-dîn, speaks for himself, may serve to fix the real meaning of the word: "In the year 556 (A. D. 1161) I "met Abû 'l-Abbâs Muhammad, the son of al-Kâsim al-Harîri, and surnamed Zain al-Islâm (*ornament of* "*Islamism*), at al-Mashân; and I read under him forty of his father's *Makâmas*. He was a man of merit "and spoke with elegance and fluency. I was (*then*) employed in the *Sadriyât*"—(this word is the plural of *Sadriya*)—"as lieutenant of the vizir Aûn ad-dîn, and, as this son of al-Harîri was extremely modest and "reserved, I had to employ a stratagem in order to induce him to come to me. As he had omitted to pay up "the full amount of his land-tax, I sent him a summons, and, when he appeared before me, I forgave him the "debt and said: 'My object was merely to bring you here and make your acquaintance,' etc."—(MS. No. 1373, fol. 169 v.) From this it appears that the *Sadriya* was a court of justice, and that one of its attributions was to pursue the recovery of arreared taxes. I may add that the first magistrate of the Ottoman empire is called the *Sadr-Rûm*, and one of his prerogatives is to take cognizance of all causes in which the pecuniary interests of the state are concerned.—See d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*, tom. IV. page 538.

(12) M. de Sacy has rendered the word *munshi* by *écrivain-rédacteur*. Such persons were employed by government to draw up the official correspondence, etc.—Al-Harîri did not here indicate his real profession, which was that of *Sâhib al-Khabar*, or government spy. He exercised these functions at Basra, as we learn from Imâd ad-dîn; (*Kharîda*, MS. No. 1373, fol. 169.) He corresponded directly with the *diwan* of the khalif at Baghdad, and probably, like the postmaster, who acted also in the same capacity, he kept an eye on the conduct of the provincial governor.

(13) Any person who reads the long extracts from al-Harîri's poems and epistles given in the *Kharîda*, must come to the conviction that he was fully capable of composing the *Makâmas*. I may be allowed to add that I consider the *Makâmas* as the most elegantly written and the most amusing work in the Arabic language.

(14) See vol. I. page 171, note (2).

(15) "Mâshân was a place in the dependencies of Baghdad to which persons were banished who had in- "curred the displeasure of the sovereign."—Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 515. See also *Chrestomathie*, tom. III. p. 180.

(16) C'est Rébia, fils de Modhar.—Voy. *Spec. hist. Ar.* ed. White, p. 47; et Eichhorn, *Monum. antiquis. hist. Ar.* p. 120.—(Note de M. de Sacy.)

(17) A long extract from this excellent philological work has been given by M. de Sacy in his *Anthologie Grammaticale*.

(18) M. de Sacy has inserted an extract of the *Mulha*, with the commentary, in the *Anthologie Grammaticale*. Some chapters of the commentary are excellent.

(19) The piece consists of three lines, but it does not seem to me fit for translation.

(20) See vol. II. page 437.

(21) That is: Who has taken moonlight for day; who was deceived by appearances.

(22) Such herbage has a fair appearance, but is worthless as food for cattle.

(23) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(24) Al-Harîri had therefore three sons: Abd Allah (*see note* (1)), Muhammad (*see note* (9)), and Obaid Allah.

(25) The life of al-Hâzimi is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(26) His life will be found in this work.

(27) See Pococke's *Specimen hist. Arab.* p. 57.

(28) See Freytag's *Meidanii Proverbia*, tom. I. p. 223, where the anecdote of al-Mundir and Shikka is more fully related.

## ABU AHMAD AL-KASIM AS-SHAHROZURI.

Abû Ahmad al-Kâsim Ibn al-Muzaffar Ibn Ali Ibn al-Kâsim as-Shahrozûri, the father of the *kâdi 'l-Khâfikain* Abû Bakr Muhammad, of al-Murtada Abû Muhammad Abd Allah, and of Abû Mansûr al-Muzaffar, was the progenitor of the Shahrozûri family which gave so many *kâdis* of that surname to Syria, Mosul, and Mesopotamia. He acted for some time as *hâkim* (1) in the city of Arbela, and passed also some time at Sinjâr in the discharge of the same functions. A number of his sons and grand-children, all pre-eminently distinguished for learning and personal worth, attained the highest posts under government, and merited the special favour of (*their*) sovereigns; they acted as *hâkims* or as *kâdis*, and their reputation rendered them the marked object of general favour; such were his grandson, the *kâdi* Kamâl ad-dîn Muhammad, and his great grandson Muhi ad-dîn, the son of Kamâl ad-dîn. We shall give notices on these two in a subsequent part of this work. The descendants of al-Kâsim form a numerous body, and they have continued, till this day, to be the *kâdis* of Mosul and the most eminent persons of the city. He visited Baghdad more than once, and the *hâfiz* Abû Saad as-Samâni has spoken of him in the *Kitâb az-Zail* (*supplement to the history of Baghdad*). The same writer has also noticed him twice in the *Kitâb al-Ansâb*; the first time under the word AL-IRBILI, where he says: "And it," meaning Arbela, "has "produced a number of learned men, one of whom was the *kâdi* Abû Ahmad al-"Kâsim as-Shahrozûri;" to which he adds that he belonged to the tribe of Shaibân. The second time he speaks of him is under the head of AS-SHAHROZURI, where he mentions also his son the *kâdi 'l-Khâfikain* with high commendation. Ibn al-Mustaufi notices him in the History of Arbela, and inserts therein some of his poetry from which we select the following lines:

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> My desires extend beyond as-Suha and az-Zubâna (2); the object of my wishes is high exalted and admits not my approach (3). I shall continue in toil and anxiety till time is no more or till my life has ceased.

Having found the same verses in as-Samâni's *Zail* and attributed by him to the *kâdi 'l-Khâfikain*, I am unable to declare which of the two was their author. Al-Kâsim died at Mosûl, A. H. 489 (A. D. 1096), and was interred in the





funeral chapel bearing his name and situated near the mosque erected by his ancestor Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn Farghân (4).—His son Abd Allah al-Murtada, the author of the *Mausiliyan Kasîda* (*vol. II. p.* 29), was the father of Kamâl ad-dìn.—As for the *Kâdi 'l-Khâfikain*, as-Samâni says of him that he studied the science (*of the law*) under Abû Ishak as-Shìrâzi (*vol. I. p.* 9) and that he acted as *kâdi* in a number of towns; he travelled to Irâk, Khorâsân, and al-Jibâl (*Persian Irak*), where he received by oral transmission a great quantity of Traditions, some of which he communicated to as-Samâni himself. He was born at Arbela, A. H. 453 (A. D. 1061-3) or 454; he died at Baghdad in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 538 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 1143), and was interred at the Abrez Gate. The title of *Kâdi 'l-Khâfikain* (*kâdi of the East and West*) was given to him in consequence of his having exercised the functions of that office in a great number of towns.—His brother Abû Mansûr al-Muzaffar is thus noticed by as-Sàmani, in his *Zail*: " He was born at Arbela and brought up at Mosul, whence he re-" moved to Baghdad, and studied under the *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shìrâzi. He " then returned to Mosul, and, at a very advanced period of life, he accepted the " post of *kâdi* at Sinjâr although he had lost his sight (5).—I asked him the year " of his birth, and he informed me that he was born in the month of the latter " Jumâda, or of Rajab, A.H. 457 (May-June, A.D. 1065), at Arbela." He does not indicate the year of his death.—*Shahrozûri* means *belonging to Shahrozûr*, a large town which is now counted among the dependencies of Arbela; it was built by Zûr, the son of ad-Dahhâk (6). *Shahrozûr* signifies in Persian, *the city of Zûr*; al-Iskander (*Alexander*) Zû 'l-Karnain died there on his return from the East (7); I asked a native of the place about his tomb, and he informed me that a tomb did exist there, called the Tomb of al-Iskander, but that the inhabitants did not know who this person was. It is a city of great antiquity. The Khatìb (*vol. I. page* 75) says, in his History of Baghdad, that al-Iskander made Madâìn Kisra (*Ctesiphon*) his residence, and that he continued to inhabit that
590 city till his death; his coffin was then transported to Alexandria, because his mother was dwelling there, and he was interred near her (8).

(1) *Hâkim* is a general name for *magistrates* of every rank.

(2) As-Suha is a small star in the tail of the Greater Bear; it is marked $\zeta$ in Flamsteed's Celestial Atlas. The Arabs give the name of *the two Zubânas* to the stars $\alpha$ and $\beta$ of the Balance.

(3) He means the Divinity.

(4) One of the manuscripts has جد *the ancestor of*, and I acknowledge that the text seems to me corrupted, as I read in the *Kâmûs*: FARGHAN; *an ancestor of Abû 'l-Hasan al-Mausili* (of Mosul), *the traditionist*.

(5) See the observations of our author in pages 33 and 34 of this volume.

(6) *Zohâk* or *ad-Dahhâk*, as the Arabs pronounce the name, was the tyrant who makes so conspicuous a figure in the fabulous history of ancient Persia.

(7) Alexander the Great died at Babylon, as is well known.

(8) Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, never inhabited Alexandria, and she lost her life in Macedonia, eight years after the death of her son.

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## IBN FIRRO AS-SHATIBI.

Abû Muhammad al-Kâsim Ibn Firro Ibn Abi 'l-Kâsim Kalaf Ibn Ahmad ar-Roaini as-Shâtibi ad-Darîr (*the blind*) al-Mukri (*the teacher of the Koran*-readings), is the author of the *kasîda* on the Koran-*readings*, named by him *Hirz al-Amâni wa Wajh at-Tahâni* (*Wishes accomplished, and open congratulations* (1)), consisting of one thousand one hundred and seventy-three verses, and displaying in its composition the utmost ingenuity. It is the main authority on which the Korân-*readers* of this age rely, in their instructions to pupils, and very few persons undertake to study the *readings* till they have learned this poem by heart and mastered its meaning. It is filled with extraordinary allusions, obscure and subtle indications, and I do not believe that any work of a similar kind was ever produced before. He is declared to have said: "No one will read this *kasîda* of "mine without Almighty God's permitting him to derive profit from it; for I "composed it purely and simply with the view of serving Almighty God." He composed also another *kasîda* of five hundred verses and rhyming in *d*, from which, if learned by heart, a complete acquaintance is obtained with the contents of Ibn Abd al-Barr's *Tamhîd* (2). Ibn Firro was learned in the *reading* and interpretation of the Book of God (*the Koran*), and pre-eminent by his knowledge of the Traditions relative to the Prophet; when pupils read to him out of the *Sahîh* of al-Bukhâri, or that of Muslim, or the *Muwatta* (*of Mâlik*), he would correct the text of their copies from memory, and indicate the necessary vowels and diacri-

tical points, wherever their presence was required. In grammar and philology he stood unrivalled; in the interpretation of dreams he displayed great skill; in all his conduct he was actuated by the purest motives, and his deeds, like his words, proceeded from a heart devoted to God. He read the Koran, according to the different *readings*, under Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Aâsi an-Nafri (3), and under Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hudail al-Andalusi; he learned Traditions from Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Saâda (4), Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd ar-Rahîm al-Khazraji, Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn Hudail, the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn an-Nima (5), and others. A great number of persons studied under him with profit, and I met in Egypt with many of his former pupils. In his discourse he avoided prolixness; never, on any occasion, did he pronounce a word without necessity, and he never took his seat to teach the *readings* of the Koran without being in a state of purity (6), and assuming an air of dignified gravity and profound humility. When suffering under a severe illness, he neither complained nor uttered a groan, and, being asked how he was, he replied: "In health," without adding another word. One of his disciples recited some verses to me and said: "Our *shaikh* frequently "repeated them; they form an enigma the word of which is *bier*." I asked him if they were the *shaikh's*, and he replied that he did not know. Some time afterwards, I met with them in the *diwân* of the *khatîb* Yahya Ibn Salâma al-Haskafi, a person whose life will be found in this work. These verses are:

Do you know an object to which one similar exists in the sky (7)? When it moves forward, people utter loud exclamations. When we meet it, it bears a burden and is borne as one, and every chief who may ride on it is a prisoner. It incites to piety, and yet it is avoided; it admonishes mankind, and yet they shun it. (*When it visits a house,*) it was not called for through a wish for its presence, but it comes unwelcome to the person visited.

As-Shâtibi was born towards the end of A. H. 538 (June, A. D. 1444), and, at a very early age he officiated as *khatîb* (*preacher*) in his native town. He came to Egypt in the year 572 (A. D. 1176-7) and said on arriving: "I know "by heart enough of the sciences to load a camel so heavily that, if a single leaf "more were added, it could not support the burden." He lodged at the house of al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil (*vol. II. p.* 111) who appointed him professor of Koran-591 *reading*, grammar, and philology. He died on Sunday, the 28th of the latter

Jumâda, A. H. 590 (June, A. D. 1194), a little later than the hour of the afternoon prayer, and was interred on the Monday following in the funeral chapel of al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil. I have frequently visited his tomb, which is situated in the Lesser Karâfa Cemetery. The prayer was said over his grave by Abû Ishak al-Irâki (*vol. I. p.* 12), the *khatîb* of the Great Mosque of Old Cairo.—*Firro* signifies *iron* in the Latin language of the non-Moslim inhabitants of Spain.—*Roaini* means *descended from Zû Roain,* who was one of the princes of Yemen; a great number of persons have drawn their surnames from this ancestor.—*Shâtibi* means *belonging to Shâtiba* (*Xativa*), a large city with a strong citadel in the east of Spain, which has produced many men eminent for learning. It fell into the power of the Franks on one of the last ten days of Ramadân, A. H. 645 (end of January, A. D. 1248).—Some say that as-Shâtibi's name was Muhammad and his surname Abû 'l-Kâsim, but I found his name written Abû Muhammad al-Kâsim in different *ijâzas* (*licences to teach and certificates of capacity*) granted to him by his masters.

(1) Literally: *Custodia votorum et facies gratulationum.*

(2) The life of Ibn Abd al-Barr is given in this work —In the 8th vol. of the *Notices et Extraits,* M. de Sacy has given a notice on the *Akila* or *Ratya,* another poem of Ibn Firro's, on the orthography of the Koran.

(3) Al-Makkari mentions this an-Nafri in his notice on Ibn Firro. See MS. No. 704, fol. 160.

(4) Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Saada was an inhabitant of Xativa, but his ancestors dwelt in Valencia. Having received lessons in his native place from many men distinguished for learning, he travelled to the western provinces of Spain for the same purpose. In A. H. 520 (A. D. 1126) he journeyed to the East, and there cultivated jurisprudence and other branches of knowledge. He made the pilgrimage in the following year, and on his return to Egypt, he frequented the society of Abû Tâhir Ibn Aûf (*see page* 197, *note* (2), *of this vol.*), as-Silafi (*vol. I. page* 86) and other illustrious doctors. In the year 526 (A. D. 1131-2) he returned to Murcia with a vast stock of information in the Traditions, Koran-reading, koranic interpretation, law, philology and scholastic theology. He had an inclination for Sûfism. Being appointed member of the town-council الشورى and preacher at the great mosque of Murcia, he began to teach the Traditions and jurisprudence, and he exercised the functions of *kâdi* in the same city till the downfal of the Almoravides. He then passed to the kadiship of Xativa, and taught Traditions not only there, but in Murcia and Valencia, in which places also he filled the office of *khatîb,* or public preacher. Previously to this, he had taught Traditions at Almeria. He died at Xativa on the last day of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 565 (Sept. A. D. 1170), leaving one single work on quite an original plan and entitled سخرة الموهم المرتقية الى ذروة الفهم. He was born in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 496 (June-July, A. D. 1103).—(Al-Makkari; MS. No. 704, fol. 187.)

(5) The name of Ibn an-Nima is mentioned by al-Makkari. MS. No. 704, fol. 160 *recto.*

(6) That is: In the state of bodily purity which is required of every Moslim when he proceeds to say his prayers.

(7) Part of the constellation of the Greater Bear is called *an-Naash* (*the bier*) by the Arabs.

## ABU DULAF AL-IJLI.

Abû Dulaf al-Kâsim Ibn Isa Ibn Idrîs Ibn Makil Ibn Omair Ibn Shaikh Ibn Moawia Ibn Khozâi Ibn Abd al-Ozza Ibn Dulaf Ibn Jushm Ibn Kais Ibn Saad Ibn Ijl Ibn Lujaim Ibn Saab Ibn Ali Ibn Bakr Ibn Wâil Ibn Kâsit Ibn Hinb Ibn Afsa Ibn Domii Ibn Jadila Ibn Asad Ibn Rabia Ibn Nizâr Ibn Saad Ibn Adnân al-Ijli was one of al-Mâmûn's generals, and served also that khalif's successor, al-Motasim, in the same capacity. We have already mentioned his name in the life of al-Akawwak (*vol. II. p.* 290), with some verses composed by that poet in his praise, and we have observed (*vol. II. p.* 101) that Abû Muslim al-Khorâsâni had been brought up under the care of (*Isa Ibn Makil, the brother of Idrîs,*) Abû Dulaf's grandfather. The life of the emir Abû Nasr Ali Ibn Mâkûla, the author of the *Ikmâl* and one of Abû Dulaf's descendants, has also been given in this work (*vol. II. p.* 248). Abû Dulaf was a spirited, noble, and generous chief, highly extolled for his liberality, courageous and enterprising, noted for his victories and his beneficence; men distinguished in literature and the sciences derived instruction from his discourse, and his talent was conspicuous even in the art of vocal music. Amongst the works which he composed are the following: the *Kitâb al-Buzât wa 's-Said* (*on falcons and game*), the *Kitâb as-Salâh* (*on weapons*), the *Kitâb an-Nuzah* (*on agreeable country retreats*), and the *Kitâb Sîâsa tal-Mulûk* (*on the policy of princes*). His praises were celebrated, in *kasîdas* of the greatest beauty, by Abû Tammâm at-Tâi (*vol. I. page* 348), and by Bakr Ibn an-Nattâh (*vol. I. p.* 399); the latter said of him:

> O thou who pursuest the study of alchemy, the great alchemy (*the philosopher's stone*) consists in praising the son of Isa. Was there but one dirhem in the world, thou wouldst obtain it by this means.

It is stated that, for these two verses, Abû Dulaf gave Ibn an-Nattâh ten thousand dirhems. The poet then ceased visiting him for some time and employed the money in the purchase of a village (*or estate*) on the river Obolla. He afterwards went to see him and addressed him in these words:

> Thanks to thee, I have purchased an estate on the Obolla, crowned by a pavilion erected in marble. It has a sister beside it which is now on sale, and you have always money to bestow.

" How much, " said Abû Dulaf, " is the price of that sister?" The poet answered : " Ten thousand dirhems." Abû Dulaf gave him the money and said : " Recollect that the Obolla is a large river, with many estates situated on it, " and that each of these *sisters* has another at her side; so, if thou openest " such a door as that, it will lead to a breach between us. Be content then " with what thou hast now got, and let this be a point agreed on."— The poet then offered up prayers for his welfare and withdrew. Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Hâshim, one of the *Khâlidites* (*vol. I. p.* 557) imitated the idea of the first passage (*here cited*) in the following lines :

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The poets are convinced that their hopes in thee are safe from the strokes of despair. Alchemy is a false science for all other mortals whom we know, but not for them. Thou givest them money in bags when they bring thee words on paper.

Abû Dulaf, having encountered some Kurds who were intercepting travellers in the province under his rule, struck one (*camel-*)rider through with his lance and the point entered into the body of another who was sitting behind him : he thus killed them both at a stroke. Ibn an-Nattâh took this occasion for composing the following verses :

On the day of battle when his spear (1), which thou never seest blunted, pierced through two riders, people said : " Wonder not at that; were his lance a mile long, it " would pierce through a mile's length of riders ! "

Abû Abd Allah Ahmad Ibn Abi Fatn Sâlih, a *mawla* to the Hashimide family, was dark complexioned, dwarfish, and very poor. His wife once said to him : " I " see, my man! that the star of literature has set and that its arrow has missed " the mark; take then thy sword, spear, and bow, and go forth with the others " to the wars; God may perhaps grant thee a share of booty." In reply, he recited the following verses :

What can induce thee to advise such an extravagance to a man like me?—to oblige me to bear arms and hear warriors in armour order me to halt! Dost thou suppose me one of those men of death who from morn to eve aspire after destruction? When death approaches another, I observe it with horror; how then could I go and face it myself? Dost thou think that single combats with the foe are my passion, and that my bosom contains the heart of Abû Dulaf (2)?

Abû Dulaf heard of this, and sent him a thousand dinars.—The profusion of



Abû Dulaf in his donations involved him in debt, and the circumstance having become public, one of these solicitors went into his presence and said :

> O lord of gifts and donations ! O thou of the open countenance and the open hand ! I am told that thou art in debt; increase then its amount and discharge what I owe.

Abû Dulaf made him a present and discharged his debt. A poet went in to him one day and recited these lines :

> When God entrusted thy hand with the distribution of favours, he knew (*that he would be well served*). O Abû Dulaf ! never have the two (*recording angels*) written *no* in the register of thy words, though often it be written in those of other mortals. Thou hast rivalled in beneficence the rapid winds (*which bear rain to the regions of the earth*); and when they cease to blow, thou ceasest not to give.

The poems composed in his praise are very numerous; he himself composed some good poetry, from which I should transcribe passages were it not my desire to avoid prolixity. He completed the building of the city of al-Karaj (*in Persian Irâk*) which had been commenced by his father, and it became the residence of his tribe, family, and children. Whilst he was staying there, a poet (said by some to have been Mansûr Ibn Bâdân, and by others, Bakr Ibn an-Nattâh) recited to him a eulogy, but did not obtain a recompense equal to his expectations; he therefore departed, reciting this verse :

593 Let me go and travel over the deserts of the earth ; for al-Karaj is not the whole world, neither is Kâsim (*Abû Dulaf*) the human race !

Similar to this are the following lines by another poet, but I am unable to state which of them copied the other :

> If you resume your wonted generosity, it will be, as before, your obedient slave. If you will not, the earth is large; you are not all the human race, neither is Khorâsân the world.

I have since found these last verses in as-Samâni's *Zail*, in the article on Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Balkhi ; he there says : "The following "lines were recited to me at Daurak (3) by the *kâdi* Ali Ibn Muhammad al- "Balkhi; he gave them as the words of the emir Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Mun- "takhib, and he may have possibly heard them from the lips of that person."

Here he inserts the verses.—It is related that when Abû Dulaf returned from al-Karaj, the emir Ali Ibn Isa Ibn Màhân prepared a repast on a most magnificent scale, and invited him to partake of it; but a poet, who then went to Ali's house and was refused admittance by the porter, awaited the passage of Abû Dulaf and handed him a palm-leaf, on which were inscribed these words:

> If you meet him (*Abû Dulaf*) lingering carelessly, say: "You come from al-Karaj, "with one thousand horsemen, to a feast. After that, let not other men be reproached "for acts of baseness."

Abû Dulaf immediately returned, swearing that he would neither enter the house nor eat a morsel of that dinner. I have read in a compilation of anecdotes that the name of this poet was Abbâd Ibn al-Harîsh, and that the repast was given at Baghdad.—I read in another compilation that, when Abû Dulaf was suffering from the malady of which he died, his indisposition became so grave that the public were refused admittance into his presence. It happened, however, that, one day, feeling much better, he asked the chamberlain what applicants might be then at the palace-door, and was informed that ten *sharîfs* (*descendants of Muhammad*) from Khorâsân had been waiting many days, without being able to enter. He immediately sat up on his bed and having sent for them, he received them with great politeness, and asked them the news of their country, what might be their private circumstances, and the motive of their visit. The replied that, being in narrow circumstances and hearing of his generous character, they had come to apply to him. On this, he ordered his treasurer to bring in one of the money-chests, and having taken out of it twenty bags, containing each one thousand pieces of gold, he gave two of them to each of his visitors, with an additional sum for their travelling expenses home. "Touch not "the bags," said he, "till you arrive in safety and join your families; here is "a sum to defray your journey. But, let each of you write for me a note, stat-"ing that he is the son of such a one, the son of such a one, etc., the son of "Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, by Fâtima, the daughter of the Apostle of God. Let him "then add these words: 'O Apostle of God! I was suffering from distress and "'misery in my native town, and I went to Abû Dulaf al-Ijli who gave me two "'thousand pieces of gold through respect for thee and through the desire "'of conciliating thy favour, hoping thus to procure thy intercession.'"

Each of the *sharîfs* wrote out a note in these terms and delivered it to him. He then directed by his will that, when he died, the person who arranged his corpse for burial should place these papers in his winding-sheet, so that he might present them to the Apostle of God. Another proof of his respect to the family of Ali is given in a relation of what passed one day between him and his son: he happened to say that whosoever did not carry to the utmost pitch his attachment to the family of Ali was conceived in fornication; on which his son observed that, for himself, he did not hold such principles: "There is a good reason for that," said the father; "when thy mother con-

594 "ceived thee, I had not given her time to perform the *istibrâ*(4)." The authenticity of this anecdote is best known to God. A number of historical writers give the following narration as having been made by Dulaf, the son of Abû Dulaf: "I saw in a dream a person come towards me and say: 'The emir requires "'thy presence.' I went with him and he took me into a deserted and miserable "house with blackened walls, roofless and without doors: he led me up a flight "of stairs and made me enter into a garret, of which the walls bore the marks of "fire, and the floor was strewed with ashes: I there beheld my father, quite "naked(5) and leaning his head on his knees; he said to me in an interrogative "tone: 'Dulaf?' and I replied 'Dulaf;' on which he repeated these verses:

> 'Tell our family, and conceal it not from them, what we have met with in the nar-
> 'row tomb (6). We have been questioned as to all our deeds; O pity my desolation
> 'and my sufferings!'

"He here said: 'Dost thou understand me?' and I answered 'Yes;' and he "then recited as follows:

> 'If, after death, we were left (*in peace*), death would be a repose for all living beings;
> 'but when we die, we are raised up again and questioned respecting all we ever did.'

"'Dost thou understand me?" I answered: 'Yes;' and awoke." Abû Dulaf died at Baghdad, A. H. 226 (A. D. 840-1); some say, A. H. 225.—*Dulaf* is a proper name, and, as it combines this quality to that of being formed, with some alteration, from another word, it belongs to the second declension (7). The word from which it is derived is *dâlif* (*lente incedens*).—We have already explained the word *Ijli* (*vol. I. page* 191).—*Obolla* is the name of an ancient town at four

parasangs from Basra; it is now included in the district of that city. It is, as we have said of *Shib Bawwân* and other places, in the life of Adud ad-Dawlat (*vol. II. p.* 484), an earthly paradise and one of the four most delightful spots in the world.—*Al-Karaj* is a city of al-Jabal, between Ispahân and Hamadân.—*Al-Jabal* is an extensive territory between Irâk and Khorasân; the common people call it *Irâk al-Ajam* (*the Irâk of the Persians* or *Persian Irâk*). It contains some large cities, such as Hamadân, Ispahân, ar-Rai and Zanjân.

(1) I read بطعنه not بطعنة.

(2) Literally: That my heart contains the breast of Abû Dalaf. A similar peculiarity of the Arabic idiom would allow us to say: My shoe cannot enter my foot, in place of my foot cannot enter my shoe.—See on this subject M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. II. p. 399.

(3) Daurak, the *Dorak* or *Felahi* of our maps, is a town of Persia, in the province of Khûzestân. It lies about seventy-five miles south of Shuster.

(4) When a man purchases a female slave, it is not lawful for him to cohabit with her till she has had her next ensuing monthly indisposition. The waiting for this term is called *istibrâ* (*purification*, or more exactly, *waiting for purification*). The end proposed in this regulation is, that it may be ascertained whether conception has not already taken place in the womb, in order that the issue may not be doubtful.—(Hamilton's *Hedaya*, vol. IV. p. 103.)

(5) The correct reading is عربان.

(6) The word here rendered by tomb is *barzakh*. It signifies, the interval between this world and the next, or between death and the resurrection. See Sale's note on this word; Koran, surat 23, verse 102, and his preliminary discourse, sect. IV.

(7) See M. de Sacy's *Grammaire arabe*, tom. I. p. 408 of the second edition.

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## KABUS IBN WUSHMAGHIR.

Shams al-Maâli (*the sun of exalted qualities*) Abû 'l-Hasan Kâbûs al-Jîli, the son of Abû Tâhir Wushmaghîr (1), the son of Ziâr (2), the son of Wardân Shâh, emir of Jurjân and Tabarestân, is spoken of in these terms by ath-Thaâlibi (*v. II. page* 129), in the *Yatîma*: "I shall conclude this section by mentioning the "greatest of princes, the star of the age, the source of justice and beneficence; "one in whose person Almighty God hath united power and learning, the gift

"of wisdom and the plenitude of authority." Further on, he says: "And "amongst the best known of the pieces attributed to him are the following:

'O thou who reproachest us with our misfortunes! knowest thou not that adversity 'wars only with the truly great? Hast thou not observed that putrid corpses float on 'the surface of the sea, whilst the pearls dwell in its lowest depths? If we have be- 'come the sport of Fortune—if we have suffered from her protracted cruelty, recollect 'that in the heavens are stars without number, but only the sun and the moon suffer 'an eclipse.'

595 'Each time thy memory bursts upon my mind, it excites my love to flame, and I feel 'its thrill in my heart. Every member of my body contains a portion of that love, and 'they might be said to have become hearts.'"

The author quotes also a quantity of passages from his prose compositions. Kâbûs wrote a most beautiful hand, and when the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. page* 212) saw pieces in his handwriting, he used to say: "This is either the "writing of Kâbûs or the wing of a peacock;" and he would then recite these verses of al-Mutanabbi's:

In every heart is a passion for his handwriting; it might be said that the ink which he employed was (*a cause of*) love. His presence is a comfort for every eye, and his absence an affliction.

The emir Kâbûs ruled over Jurjân and the neighbouring provinces, as did his father before him; his (*grand*)father died in the month of Muharram, A. H. 337 (July-Aug., A. D. 948) at Jurjân. Then (*after the death of Menûtcheher, the son of Kâbûs*), the empire of Jurjân fell into the possession of another family (3); but it would be long to relate the history of these events. Kâbûs came to the throne in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 388 (4). The kingdom of Jurjân had passed to his father on the death of Merdâwîj Ibn Ziâr, his father's brother. This Merdâwîj was a powerful and aspiring prince; Imâd ad-Dawlat Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Buwaih (*vol. II. p.* 332) had served under him as commander in chief, and this circumstance mainly contributed to raise him to a throne (5).—Kâbûs was an honour and ornament to the world, but, with all his noble qualities and political foresight, the cup of his (*domination*) was ungrateful to the taste; no one felt secure from the outbursts of his violence and severity; the least slip was requited with bloodshed, and, in his anger, he never thought of mercy. The ferocity

of his character at length discontented all minds and alienated all hearts; the principal officers of his army conspired to depose him and submit no longer to his orders, and, as he happened at that time to be absent from Jurjân at a camp near one of his fortresses, these proceedings escaped his observation. He did not become aware of their design till they came to arrest him and plundered him of his treasures and his horses; but the band of chosen adherents who then accompanied him made so brave a defence that the conspirators returned to Jurjân. Having taken possession of the city, they dispatched a messenger to his son Abû Mansûr Menûtcheher, who was then in Tabaristân, requiring him to come without delay and receive their homage as sovereign. He set out immediately, and, on his arrival, they promised to acknowledge his authority provided he dethroned his father. Apprehensive that the empire might escape from the hands of his family if he rejected their offers, he felt himself obliged to comply, and the emir Kâbûs, perceiving the turn which affairs had taken, retired with his adherents to the neighbourhood of Bastâm, where he resolved to await the result. When the mutineers were informed of this movement, they forced his son Menûtcheher to march out with them, that they might expel their former master from the place of his retreat. On arriving there, the son had an interview with the father, and, after much weeping and lamentation on both sides, he offered to stand up in defence of his parent against every enemy, though it cost him his life. Kâbûs perceived, however, that such a proceeding would be of no use, and feeling that he could not have a better successor than his son, he delivered the royal signet into his hands, with the request that he himself might be treated with kindness whilst he remained in the bonds of life; and it was therefore agreed on between them that he should reside in a certain castle till he reached the term of his existence. After the removal of Kâbûs to the place of his detention, the son proceeded to load the troops with favours, but so apprehensive were they of the father's coming again into power that they never rested till they effected his death. He was murdered, A.H. 403 (A.D. 1012-3) and interred outside the city of Jurjân. It is said that, on his imprisonment in the castle, they refused 596 him a cloak or any warm covering, and the extreme coldness of the weather deprived him of life.—*Jîli* here means *belonging to Jîl;* Jil was the brother of Dailam, and they each left descendants who were surnamed after them respectively. It is necessary to remark that this surname is quite different from

that of *Jîli*, signifying *native of (Jîlân,)* the country beyond Tabarestân. As they have been sometimes confounded together, I think it right to warn the reader. —We have already spoken of Jurjân (*vol. II. p.* 223), and we need not therefore repeat our observations here.

(1) The signification of this name seems to be *Quail-catcher*.

(2) For the orthography of this name, I follow the autograph manuscript of the *Annals* of Abû 'l-Feda; it occurs under the year 366.

(3) The text of Ibn Khallikân is here drawn up so carelessly, that, to save his reputation as an historian, I have been obliged to help it out by parentheses. Wushmaghîr died A. H. 356, and was succeeded by his son Bîsetûn. Kâbûs reigned after him.

(4) This is a mistake, in which however all the manuscripts agree; I consequently adopted the reading in the printed text, although aware of the error. Kâbûs succeeded to the throne of Jurjân on the death of his brother Bîsetûn, A. H. 366 (A. D. 976-7). I suspect the error to have originated with our author.

(5) I here suppress some observations which the author has already made in the life of Imâd ad-Dawlat.

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## MUJAHID AD-DIN KAIMAZ AZ-ZAINI.

Abû Mansûr Kâimâz Ibn Abd Allah az-Zaini (*a freedman of Zain ad-dîn*), surnamed Mujâhid ad-dîn (*champion of the faith*), was a eunuch and an enfranchised slave of Zain ad-dîn Ali Ibn Baktikîn, the father of al-Malik al-Muazzam Muzaffar ad-dîn, sovereign of Arbela. He was of a white complexion and a native of Tabarestân, whence he had been carried off when a child; and, as he gave tokens of great abilities, his patron promoted him and appointed him *atâbek* (*or tutor*) to his children. On the fifth day of the month of Ramadân, A. H. 559 (July, A. D. 1164), he entrusted him with the whole management of public affairs at Arbela, and, in this office, Kâimâz distinguished himself by the excellence of his administration and the justice with which he ruled the prince's subjects. Ever actuated by the spirit of virtue and piety, he built at Arbela a college and a (*moslim*) convent, on which he settled large estates (*wakf*). In the year 571 (A. D. 1175) he removed to Mosul, and, having fixed his residence in the citadel, he took in hand the direction of affairs, and, in his correspondence with

the neighbouring princes, he acquired more influence over them by his letters than any other had ever done before. The *atâbek* Saif ad-din Ghâzi Ibn Maudûd (*vol. II. p.* 441), the sovereign of Mosul, struck with the uprightness of his conduct, confided to him the government of all his possessions and placed full reliance on him in every circumstance, so that the lieutenant in title was the sultan in reality. The greater part of the revenues of Arbela was delivered over to him, and he left many fair monuments of his piety at Mosul, such as the great mosque, the college, and the (*Moslim*) convent which he erected outside the city, and all close to each other. He endowed the public charitable fund with numerous estates: he founded and provided for an orphan school, and he threw a new bridge across the river of Mosul, to the great convenience of the public for whose service the old bridge was insufficient. He founded many other charitable institutions. A number of poets celebrated his praises, Hais Bais amongst others (*vol. I. p.* 559), and Sibt Ibn at-Taâwîzi; the latter, whose life will be found in this work, composed a *kasîda* in his honour, commencing thus:

> When will he be restored to health who languishes with desire for thy presence? How can he ever recover who has been intoxicated with thy love? My heart and consolation are at war, but my eyes and tears are at peace (*and inseparable*).

This poem, which is one of his best, was sent by him from Baghdad to Kâimâz, who forwarded to him, in return, an ample pecuniary recompense and the present of a mule. When the latter arrived, he found it very much fallen away from the fatigue of the journey, and wrote these lines to his patron:

> Mujâhid ad-dîn! mayest thou be always a resource and a treasure for the indigent! Thou hast sent me a mule, but, on the way, it was metamorphosed into a goat.

Bahâ ad-dîn Asaad as-Sinjâri (*vol. I. p.* 196) composed also a poem in his honour, which is much celebrated and has been set to music. One of its passages is this:

> Beshrew my heart for a wearisome companion! it and my eyes have caused the torments which I suffer. How happy the days I spent at Râma! how sweet the hours I passed at Hâjir (1)! they fled so quickly, that the first moments touched the last. 597

It was in pursuance of the emir Mujâhid ad-dîn's orders that Abû 'l-Maâli



Saad (2) al-Haziri composed his work, entitled *Kitâb al-Ijâz fi Hall il-Ahâjî wa 'l-Alghâz* (*the book of superiority, on the solution of enigmatical questions*). He then took it to him at Arbela and resided in the palace for some time, but feeling at length a longing desire to revisit his family al-Hazîra, he said:

> Who will condole with a fond parent who has but little consolation, and who now, in a distant city, sighs for his home? In Arbela he calls on those he loves; but O, how far is al-Hazîra from Arbela!

Kâimâz loved literature and poetry; one of my acquaintances informed me that he frequently recited a piece of verse which contained the following passage:

> When thy sarcasms wound my heart, I support the pain with patience; I conceal my sufferings and visit thee with a smiling countenance, as if I had heard nothing and seen nothing.

The piece to which these verses belong is by Osama Ibn Munkid (*vol. I. p.* 177).—Of Mujâhid ad-dîn Kâimâz we may say, in a word, that he left a wide renown. Majd ad-dîn al-Mubârak Ibn al-Athîr (3), the author of the *Jâmi al-Usûl*, was employed by him as secretary, and drew up the documents which he addressed to the neighbouring princes. On the death of the *atâbek* Saif ad-dîn Ghâzi, his brother and successor, Izz ad-dîn Masûd, listened to the frequent insinuations of evil-minded men relative to the conduct of Kâimâz, and, in the year 589 (A. D. 1193), he caused him to be arrested. Having afterwards discovered that he had been deceived, he set his prisoner at liberty and reinstated him in his former post. During the rest of his life, Kâimâz continued in office. He died in the Castle of Mosul on the 15th of the first Rabî—some say the sixth—A. H. 595 (January, A. D. 1199). Ibn al-Mustaufi states, in his History of Arbela, that his death took place in the month of Safar of that year. It was in A. H. 572 (A. D. 1176-7) that he commenced the erection of the mosque at Mosul which bears his name.

(1) Râma and Hâjir were two romantic spots in Arabia: See vol. II. p. 437, and vol. I. p. 200.

(2) The manuscripts and the printed text have here *Asaad* اسعد; this is an oversight of the copyists and the editor, as the poet's name was Saad سعد.—See vol. I. p. 563.

(3) His life will be found in this volume.

## KATADA IBN DIAMA AS-SADUSI.

Abû 'l-Khattâb Katâda Ibn Diâma Ibn Azîz Ibn Omar Ibn Rabia Ibn Amr Ibn al-Harith Ibn Sadûs as-Sadûsi, a native of Basra and one of the *Tâbîs*, was, though blind from his birth, a man of the greatest learning: "Not a day "passed," said Abû Obaida (*Mâmar Ibn al-Muthanna*), "without our seeing a "messenger arrive from some of the Omaiyide family, and stop his camel at Ka-"tâda's door; being sent for the express purpose of questioning him on some "point of history, genealogy, or poetry." The fact was that Katâda surpassed all his contemporaries by the quantity of information which he had collected. Mâmar said also: "I asked Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ the meaning of these words of "the Korân وما كنا له مقرنين (1), and, as he made me no answer, I mentioned that I "had heard Katâda explain the word مقرنين by مطيقين (*valentes ad*); as he still "remained silent, I said: 'And what is thy opinion, Abû Amr?' To which "he replied: 'Let Katâda's opinion always suffice thee, except when he dis-"'coursed of free-will and predestination (*kadar*); had not the Prophet himself "'said: *When* kadar *is spoken of, avoid the subject,* I should put none of Kâtada's "'contemporaries on a level with him.'"—"Katâda," said Abû Amr, "was "the most learned genealogist of his time, and, in his youth, he met Daghfal (2). "He used to go from one end of Basra to the other without a guide, and, one "day, he entered the mosque of Basra when Amr Ibn Obaid (*vol. II. p.* 393) and "some others had just gone apart from the *circle* of al-Hasan al-Basri's auditors "and formed one of their own. As they were speaking in a loud tone, he went "over to them, imagining it to be al-Hasan's *circle*, but as he found, on joining "them, that it was not so, he said: 'These are *the seceders* (*al-motazila*)!' and, "standing up, he left them; from that time they were called the *Motazilites* (*se-"ceders*)." Katâda was born A. H. 60 (A. D. 679-80), and he died at Wâsit, 598 A. H. 117 (A. D. 735-6); some say, 118. – *Sadûsi* means *descended from Sadûs Ibn Shaibân*, the progenitor of a great tribe which has produced many remarkable men, some of them eminent for learning. — *Daghfal*, the ablest of the Arabian genealogists, was the son of Hanzala as-Sadûsi; he saw the Prophet, but did not hear him deliver any of his sayings. He afterwards joined Moawia and was

killed by the *Azârika* (3). According to another, and a more authentic statement, he was drowned in the Dujail at the battle of Dûlâb (4).

(1) Koran, surat 43, verse 12. These words signify: *For we should not have been able to accomplish that.*

(2) Daghfal Ibn Hanzala, the genealogist, belonged to the tribe of Shaibân Ibn Duhl. The year of his death is indicated further on His abilities rendered his name proverbial: see Freytag's *Meidani*, tom. I. p. 19, and tom. II. pages 162, 233, and 774.

(3) The heretical sect of the Azârika, or followers of Ibn al-Azrak, a branch of the Kharijites, rejected equally the claims of Ali and Moawia. Under the command of their chief and founder, Nâfi Ibn al-Azrak, they joined Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair at Mekka and fought in his defence, but, on discovering that he considered Othmân as a rightful khalif, they abandoned his cause and proceeded to Basra in A. H 64 (A. D. 683-4), where they took the oath of allegiance to Nâfi and established themselves at al-Ahwâz. The following year, their power increased considerably, and the people of Basra, who had incurred their enmity, obtained from Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair that a body of troops, under the orders of Muslim Ibn Abis عبيس, should march against them. The Azârika were repulsed from the territory of Basra and retreated to Dûlâb دولاب in the land of al-Ahwâz, where both parties encountered. The Azârika were here defeated with great loss, and Nâfi Ibn al-Azrak fell in the battle, which was also fatal to Muslim Ibn Abis As the insurgents still continued to be dangerous, Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra, an able general, marched against them by order of Abd Allah Ibn al-Harith, governor of Basra. Their final subjugation was not effected till about A. H. 70 (A. D. 689).—(Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *al-Bahr az-Zâkhir*. El-Makîn's *Historia Saracenica*, p. 60. See also Price's *Retrospect*, vol. I. pages 429, 440, and 446. For their political and religious doctrines, see Dr. Cureton's *Shahrastâni*, page ٩٨.)

(4) Dûlâb is spoken of in the preceding note.

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## KUTAIBA IBN MUSLIM.

The emir Kutaiba Ibn Abi Sâlih Muslim Ibn Amr (1) Ibn al-Hosein Ibn Rabia Ibn Khâlid Ibn Asîd al-Khair Ibn Kudâi Ibn Hilâl Ibn Salâma Ibn Thâlaba Ibn Wâil Ibn Maan Ibn Mâlik Ibn Aasar Ibn Saad Ibn Kais Ibn Ghailân Ibn Modar Ibn Nizar Ibn Adnân al-Bâhili was emir of Khorâsân in the reign of Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân. He ruled this province during thirteen years, and he held his appointment from al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf ath-Thakafi, who, as governor of the two Irâks and the neighbouring countries, had Khorâsân in his jurisdiction. Previously to this, Kutaiba had been governor of Rai, but, on the deposition of

Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra, he was appointed ruler over Khorâsân. In the life of Yazid we shall indicate the particulars of this event. It was Kutaiba Ibn Muslim who reduced Khowarezm, Samarkand, and Bukhâra, the inhabitants of which had broken their treaties. Clearsightedness, intrepidity, and generosity formed the leading features of his character. His father Muslim possessed the greatest influence at the court of Yazid Ibn Moawia, and was the owner of the celebrated horse al-Harûn, whose qualities gave rise to a proverb (2). In the year 95 (A. D. 713-4), towards the close of al-Walid Ibn Abd al-Malik's reign, Kutaiba Ibn Muslim took the city of Farghâna. Historians declare that, by his wars with the Turks, his expeditions into the heart of the regions beyond the Oxus, his taking of fortresses, his subduing of provinces, his carrying off of wealth and his slaying of brigands, Kutaiba surpassed al-Muhallab Ibn Ali Sufra and every other general. As an example of his activity it may be stated that he effected the conquest of Khowarezm and Samarkand in a single year; by the capture of two such great cities (3), prosperity was re-established in the country and contributions were brought in from all quarters. When Kutaiba had achieved these deeds, he sent for Nahâr Ibn Tausia, the favorite poet of al-Muhallab and his sons, and said to him: "What has now become "of your verses on the death of al-Muhallab? You said:

> 'The expeditions which placed wealth within our reach are at an end; generosity and 'beneficence have ceased with the life of al-Muhallab!'

"Do you consider this last act of ours an expedition or not?" "Nay," said the poet, "it is something better; I too have said:

> 'Never since we lived have we seen the like of Ibn Muslim; his equal never existed 'before our time, and will never appear after us. With his sword he wrapt the whole 'Turkish nation in death, and shared the booty amongst us in donations ample and 'oft-repeated.'"

When al-Hajjâj (*Ibn Yûsuf*) received intelligence of Kutaiba's conquests, the number of enemies whom he slew and of prisoners whom he carried off, he said: "I sent out Kutaiba quite an inexperienced (4) boy, and I never gave "him an inch without his giving me an ell in return." In the year 96 (A. D. 714-5) (*the khalif*) al-Walid died, and was succeeded by his brother Sulaiman Ibn

Abd al-Malik, who disliked Kutaiba for reasons too long for us to relate (5). The apprehensions of Kutaiba being excited by this event, he renounced his allegiance and rose in open revolt against his sovereign, but the great majority of those under his orders withheld their concurrence. Some time previously, he had deprived Wakî Ibn Hassân Ibn Kais of his commandment over the tribe of Tamîm (6), and this Wakî, who bore the surname of Abû 'l-Mutarrif al-Ghudâni, now laboured underhand to seduce the troops, and kept away from Kutaiba's 599 presence under the pretext of sickness. He then attacked him at Farghâna and slew him with eleven other persons of the family, in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 96 (Aug.-Sept. A. D. 715); some say, A. H. 97. Kutaiba Ibn Muslim was born in the year 49 (A. D. 669-70). As-Salâmi (7) says, in his History of the governors of Khorâsân: "He ruled over Khorâsân nine years and seven "months;" but this is in contradiction with what is stated above. At-Tabari gives the year 86 as that of his nomination. Alluding to his death, Jarîr (*vol. I. p.* 294) pronounced the following lines:

> You repented having slain the noble son of Muslim; but, when you appear before God, you will repent still more. Thanks to his victories, you revelled in spoil; but now you are yourselves the spoil of every opponent. He has been transported to the dark-eyed maidens of Paradise, and you—Hell shall enclose you with its torments.

Muslim Ibn Amr, the father of Kutaiba, was slain with Musâb Ibn az-Zubair, A. H. 72 (A. D. 691-2) (8).—Abû Omar Saîd Ibn Muslim, the grandson of Kutaiba, was a powerful chief, highly celebrated (*by the poets*). Abd as-Samad Ibn al-Muaddal (*vol. I. p.* 354, *note* (9) ) lamented his death in these lines:

> "How many the orphans whom you protected in their destitution! how many the indigent whom you raised from poverty to riches! (*Each of them now*) exclaims, when adversity shows its fangs: "May God's blessing be on Saîd, the son of Muslim!"

Saîd governed Armenia, Mosul, Sind, Tabarestân, Sijistân, and Mesopotomia; he died A. H. 217 (A. D. 832-3). The following anecdote was related by himself: "When I was governor of Armenia, Abû Dahmân al-Ghalâni (9) came to "see me and staid for some days at my door (*waiting for admittance*). When he "entered, he sat down before me, in the open space left by the other visitors "who were drawn up in two lines reaching from my throne to the door (10), and "he then pronounced these words (11): 'By Allah! I know people who, if they

" 'were informed that, by swallowing dust, they could straighten the curvature
" 'of their reins (i.e. *raise themselves from a humble to an exalted station*), would take
" 'it for nourishment through their desire of escaping from a modest station of
" 'life (12); but I, by Allah! make a distant leap (i. e. *have a high aim in view*)
" 'and am slow in turning aside (*from my purpose*). The only thing which averts
" 'me from thee is that which repels thee from me (i. e. *I avoid thee because thou*
" '*art rich, and thou avoidest me because I am poor*), but I prefer poverty with the
" 'favour (*of God*) to wealth with reprobation. And, by Allah! we (*sûfis*) never
" 'ask the gift of a government but we receive it, or of wealth but we obtain (13)
" 'more than we require. This power which is now in thy hands was once in
" 'the hands of others, and by Allah! nothing remains of them here but their
" 'reputation; it is good if they did good, and bad, if they wrought evil.
" 'Answer then (*the applications*) of God's servants by receiving them with affa-
" 'bility and granting them an easy access unto thee; for the love shown to
" 'God's servants is allied to the love due to God; and they are chosen by God
" 'to bear witness as to the conduct of his creatures and to observe those who
" 'turn away from the path of righteousness. Peace be with thee!' " (14). On
the death of Omar, the son of Saîd Ibn Muslim, the following elegy was pronounced by Abû Amr Ashjâ Ibn Amr as-Sulami, a celebrated poet of Rakka who inhabited Basra (15):

The son of Said departed when not a spot of the East and of the West remained without some person to extol his virtues. I did not know with what profusion his hands bestowed their gifts, till the tombstone had hidden him from our sight. That man is now in a narrow cavity under ground, whose (*renown*) the extended plains of the earth could not contain. As long as my tears flow, I shall weep thy loss, and, if I exhaust them, let that (*heart*) which my bosom encloses answer for my feelings. Now, since thou art dead, I shall remain untroubled, even by the greatest afflictions, and unmoved by any joys. (*We grieve for thee*) as if thou hadst been the only person who ever died—the only one over whom the female mourners ever raised (*the funeral cry*). It now becomes (*us*) to lament thee in elegies, as it formerly became (*us*) us to praise thee in eulogiums. 600

This beautiful elegy is extracted from the *Hamâsa* (16). The idea expressed in the last verse is similar to that contained in the following:

O, best of those who to-day are worthiest of lamentations, and who yesterday were worthiest of praise!



This verse is taken from a piece composed by Muti Ibn Iyâs Ibn Yahya Ibn Ziàd, and which is given in the *Hamâsa* (*page* ٣٩٠).—The numerous deeds of Kutaiba Ibn Muslim occupy a place in History (17).—In our notice on al-Asmâi (*vol. II. p.* 123), we have spoken of the word *Bâhili* and given its derivation. The Arabs of the desert (*who were members of the tribe of Bâhila*) had an extreme repugnance to bearing this surname; this feeling was so general that a poet said:

> It availeth a man nothing to be descended from Hâshim if he bears within him a Bahilite soul.

And another poet has pronounced that:

> If the words *thou Bahilite!* were addressed to a dog, the animal would howl from the ignominy of such an appellation.

It was observed to Abû Obaida that al-Asmâi claimed to be descended from Bâhila, but he declared that could never have been the case. On being asked the reason, he replied: "Persons belonging to the tribe of Bâhila disclaim all con-"nexion with it; how then is it possible that a man who did not belong to it "should come forward and claim to belong to it?" I read in a collection of anecdotes that al-Ashâth Ibn Kais al-Kindi (18) said to the Prophet: "Are we all "equally subjected to the law of talion?" and he made answer: "Yes; even if "you slayed a man of the tribe of Bâhila, I should slay you to avenge him." Kutaiba Ibn Muslim said to Hubaira Ibn Masrûh (19): "What a man thou wouldst "be did thy maternal ancestors not belong to the tribe of Salûl (20)! Sup-"pose that I change them for others?" To this Hubaira replied: "May God "prosper the emir! change them for whom thou wilt of all the Arabic tribes, "but spare me from Bâhila." It is related also that an Arab of the desert met a person on the road and asked him who he was? The other replied that he belonged to the tribe of Bâhila. The Arab having expressed his commiseration for such a misfortune, the man said: "I must inform thee, moreover, that I am "not sprung from that race, but am one of their slaves." The Arab immediately went over to him and kissed his hands and feet. "Why doest thou so?" exclaimed the man. The other answered: "Almighty God, blessed be his "name! would not inflict on thee such a misfortune in this life, unless he "intended to remunerate thee with Paradise in the next." An Arab was asked

if he would consent to be a Bahilite on the condition of entering into Paradise, and he replied: "Yes, provided that the inhabitants of Paradise are not in-" formed of my being a Bahilite." They tell many anecdotes of this kind. Husain Ibn Bakr al-Kilâbi, the genealogist, being asked why the tribes of Bàhila and Ghani were held in such depreciation by the Arabs, he replied: "They were once " possessed of riches and honour, but what abased their reputation was, that " being surpassed by their brethren of the tribes of Fazàra and Dubyân in a " rivalry of glorious deeds, their own merit appeared slight in comparison (21)." This circumstance is stated by the vizir Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Maghribi (*vol. I. p.* 450) in his *Addb al-Khawâss*.—We have spoken of Kutaiba in the life of Abd Allah Ibn Muslim Ibn Kutaiba (*vol. II. p.* 22).

(1) The *Kâmûs*, under the root حرن, writes this name *Omâr;* the Sahâh, under the same word, has *Amr*.

(2) This proverb I have not been able to discover.—Al-Jauhari, the author of the *Sahâh*, says that the horse Harûn was celebrated for his speed, and gives his pedigree after al-Asmâi, who makes him descend from Auwaj (*see vol. II. page* 246.)

(3) This was in A.H. 93. At-Tabari calls the city of Khowarezm *Medîna tal-Fîl* (the city of the elephant.)

(4) I read غرّا in place of غزا, although the manuscripts and the printed text give the latter reading.

(5) See Price's *Retrospect*, vol. I. page 486.

(6) There were ten thousand men of the tribe of Tamîm in Kutaiba's army. The Tamîmites remained in these provinces till al-Mamûn was proclaimed khalif; they then accompanied him to Baghdad, whence they were sent into North Africa, where one of their chiefs founded, a few years afterwards, the hereditary, but not independent dynasty of the Aghlabites.

(7) See vol. I. page 655.

(8) The best historians place the death of Musâb in the year 71.

(9) One of my manuscripts has *al-Ghalâli* الغلالى.

(10) The Arabic has قعد بين السماطين *he sat down between the two lines* (simâts).

(11) It is necessary to observe that the original Arabic of the very obscure address which follows, has been miserably altered by the copyists. I combined readings from different manuscripts in order to form a text offering some appearance of meaning, but not, I fear, with full success. The import of the discourse is rendered very difficult of comprehension by the speaker's not only affecting to employ the elliptic language and the idioms of the genuine Arabs of the desert, but giving to these terms a mystic signification.

(12) For the meaning of the expression رقيق الحواشى see Schulten's *Hartrii consessus*, 2nd part, p. 183.

(13) Here the printed text, supported by the authority of all the manuscripts, has نحن; but I cannot give any meaning whatever to the passage unless I replace it by نحوز. The *government* and *wealth* which he here speaks of must mean *spiritual gifts*.

(14) I can by no means give this as a *correct* translation of Abû Dahmân's speech; the Arabic text may not be exempt from faults, and, if it be exactly given as our author transcribed it, I must have misunderstood *at least* one passage of it.

(15) See vol. I. page 208, note (8).

(16) See Freytag's *Hamâsa*, page ٣٩٢.

(17) Literally: The relations of his doings are numerous. See his history in Price's *Retrospect*, vol. I.

(18) Al-Ashâth Ibn Kais, a powerful chieftain of the tribe of Kinda and one of the Companions of the Prophet, was the ancestor of Yakûb al-Kindi, the celebrated philosopher.—(*See vol. I. page* 355, *note* (22) ).

(19) *Masrûh* مسروح is an error of Ibn Khallikân or of his copyists; the true reading is *Mushamraj* مشمرج.—Hubaira Ibn Mushamraj al-Kilâbi (*member of the tribe of Kilâb,*) was one of Kutaiba Ibn Muslim's generals, and highly distinguished for eloquence. In Price's *Retrospect*, vol. I. p. 483, we find his name transcribed *Hobairah the Kûlaubite* (read the *Kilâbite*), and it occurs again repeatedly in the following pages. The volume of the *Annals of at-Tabari*, in the original Arabic, preserved in the Bib. du Roi (*supplement*, p. 248), writes his father's name *Mushamraj*, and this historian cites two pieces of verse, p. 259 and p. 260, in one of which it rhymes with *manhaj* and *makhraj;* from this we must conclude the final letter to be *j* (ج); and moreover, the measure of both verses requires us to read in each *Mushamraj*, as there written, for if *Masrûh* be substituted, the verses cannot be scanned.

(20) This tribe was also greatly despised by the Arabs.—(See Freytag's *Meidanii Proverbia*, t. II. p. 172.)

(21) I read فدوقا; a manuscript which I have since consulted offering فدوقا in place of قذفا.

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## KARAKUSH.

The emir Karâkûsh Ibn Abd Allah al-Asadi (*client of Asad ad-dîn*), surnamed Bahâ ad-dîn (*splendor of religion*), was a slave to the sultan Salâh ad-dîn, or, by another account, to that prince's uncle, Asad ad-dîn Shirkûh (*vol. I. p.* 626), from whom he received his liberty. We have already made mention of him in the life of the jurisconsult Isa al-Hakkâri (*vol. II. page* 430). When Salâh ad-dîn established his dominion in Egypt, he confided to Karâkûsh the government of the palace, and, at a later period, he nominated him his lieutenant in Egypt, and entrusted him with the entire direction of public affairs. Karâkûsh was a man of lofty spirit and singularly favoured by fortune in all his proceedings. It was he who built the wall which encloses Old and New Cairo with the intervening grounds; he built also the Calâ tal-Jabal (1) and the bridges at Jiza on the road leading to the Pyramids. All those monuments are proofs of an exalted mind. He erected a *ribât*, or convent, at al-Maks, and the Khân Sabîl (2) outside Old Cairo, at (*the gate called*) Bâb al-Futûh. He founded besides a great number of *wakfs* (*vol. I. p.* 49), producing revenues to an unknown amount.

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In all his intentions and proceedings he was actuated by the purest motives. When the sultan Salàh ad-dîn took Acre from the Franks (A. H. 583, A. D. 1187-8), he gave (*the command of*) the city to Karâkûsh, who, when the enemy returned and obtained possession of it a second time, remained a prisoner in their hands. It is stated that he paid ten thousand dinars for his ransom. Our *shaikh*, the *kâdi* Bahâ ad-dîn Ibn Shaddâd says, in his History of Salâh ad-dîn (3), that Karâkûsh was delivered from captivity on Tuesday, the 11th of Shawwâl, A. H. 588 (October, A. D. 1192), and came to pay his respects to the sultan; this prince manifested an extreme joy on again seeing a person to whom he, Islamism, and the Moslims were so deeply indebted. Karâkûsh then asked and obtained permission to go and procure money for his ransom, which was stated to be thirty thousand (4) pieces (*of gold*). A number of extraordinary decisions are attributed to Karâkûsh, as having been pronounced by him during his administration; nay, things have gone so far that al-Asaad Ibn Mammâti (*vol. I. p.* 192) composed a small volume under the title of *Kitâb al-Fâshûsh fi Ahkâm Karâkûsh* (*stupidity, or the decisions of Karâkûsh*), and containing things which it is highly improbable that such a man as Karâkûsh could have said or done. They are manifestly mere inventions, for Salâh ad-dîn would not have confided to him the affairs of the empire unless he had an entire confidence in his knowledge and abilities (5). Karâkûsh died at Cairo, on the 1st of Rajab, A. H. 597 (April, A. D. 1201), and was interred at the foot of Mount Mukattam, in the funeral chapel which bears his name. This monument is situated near the well and pond which he had caused to be made at the border of the trench (*which surrounds the city*).—*Karâkûsh* is the Turkish name of the bird called *okâb* (*eagle*) in Arabic (6); it is employed also as a proper name of a man.

(1) The *Calâ tal-Jabal*, or *Castle of the Mountain*, forms the citadel of Cairo. See the description of it in M. de Sacy's *Abdallatif*, page 208, note (4), and, in the first line of the same note, read قلعة الجبل in place of قصر الشمع.

(2) The *Khân Sabîl* was a caravanserai built by Karâkûsh for the gratuitous reception of travellers, *liabnâ is-Sabîl wa 'l-musafirîn*.—(Al-Makrîzi's *Khitat*.)

(3) See Schulten's *Saladinii vita et res gestæ*, p. 267.

(4) Ibn Shaddâd, *loco laudato*, has eighty thousand.

(5) See M. de Sacy's *Abdallatif*, page 206.

(6) Not precisely; *karâ kûsh* signifies literally, *niger avis*.

## KATARI IBN AL-FUJAA.

Abû Naâma Katari Ibn al-Fujâa Joûna Ibn Màzin Ibn Yazid Ibn Zaid Manât Ibn Hanthar Ibn Kinâna Ibn Hurfûs Ibn Mazin Ibn Mâlik Ibn Amr Ibn Tamim Ibn Murr al-Mazini al-Khâriji (*the Kharijite*) commenced his revolt when Musâb Ibn az-Zubair was governing Irâk as lieutenant of his brother Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair. Musâb was appointed to this post, A. H. 66 (A. D. 685-6), and Katari continued, during twenty years, to wage war and to be saluted by the title of khalif. Al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf ath-Thakafi sent army after army against him, but they were always defeated. It is related that, in one of his battles, he rode forth from the ranks on a lean horse, with a cudgel in his hand, and challenged the opposite party to send out a man to fight him. One of them sallied forth to encounter him, but immediately fled when Katari removed the covering off his face to let him see who he was. "Where art thou going?" exclaimed Katari. "No man need be ashamed of flying from thee," answered his adversary. Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Mubarrad has a long section in his *Kâmil* on the history and wars of these Kharijites. Katari held his career without interruption till Sofyân Ibn al-Abrad al-Kalbi marched against him, defeated and slew him in the year 78 (A.D. 697-8). He fell by the hand of Sauda Ibn Abhar ad-Darimi. Some say that he lost his life in Tabarestân, A. H. 79, and others state that he died in consequence of his having broken his thigh by his horse falling with him. His head was cut off and sent to al-Hajjâj. I must here notice a statement of historians which I am unable to explain; according to them, Katari waged war and bore the title of khalif for the space of twenty years, yet this is contradicted by the dates of his first revolt and of his death. This is a point 602 to which I call the attention of the reader. Katari left no posterity. His father was called *Fujâa* because he had gone to Yemen and returned to his family *quite unexpectedly* (*fujâa*). They then gave him this surname, and it stuck to him ever after. It is Katari to whom al-Hariri alludes in the following passage of his sixth *Makâma*: "And they entrusted him with the management of this "business, as the Kharijites entrusted (*theirs*) to Abû Naâma (1)." He was a man of courage and daring, noted for his frequent wars and numerous battles,

his intrepidity and contempt of death. On this last subject he composed the following lines:

> I said to myself when I wavered at the sight of the warriors: "Shame upon thee! "fear not! wert thou to ask the delay of a single day above the term prescribed to thy "existence, thy request would not be heard; be firm then in the career of death! be firm! "to obtain an everlasting life is a thing impossible. The robe of existence is not so "precious that the heartless dastard should fold it up (*to preserve it*). The path of "death must be trod by every mortal; the inhabitants of the earth must all listen to "his summons. He who dies not young must live in suffering and fall into decrepi- "tude, whilst fate delivers him over to solitary misery. Life is of no use to a man "when he has become an object of contempt (2)."

These verses are inserted in the first section of the *Hamâsa* (3); they would give courage to the greatest coward God ever created, and I know of nothing on the subject to be compared with them; they could only have proceeded from a haughty spirit, ardently aspiring after glory. Katari is counted as one of the Arabian pulpit-orators the most celebrated for precision of thought and elegance of style.—It is related that al-Hajjâj said to the brother of Katari: "I shall "surely put thee to death."—"Why so?" replied the other.—"On account "of thy brother's revolt;" answered al-Hajjâj.—"But I have a letter from the "Commander of the faithful, ordering thee not to punish me for the fault of "my brother."—"Produce it."—"I have with me something stronger than "that."—"What is it?"—"The book of Almighty God, wherein he says: *And* "*no burdened soul shall bear the burden of another* (4)." Al-Hajjâj was struck with his answer, and gave him his liberty. Hosain Ibn Hafsa as-Saadi said of Katari in one of his poems:

> "Thou art he whose loss we cannot support; though useless thy life, thy death was "a calamity."

I have marked the pronunciation of the names of his ancestors; it is therefore unnecessary for me to lengthen this article by indicating the orthography of each, letter by letter; and the persons who copy this work may rely on the genuineness of what we have there marked (5); I have also put the vowel points to all the words in the verses.—It is said by some that *Katari* was not his name, but a surname, and that it is derived from the name of a town situated between al-Bahrain and Omân; Abû Naâma, being a native of it, received this appella-

tion (6). Some say also that it is the *kasaba* of Omân; the word *kasaba* means *the capital of a province* (lit. *the throne of a region*).

(1) See M. de Sacy's *Hariri*, page ٥٧.

(2) Literally, in French: Qui est compté pour une marchandise de rebut.

(3) See *Hamâsa*, page ٤٢٤.

(4) Koran, surat 6, verse 164.

(5) The copyists have all neglected to insert the vowel and orthographical signs.

(6) The author of the *Marâsid* notices a village called *Katar*, on the sea-shore in the province of al-Bahrain, between Omân and al-Okâir.

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## KAFUR AL-IKHSHIDI.

Abû 'l-Misk (*the father of musk*) Kâfûr (*camphor*) (1) was the son of Abd Allah and bore the surname of al-Ikhshîdi (*enfranchised slave of al-Ikhschîd*). We have already mentioned some circumstances respecting him in the life of Fâtik (*vol. II. p.* 453). He had been possessed as a slave by a native of Old Cairo, but, in the year 312 (A. D. 924-5), he was sold in that city by his master Mahmûd Ibn Wahb Ibn Abbâs to Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Toghj al-Ikhshid, a person whose life we intend to give. He then rose into such favour with al-Ikhschîd that 603 the latter appointed him *atâbek* (*guardian*) (2) of his two sons. When al-Ikhschîd died (*A. H.* 334, *A. D.* 946), his eldest son, Abû 'l-Kâsim Anûjûr (the word *anûjûr* signifies *mahmûd* (*praised* in Arabic), obtained the government of Egypt and Syria from the khalif ar-Râdi (3), who issued a written instrument to that effect. Kâfûr continued to administer the state with great ability till the death of Anûjûr. This event took place on Saturday, the 8th—some say the seventh—of Zû 'l-Kaada, A.H. 349 (December, A.D. 960); his body was transported to Jerusalem and interred near that of his father; he was born at Damascus on Thursday, the 9th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A.H. 319 (December, A.D. 931). His brother Abû 'l-Hasan Ali succeeded to the throne; in this prince's reign the Greeks took Aleppo, Missîsa, Tarsûs, and all that territory, whilst Kâfûr continued to act as his faithful guardian and the deputy of his power. Ali died on

the 11th of Muharram, A. H. 355 (January, A. D. 966); he was born at Old Cairo on Tuesday, the 25th of Safar, A. H. 326 (January, A. D. 938). From this epoch, Kâfûr assumed the uncontrolled government of the empire, and, when advised to proclaim the son of Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, he answered that so young a boy was not fit to reign. He then rode out escorted by spearmen, and exhibited the pelisses of investiture which had been sent to him from (*the court of the khalif in*) Irâk; he published also a document conferring on him an honorary title (*as governor of Egypt*), and at length, on Tuesday, the 10th of Safar, A. H. 355 (February, A. D. 966), he rode out wearing these pelisses. Abû 'l-Fadl Jaafar Ibn al-Furât (*vol. I. page* 319) served him in the capacity of vizir. Kâfûr loved the society of virtuous men, and treated them with marked honour. He was a negro of a deep black colour, with a smooth shining skin. It has been delivered down that al-Ikhschîd purchased him for eighteen pieces of gold (*dinars*). In the life of the *sharîf* Ibn Tabâtabâ (*vol. II. p.* 46) will be found an anecdote respecting him. When Abû 't-Taiyib al-Mutanabbi (*vol. I. p.* 102) departed in anger from the court of Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân (*vol. II. p.* 334), he proceeded to Egypt, and celebrated the praises of Kâfûr in some *kasîdas* of great beauty. In the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 346 (Sept. A. D. 957) he recited to him one of these pieces wherein he says, when describing the horses (*which bore him to Egypt*):

> They went to Kâfûr and neglected all other men; for he who seeks the sea, despiseth the rivulets. They bore us to the (*dark*) pupil of the eye of the age, and left behind them the white (*of the eye*) and its corners (4).

Here the poet has attained the acme of perfection.—In the month of Shawwâl, 347 (Dec.-Jan. A.D. 958-9), he recited to Kâfûr the poem rhyming in *b*, wherein he says:

> Whether I wish or not to praise Kâfûr, his noble qualities dictate to me and I must write. When a man leaves his family behind and visits Kâfûr, he again finds himself at home.

The same poem contains the following passage:

> On that day of rejoicing every man meets his friend with smiles, but I weep and lament (*the absence of*) those I love. I sigh for my family and long to meet them, but

how far is that distant *ankâ* (5) removed from my ardent wishes. If a choice must be made between (*thee*) Abû 'l-Misk and them, thou art sweeter to my heart than they are. The beneficent man is ever beloved, and the land which produces the plant of noble generosity is ever delightful.

604 It is related that al-Mutanabbi said: "When I went into Kâfûr's presence "with the intention of reciting verses to him, he always laughed on seeing me "and smiled in my face, but when I repeated to him these lines:

"Since friendship has become a mere deception, I am repaid for my smiles with "smiles; and when I choose a friend, my mind misgives me, for I know he is but a "man!

"He never did so again, as long as I remained with him. I was astonished "at this proof of his sagacity and intelligence." In the month of Shawwâl, A.H. 349 (Nov.-Dec. A.D. 960), al-Mutanabbi recited verses in his presence for the last time, and never went to see him again. The *kasîda* which he repeated to him on this occasion rhymes in *b*, and contains some passages in which the poet betrays his dissatisfaction. We extract from it the following passage:

When near to thee, my eyes are rejoiced, but that nearness is combined with the remoteness (*of those I love*). Does it profit me to approach thy person, if that which I desire be refused me? I visit thee seldom, that I may not be burdensome; and I keep silent to spare thee the trouble of a reply. What I want I declare not; thou art gifted with sagacity, and my silence is a sufficient explanation, nay, a plain request. But yet I am not one of those who require to be bribed into love, and whose attachment must be strengthened by rewards. I came to confound my calumniators, and my confidence in thy friendship was fully justified; I came to prove to persons who were hostile to me and went to (*praise the princes of the*) East, that I, who visited the West, was successful when they failed. Opinions differ, except respecting thee; thou art without a rival, and a lion where other kings are mere wolves. Nay, in this comparison, if the word *wolves* (ذئاب) were not pointed and the reader took it for *flies* (ذباب), he would make no mistake. Praise bestowed on other men is falsehood mixed with truth, but that which thou receivest is truth pure from alloy. When I obtain proofs of thy friendship, I contemn wealth and look on all other men as dust. Were it not for thee, I had been always a traveller, every day changing town and companions. For me thou art the world; to that world I am attached; and, were I to leave thee, I should be obliged to return to thee again.

After reciting this poem, al-Mutanabbi remained a year in Egypt without going to see Kâfûr, against whom he was greatly incensed; he merely rode out in his train to avoid incurring his displeasure. Having then made secret prepa-

rations for his departure, and every thing being arranged, he recited, on the ninth of Zû Hijja, A. H. 350 (January, A. D. 962), the *kasîda* rhyming in *d* wherein he satirized Kâfûr. The next day he left Cairo. This poem ends with the following lines:

> Who could teach noble sentiments to this castrated negro?—his white masters? or his ancestors who were hunted like wild beasts? or his ear, bleeding under the hands of the coppersmith (6)? or the price set upon him, when none would give two oboles to purchase him? But so it is! the best of the whites are incapable of honourable deeds; how then could any be expected from black eunuchs?

He composed many more satires against Kâfûr, all of which are inserted in the collection of his poems. On leaving him he went to Adûd ad-Dawlat, at Shirâz, as we have already related. In a compilation of anecdotes, I read the following relation: "I was at the court of Kâfûr al-Ikhshidi, when a man "came in and prayed for him, saying: 'May God prolong the days of our mas- "'ter!' but the word *days* he pronounced as if it were in the genitive case. "Some of the company began to converse about this mistake and blamed the 605 "man for making it, when a person of eminent rank, who happened to be "present, repeated extempore these lines:

> 'Wonder not if the man who invokes God's blessing on our master commit a fault 'of grammar, or that, struck with confusion, he falter and stammer. For the awe 'which the prince's aspect inspires is so great, that it renders the man of education 'embarrassed in his speech. If it be a fault to put *days* in the genitive instead of the 'accusative, it was not committed through heedlessness; he thus offered a good omen 'to our master; and the belief in omens has been transmitted to us from (*Muhammad*) 'the chief of the human race. He meant to pray that the prince's days should be 'days of *enjoyment*, not days of *affliction*, and that his life should be free from trou- 'ble (7).'"

The author of these lines was the philologer and historian Abû Ishak Ibrahim Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hashîsh al-Jîzi, one of Kâfûr's *kâtibs*, and the person who prayed for Kâfûr and made the blunder was Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn Sahbâs.—The anecdotes told of Kâfûr are very numerous: having obtained possession of the sovereign authority after a series of occurrences too long to relate, he continued to hold it till his death. This event took place at Old Cairo, on Tuesday, the 20th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 356 (May, A. D. 967); but some say that he died on a Wednesday, and others place his death in the year 355 or 357; this last

is the date given by al-Kudâi in his work, the *Khitat*, and al-Farghâni (8) indicates the same date in his History. Kâfûr was interred in the Lesser Karâfa, and his tomb is a well-known object in that cemetery. His reign did not continue long, as may be perceived, since it commenced on the death of Ali Ibn al-Ikhschid. His dominion extended not only over Egypt, but Syria also, and public prayers were offered up for him (*as sovereign*) from the pulpits of Mekka, Hijâz, Egypt, and the cities of Syria, including Damascus, Aleppo, Antioch, Tarsûs, and al-Missisa. According to al-Farghâni, in his History, he died at the age of sixty-five years. Kâfûr ruled with justness and mildness; on his death, contestations arose respecting the choice of a successor, but it was at length unanimously decided that the son of Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Ikhshid should be raised to the throne. Kâfûr reigned two years, two months, and twenty-three days. On Friday, the 23rd of the first Jumâda, A. H. 357 (April, A. D. 968), public prayers were offered up for Abû 'l-Fawâris Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Ikhshid. The history of these princes will be given in the life of their grandfather, Muhammad al-Ikhshid.

(1) This name was given him by antiphrasis; camphor is white, and he was a negro.

(2) See vol. I. page 330.

(3) This is an anachronism, ar-Râdi died five years before. We must read *al-Muti*, with Abû 'l-Mahâsin, who says, in his *Nujûm*, that al-Ikhshid's nomination of Anûjûr as his successor was confirmed by the khalif al-Muti.

(4) The commentators say, on this verse, that the poet, alluding to Kâfûr's dark complexion and to his merit, represents him as the most noble object upon earth, the pupil of the eye of the age; and that, for the worthlessness of other men, he designates them as the white and the corners of the eye, in which parts the sense of sight does not exist.

(5) This is an allusion to an old Arabian proverb: *More difficult to find than the Ankâ.* The Ankâ was an enormous bird which carried off two children, on which Hanzala Ibn Safwân, a prophet of that time, invoked God against it, and it never appeared after. The commentator on al-Mutanabbi, who furnishes this information, says that the word مغرب in the expression عنقاء مغرب may be made to agree with عنقاء as an adjective agrees with a substantive; but I have generally found it governed by it in the genitive as one noun governs another.—See M. de Sacy's commentary on *al-Hariri*, page ٥٩٣. Mr. Lane speaks of the *Ankâ* in his translation of the Thousand and one Nights; vol. III. page 91.

(6) The coppersmith put a brass ring in his ear to show that he was a slave.

(7) The word خفض is not only the technical term designating the genitive case, but it signifies also *wealth, ease*. The word نصب which, as a technical term, denotes the accusative case, signifies also *pain, affliction*.

(8) See vol. I. pages 155 and 290.

## KUTHAIYIR *THE LOVER OF* AZZA.

Abû Sakhr Kuthaiyir Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abi Jumâ al-Aswad Ibn Aâmir Ibn Owaimir al-Khuzâi was one of the most celebrated Arabian lovers. Ibn al-Kalbi gives his genealogy as follows, in the *Jamhara tan-Nisab:* "Kuthaiyir Ibn "Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn al-Aswad Ibn Owaimir Ibn Makhlad Ibn Saîd Ibn Kha- "thama Ibn Saad Ibn Malih Ibn Amr Ibn Rabîa Ibn Hâritha Ibn Amr Ibn "Muzaikiyâ Ibn Aâmir Mâ as-Samâ Ibn Hâritha Ibn Amr 'l-Kais Ibn Thaa- "laba Ibn Mâzin Ibn al-Azd." The remainder of this genealogy is well known (1). "The Rabîa Ibn Hâritha mentioned in this list is the same "person as Luhai, and it was Amr, the son of this Luhaî whom the blessed "Prophet saw dragging his own entrails in hell. Amr Ibn Luhaî was the "first who introduced the custom of making camels *sâibas* and *bahîras* (2), "who altered the religion of Abraham, and called on the Arabs to worship "idols. Luhaî and Afsa, the sons of Hâritha, were the persons denominated "*Khuzâa*, and, from them, the tribe bearing this name drew its descent. "They were called Khuzâa (*segment*) because they separated from the tribe 606 "of Azd, when it left Yemen at the epoch of the Torrent of the Dike (*Sail "al-Aram*) (3); they then settled at Mekka, and the rest of their people pro- "ceeded to Medîna, Syria, and Omân." A little before this, Ibn al-Kalbi says: "Al-Ashyam, the same person as Abû Jumâ, was the son of Khâlid Ibn Obaid "Ibn Mubashshir Ibn Rabâh, and father of the mother of Kuthaiyir, the lover "of Azza; for this reason, Kuthaiyir was called the grandson of Abû Jumâ. His "mistress, Azza, was the daughter of Jamîl Ibn Hafs Ibn Aiyâs Ibn Abd al- "Ozza Ibn Hâjib Ibn Afâr Ibn Malik Ibn Damra Ibn Bakr Ibn Abd Manâf "Ibn Kinâna Ibn Khuzaima Ibn Mudrika Ibn al-Yâs Ibn Modar Ibn Nizâr Ibn "Maadd Ibn Adnân." It is stated, however, by as-Samâni, that Jamîl was the son of Wakkâs Ibn Hafs Ibn Aiyâs.—The anecdotes told of Kuthaiyir's affection for Azza and of his interviews with her are numerous and well known. The greater part of his poems were composed in her praise. Although a *Râfidi* (4) and ardently devoted to the cause of the family of Abû Tâlib, he used to go to the court of the (*Omaiyide khalif*) Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân, and recite poems in

his presence: Ibn Kutaiba relates, in his *Tabakât as-Shuarâ* (*vol. II. page* 22), that Kuthaiyir went one day into the presence of Abd al-Malik, and this prince said to him: "I conjure thee by the rights of Ali Abi Ibn Tâlib to inform me if "thou ever sawest a truer lover than thyself." To this Kuthaiyir replied: "Commander of the faithful! conjure me by your own rights, and I shall answer "you."—"Well," said the prince, "I conjure thee by my own rights; wilt "thou not tell it to me now?"—"Certainly," said Kuthaiyir; "I will. As I "was travelling in a certain desert, I beheld a man who had just pitched his "toils to catch game, and I said to him: 'Why art thou sitting here?' And "he replied: 'I and my people are dying with hunger, and I have pitched "'these toils that I may catch something which may sustain our lives till to- "'morrow.'—'Tell me;' said I, 'if I remain with thee and if thou takest any "'game, wilt thou give me a share?' He answered that he would, and whilst "we were waiting, behold, a gazelle got into the net. We both rushed for- "ward, but he outran me, and having disentangled the animal, he let it go. "'What,' said I, 'could have induced thee to do so?' He replied: 'On "'seeing her so like (*my beloved*) Laila (*in the eyes*), I was touched with pity.' "He then repeated these verses:

> 'Timid animal, so like to Laila, fear not! to-day, I am thy friend. When I deli- 'vered it from the toils, I exclaimed: 'As long as I live, thou shalt go free for Laila's 'sake.'"

When Abd al-Malik resolved on marching out to combat Musâb Ibn az-Zubair, his wife Aâtika, the daughter of Yazid Ibn Moawia, implored him not to go forth in person, but to send some one in his place. The more she pressed him, the more resolutely he refused, and when she found her entreaties unavailing, she burst into tears. On this, all the female slaves and attendants who surrounded her uttered loud lamentations, and Abd al-Malik exclaimed: "Damn that fellow, Ibn Abi Jumâ!" meaning Kuthaiyir, "one would think "that he had witnessed this scene when he said:

> "When he resolved on going forth to fight, the noble lady bedecked with necklaces "of pearls could not turn him from his purpose. She forbade him, and finding that "her prohibitions withheld him not, she burst into tears, on which her attendants "wept in sympathy for her affliction."

He then insisted on her ceasing to weep, and she obeyed; after which he set out as he had intended. It is said that Azza went one day to see Omm al-Banîn, who was the daughter of Abd al-Azîz, the sister of Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz, and the wife of al-Walîd Ibn Abd al-Malik. This princess asked her what was the nature of the debt to which Kuthaiyir alluded in the verse where he says:

Every other debtor pays, and his creditor is satisfied; but Azza's creditor is put off, and remains afflicted.

To this question Azza replied that she promised him a kiss, but refused to keep her word. Omm al-Banîn then said: "Fulfil thy promise, and let the "sin of the deed be upon me."—Kuthaiyir had a slave-boy who kept a grocer's shop (*for his master*) at Medîna, and the Arab women sometimes bought from him on credit. He once sold perfumes to Azza, whom he did not then know, and he remained some days without being paid. She at length came back to the **607** shop with some other women, and he asked her for payment. "O," said she, "I am quite willing; it shall be done very, very soon." On this he repeated these words:

Every other debtor pays, and his creditor is satisfied; but Azza's creditor is put off, and remains afflicted.

On this, the other women asked him if he knew the name of his debtor, and, as he answered that he did not, they exclaimed: "By Allah! it is Azza her-"self." On hearing these words, he said to them: "I take you to witness that "I declare her liberated from what she may owe me." He then went to his master, and, having told him what had passed, Kuthaiyir replied: "I take God "to witness that thou art free for His sake; and I give thee the shop with "all its contents." The coincidence was certainly singular.—Kuthaiyir composed a great number of pieces on Azza's deferring the fulfilment of her promise; in one of these, he says:

Charming Azza! you defer the payment of thy debt; and, surely, the worst of maidens are those who defer. To this she replied: "Silly man! how can I pay a creditor "from whom I never received money."



In another piece he says :

> She pretends that I am changed since our last separation; but who, O Azza! does not undergo a change? My body is changed, but my soul remains as thou hast known it, and nothing (*in me*) has ever betrayed the secret of our love.

When Yazîd Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra was slain with a number of his family at Akr Bâbel, as we shall relate in his life, the news of this event reached Kuthaiyir, who had been always treated by them with great kindness; on which he shed a flood of tears, and exclaimed : "What awful calamities ! the sons of "Harb destroyed religion on the day of at-Taff (5), and the sons of Marwân de- "stroyed generosity on the day of al-Akr (6)!" — Abû 'l-Faradj al-Ispahani " *vol. II. p.* 249), the author of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, relates as follows : "Ku- "thaiyir was coming out from Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân's, dressed in a gown "of flowered silk, when an old woman, who was carrying home some fire in a "lump of dried horse-dung, met him in the street. He expressed his disgust so "openly that she asked him his name. He replied : 'Kuthaiyir, the lover of "Azza.'—'Are not you,' said she, 'the person who said :

> "A blooming meadow, on a fertile soil, whose shrubs (7) overflow with sap, spreads "not a sweeter perfume than the sleeves of Azza at the midnight hour, when she places "green aloes-wood on her fire."

Kuthaiyir replied that he was, and she said : "Were green aloes-wood placed "on this lump of dung, it would give out a sweet perfume also. Why did you "not say, like Amro 'l-Kais :

> "Did you not observe that, every night on which I went to visit her, I found her "smell of perfumes, and yet she uses them not (8)?"

He immediately gave her the gown he wore, and implored her to conceal his blunder.—At the time of my literary studies, I heard a teacher of the belles-lettres say that the latter part of the second verse composed by Kuthaiyir referred to the *meadow* and served to complete the description of it ; it was therefore as if the poet had said, that this meadow, whose soil is so fertile, and whose shrubs overflow with sap, smells not sweeter [*when green aloes-wood is burned on its fire*] (9), than do the sleeves of Azza. If the verse be explained

in this manner, the objection falls to the ground; but it appears very improbable that such could have been the poet's meaning. — Kuthaiyir was noted for his thoughtlessness. It is related that he went one day into the presence of Yazid Ibn Abd al-Malik and said: "Commander of the faithful! what did as-Shammâkh (10) mean by these words:

" اذا الارطى توسد ابرديه خدود جوارى بالرمل عين

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The khalif answered: "And what harm can it do me if I know not what that "boorish Arab of the desert meant to say? turn this fool out (11)!" When Abd al-Azîz Ibn Marwân, the father of (*the khalif*) Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz, was governor of Egypt, he had an attack of sickness, and his family wished to amuse him and make him laugh. Kuthaiyir (*therefore*) went to visit him, and pronounced these words as he stood at his bed-side: "Were it not that your "pleasure would be incomplete in case that I got sick in order to restore you "to health, I should implore the Lord God to pass your sickness over to me. "I shall, however, pray him to grant thee health and me a life of enjoyment "under thy protection." This made Abd al-Azîz laugh, and Kuthaiyir repeated these verses:

> We visit the sick-bed of our prince, the prince of all mankind; O that his sufferings could be transferred to his visitors! If his health could be redeemed at any price, I should sacrifice for it the most precious of my possessions.

One of Kuthaiyir's most admired *kasîdas* is that rhyming in *t*, wherein he says:

> In my wild passion for Azza, after our mutual affection had cooled, I resembled the man who at noon waits for the coming of a cloud, but, when he lies down to sleep under its shade, it disappears.

Kuthaiyir was in Egypt and Azza in Medina, when he conceived an anxious wish to see her. He therefore set out to visit her, and, as she was then travelling towards Egypt, they met on the road. A conversation, too long to relate, passed between them, and she then left him to pursue her journey. Some time after, Kuthaiyir returned to Egypt and went to see her, but found the people coming home from her funeral. He immediately proceeded to the grave, and, making his camel kneel down, he remained there for some time, and then departed, reciting a piece of verse in which were the following lines:



I exclaimed, when my emaciated camel stopped at her tomb, and my eyes overflowed with tears: "Receive the salutation of meeting! when thou wert alive, I used to weep "on leaving thee, but now, alas! thou art farther from me than ever!"

The stories told of him and Azza are very numerous. He died A. H. 105 (A. D. 723-4). Muhammad Ibn Saad al-Wâkidi relates that Khâlid Ibn al-Kâsim al-Baiâdi said: "Kuthaiyir and Ikrima, the *mawla* of Ibn Abbâs, died on the "same day, in the year 105. I was present at the funeral prayer; it was said "over them both together, in the afternoon, and the people declared that they "had lost the ablest jurisconsult and the best poet in the world. They died at "Medîna." We have already noticed, in the life of Ikrima (*page* 207 *of this volume*), the conflicting statements relative to the date of the latter's death; to that article we therefore the reader.—The meaning of the word *Khuzâi* has been already explained (*in this article*).—*Kuthaiyir* is the diminutive form of the adjective *kathîr* (*great*); he received this name on account of his extremely diminutive size. He was so short that, when he went to visit Abd al-Azîz Ibn Marwân, that prince used to banter him and say: "Stoop your head, lest you "hurt it against the ceiling." He was also called *Rabb ad-Dubâb* (*the king of the flies*), for the same reason. One of his contemporaries said: "I saw him "making the circuits round the Kaaba; and if any one tell you that his stature "exceeded three spans, that person is a liar."

(1) See Eichhorn's *Monumenta*, tab. XIII.

(2) See Pococke's *Specimen Hist. Ar.* pp. 97, 319 et seq.

(3) See M. de Sacy's *Mémoire sur divers événements de l'histoire des Arabes avant Mahomet* in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, tom. 47.

(4) See vol. I. p. 142.

(5) Az-Zamakhshari says in his geographical dictionary that the word *at-Taff* is employed to designate those high lands of Arabia which overlook the cultivated country of Irâk. The author of the *Marâsid* applies this denomination to the open country of Kûfa, on the road leading to the desert, and he adds that al-Husain was slain there. It is therefore the name of the territory in which Kerbela is situated; and Kuthaiyir most certainly alludes here to the murder of al-Husain, the grandson of Muhammad, and of his followers by the troops of the Omaiyide khalif Yazîd, the grandson of Abû Sofyân, and great-grandson of *Sakhr*.

(6) The verb ضحى ب signifies *to expose to the sun, to wither, to injure*. By the *sons of Marwân* he means the Omaiyide princes.

(7) The original has: *whose* jathjâth *and whose* Azâr *exude sap*. Those plants are unknown to me.

(8) See my *Diwân d'Amro 'l-Kais*, page 37.

(9) I insert here a passage absolutely necessary for the sense, although omitted in *all* my MSS.



(10) See vol. II. page 483.

(11) The verse is certainly difficult, and it is not surprising that the khalif was unable to understand it. Its meaning appears to me to be this: "When the cheeks of large-eyed maidens in the desert are pillowed at "morning and at evening under the shade of the *arta*-tree...."

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## KUKUBURI.

Abû Saîd Kûkubûri Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Baktikîn Ibn Muhammad, surnamed al-Malik al-Muazzam (*the exalted prince*) Muzaffar ad-dîn (*the triumphant in religion*), and lord of Arbela, was the son of Zain ad-dîn (*ornament of religion*) Ali, surnamed Kutchek, who was blessed by Providence with a great number of other children. Zain ad-dîn, being low in stature, received the appellation of *Kutchek*, a Persian word, which means *little* (1). He was by race a Turcoman. Having obtained possession of Arbela and many other cities in 609 the same territory, he distributed them among the sons of the *atâbek* Kutb ad-dîn Maudûd (2), the son of Zinki and lord of Mosul, reserving for himself Arbela only. The history of these transactions would lead us too far. He lived to an advanced age, some say upwards of a hundred years, and he lost his sight towards the close of his life. (*Zain ad-dîn having distributed his estates*,) remained ever afterwards at Arbela, and he died there on the eve of Sunday, the 11th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A.H. 563 (August, A.D. 1168). Ibn Shaddâd says, in his life of Salâh ad-dîn (3), that his death occurred in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja of that year. He was interred in the sepulchral chapel which bears his name and is situated within the city-walls, near the Old Mosque. His great courage and strength rendered him particularly conspicuous. A number of colleges and other remarkable establishments for pious purposes were founded and endowed by him at Mosul. My master Izz ad-dîn Ibn al-Athîr the *hâfiz* (*see page* 288 *of this volume*) says, in his lesser historical work, composed by him at the desire of the Banû Atâbek, sovereigns of Mosul: "Zain ad-dîn departed from Mosul "for Arbela in the year 563, and delivered all the cities and fortresses which "he possessed into the hands of the *atâbek* Kutb ad-dîn. Amongst them were

"Sinjâr, Harrân, Kalaat Akr al-Humaidiya (4), all the castles in the country "belonging to the tribe of Hakkâr, Tikrît, Shahrozûr, etc., reserving only "Arbela for himself. He had made the pilgrimage, A.H. 555 (A.D. 1160), in "company with Asad ad-dîn Shîrkûh (*vol. I. p.* 626)."—On the death of Zain ad-dîn, his son Muzaffar ad-dîn (*Kûkubûri*), who was then fourteen years of age, succeeded to the throne, but remained under the tuition of his *atâbek* Mujâhid ad-dîn Kâimâz (*vol. II. page* 510), who, having conceived a strong prejudice against him, wrote to the *August Divan* (*or court of Baghdad*), representing him as unfit to govern, and requesting to know what should be done. He then imprisoned him and placed his younger brother, Zain ad-dîn Abû 'l-Muzaffar Yûsuf, on the throne. Some time afterwards, Muzaffar ad-dîn left the country and proceeded to Baghdad, whence, after some fruitless endeavours to obtain justice, he removed to Mosul. Saif ad-dîn Ghâzi Ibn Maudûd (*vol. II. p.* 441), the sovereign of that city, then took him into his service and granted him the town of Harrân as a fief. Having removed to Harrân, he continued to make it his place of residence till he at length entered into the service of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn, by whom he was treated with great favour. In the year 578 (A. D. 1182-3), this prince, who had conceived a high esteem for his dependent, took the city of Edessa from Ibn az-Zafarâni and bestowed it on Muzaffar ad-dîn in addition to Harrân; he then indemnified Ibn az-Zafarâni with the gift of ar-Rakka, which city he took from Ibn Hassân. It would be too long to relate the particulars of this transaction (5). Some time afterwards, he bestowed on him the city of Sumaisât, and married him to his sister, as-Sitt Rabîa Khâtûn (*her ladyship the princess Rabîa*), the daughter of Aiyûb (*vol. I. p.* 243). Before that, she had been the wife of Saad ad-dîn Masûd Ibn Mûin ad-dîn, lord of the Castle of Muin ad-dîn in the province of al-Ghaur (6), who died in the year 581 (A. D. 1185-6). Muzaffar ad-dîn fought in a great number of Salâh ad-dîn's battles and displayed the highest bravery and resolution, standing firm in conflicts from which all others receded, as is testified by Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni, Bahâ ad-dîn Ibn Shaddâd, and other historians. These facts are so well known, that it is needless to insist on the subject, and his conduct at the battle of Hittin (7) would alone suffice for his reputation. In this battle he and the prince of Hamât, Taki ad-dîn (*vol. II. p.* 391), held their ground, although the whole army was routed and driven back; the soldiers then heard that these two chiefs still

continued to resist the enemy, on which they returned to the charge, and the victory was decided in favour of the Moslims. When the sultan Salâh ad-dìn was besieging Acre, which city had fallen into the hands of the Franks, the princes of the East came to his assistance, and placed themselves under his orders, and amongst the number was the lord of Arbela, Zain ad-dìn Yûsuf, the brother of Muzaffar ad-dìn. Soon after his arrival he fell sick, and, on the 28th of Ramadân, A. H. 586 (October, A. D. 1190), he expired at Nâsira (*Nazareth*), a village near Acre, in which, according to one of several conflicting statements, the blessed Messiah was born. On the death of Zain ad-dìn Yûsuf, his brother Muzaffar ad-dìn requested to obtain Arbela in exchange for Harrân, Edessa, and Sumaisât; the sultan having acceded to his wish, and granted him Shahrozûr besides, he set out, and made his entry into Arbela in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 586 (January, A. D. 1191). This is the summary of his history, but, as to the proceedings which mark his character, we may say that, in works of charity, he performed what no single man was ever known to have done before. He delighted in nothing so much as alms-giving, and every day he caused immense sums to be distributed, in different parts of the city, to crowds of needy persons assembled to receive them. His first distribution was made at daybreak, and, when he dismounted from his horse (*on returning from the mosque*), he found great numbers waiting at the palace-door: these he ordered to be brought in, and gave to each a dress adapted to the season, according as it was winter or summer, and with the dress he bestowed on him two or three pieces of gold, sometimes more, sometimes less. He built four asylums for the blind, and persons suffering from chronic distempers; these were always full, and every day he provided the inmates with all things requisite for their wants: every Monday and Thursday evening he visited these establishments and entered into all the chambers, bestowing on (8) the occupants a small sum for extraordinary expenses, and inquiring into the state of their health. In this manner he visited each chamber successively, conversing affably with the inmates and jesting with them so as to soothe their hearts. He built a house for the reception of widows, another for orphan children, and a third for foundlings; in this last a number of nurses were always in waiting, ready to suckle whatever children might be brought in. Every day, the occupants of these establishments were provided by his directions with all

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they required; he went very frequently to see them and ask them about their health, accompanying his inquiry with a donation over and above that which was regularly allotted to them. When he visited the hospital, he stopped at the bedside of each patient successively, and inquired how he had passed the night and how he felt. He founded also a house of hospitality, where all jurisconsults, dervishes, and other persons who came to the city might go to lodge. Indeed, none were refused admittance; a regular meal was furnished to them morning and evening, and when any of them resolved on continuing his journey, he received a sum proportioned to his wants. A college was built by him also and provided with professors for the Shafite and Hanifite students; he frequently went to visit them, dine with them, and pass the night in hearing religious music, to which he was so sensible that, when excited by its influence, he used to pull off part of his clothes: the next morning he always sent to the community some marks of his beneficence. The only pleasure in which he indulged was that of listening to music, for he never took the forbidden thing (*wine*), neither would he suffer it to be brought into the city. He built two convents for *sûfis*; these were always filled with fixed residents and visitors; on the days of solemn festival, the number of persons assembled there was astonishingly great, and these two establishments were endowed with estates (*wakf*) sufficient to defray the expenses of providing for all these strangers, who, when they intended to depart, were even obliged to accept a donation. He often went to see the *sûfis* and have concerts performed in his presence. Twice every year he dispatched a number of trusty agents to the cities on the sea-coast, and furnished them with large sums for the redemption of such Moslims as might be in the hands of the infidels (*the crusaders*). When any of the persons thus delivered went to see him, they received from him a sum of money, and his agents had directions to bestow a present on the others. Every year, he provided a 611 *sabîl* (9) for the pilgrims, furnished with every thing which they might require on the way; he dispatched it off with a trusty servant, bearing five or six thousand pieces of gold destined to be distributed among the needy and the persons employed in the mosques of the two holy cities (*Mekka and Medîna*). At Mekka he left numerous monuments of his piety, and these are still existing. He was the first person who brought water by an aqueduct to Mount Arafât for the use of the pilgrims on the night during which they station there; this work cost him a

large sum. He constructed a number of fountains at the same mountain, because the pilgrims used to suffer greatly for want of water, and he erected there also a funeral chapel for himself. The pomp with which he celebrated the birthday of the Prophet surpassed all description ; I shall, however, give a feeble outline of the ceremony. The people of the neighbouring provinces, having heard what veneration he testified for the Prophet, hastened to Arbela every year, and an immense multitude of jurisconsults, *sûfis*, preachers, Koran-*readers*, and poets arrived there, at the same time, from Baghdad, Mosul, Mesopotamia, Sinjâr, Nasîbîn, Persian Irâk, and all the other places in the vicinity. This influx of strangers continued without interruption from the month of Muharram till the commencement of the first Rabî. Already, by his orders, upwards of twenty wooden pavilions, divided into four or five stories, were erected; one being appropriated to himself and each of the others to an emir or some person holding a high rank in the state. On the first day of the month of Safar, these pavilions were decorated in a most splendid manner ; a choir of singers, a band of musicians, and a troop of exhibitors of Chinese shadows were established in each; not a story being left without a company of these artists. During the whole period all business remained suspended, and the sole occupation of the people was to amuse themselves and walk from one band to another. These pavilions were erected on a line from the gate of the citadel to the entrance of the convent near the hippodrome, and every day, after the *asr* prayer (10), Muzaffar ad-dîn went forth and stopped at each pavilion successively; listening to the music, and amusing himself with looking at the Chinese shadows or whatever else might be going on. He then passed the night in the convent, listening to religious music, and the next morning, after the prayer, he rode out to hunt, and returned to the citadel before the hour of noon. He continued in the same practice, every day, till the eve of the anniversary, and this he celebrated, one year on the eighth day of the month, and the next on the twelfth, in consequence of the different opinions held respecting the true date. Two days previously to the anniversary, he sent an immense flock of camels, oxen, and sheep to the hippodrome, accompanied with all his drummers, singers, and musicians. These animals were there sacrificed as victims, and a number of caldrons being set up, the flesh was cooked in various manners. On the eve of the anniversary, after the *maghrib* (*or sunset*) prayer, he listened to a concert

in the citadel, and then went forth (11), preceded by a great number of persons bearing wax-lights. Two, or four of these lights, I am not sure of the exact number, were such as are employed in the grand ceremonies, being fastened, each of them, on the back of a mule, with a man seated behind to support it. He advanced in this manner to the convent, and the next day, at an early hour, a quantity of pelisses were brought out of that establishent (12) by the *sûfis*, each of them bearing a bundle of them in each hand, and advancing one after another. A great number of these dresses, I do not know exactly how many, having been brought out, he went down to the convent, where the persons of high distinction, the chiefs, and a great number of other eminent individuals had already assembled. A chair was then placed for the preacher, and Muzaffar ad-din went up into a wooden tower, erected to receive him. This edifice had windows overlooking the place where the assembly and the preacher were, and another set of windows opened on the hippodrome which was extremely wide. There, the soldiery were collected in a body, and the prince passed them in review, now looking at them, and then at the public and the preacher. When 612 the soldiers had all defiled successively, a repast was brought into the hippodrome for the poor; a public repast, consisting of an immense quantity of meat and bread. Another repast was prepared in the convent for the persons who had attended the preaching. Whilst the troops were defiling and the preachers exhorting, he sent for all the chiefs and eminent men, and for the doctors, preachers, Koran-*readers*, and poets, who had come from the neighbouring countries to witness the solemnity; each of these persons was separately introduced and clothed in a pelisse, after which he returned to his place. When all had been presented, the repast was brought in, and a portion of it was sent to the house of such of the company as were judged worthy of that honour. Towards the hour of the *asr*-prayer, or somewhat later, the repast ended, and the prince passed that night in the convent, listening to religious concerts till day-break. Such was his custom every year, and I have given merely an abridged account of the ceremony, because a full description of it would lead me too far. When the solemnity was ended, all prepared for their departure, and every one of them received from him a donation. We have already mentioned (*vol. II. p.* 385) that, when the *hâfiz* Ibn Dihya arrived at Arbela and remarked the zeal displayed by Muzaffar ad-din in celebrating this anniversary,

he composed for him the work entitled *at-Tanwîr*, etc., and that the prince made him a present of one thousand pieces of gold; this was exclusive of the abundant gifts which he received for his subsistence during his stay. When Muzaffar ad-dîn (may God be merciful to him!) tasted of any dish and found it good, he never reserved it for himself, but told one of the persons in waiting to carry it to such and such a *shaikh*, or to such and such a woman, and these were always persons whom he had noted for their piety. He did the same with the sweetmeats, fruit, and every other article set before him. Noble qualities, profound humility, sincerity of belief, and soundness of moral principle were all combined in Muzaffar ad-dîn; he showed a strong partiality to the followers of the *Sunnite* doctrine and orthodox believers; the only class of learned men which he treated with special favour was that of the jurisconsults and Traditionists; none of the others ever obtained any thing from him unless some particular considerations induced him to show them attention; the poets were also in the same case; he had but little esteem for them, and never made them any presents unless they came to recite him poems composed in his honour; then indeed he granted them a recompense, not wishing to frustrate the hopes of any person who counted on his generosity. He cultivated with pleasure the study of history, and his acquirements in that branch of knowledge were evident from his conversation. In his encounters and battles, numerous as they were, he was invariably victorious; the accounts which have been transmitted down of his battles not indicating a single defeat. Were I to enumerate all his virtues and noble deeds, I should be obliged to give a great extension to this work, but they are so well known that it is needless to enter into any details. If the reader remark that this article has been extended to too great a length, he will excuse me when I tell him that our family were under such obligations to Muzaffar ad-din, that, to repay even a part of them, our utmost efforts would be vain; gratitude to a benefactor is, however, a binding precept. May God reward him for us with the best of retributions! inasmuch as the benefits and favours conferred by him on us, and by his forefathers on ours, were boundless, and men's affections are gained by acts of kindness. Having now proclaimed his virtues, I shall only add that all which I have stated has my own ocular testimony to support it, and that I have throughout avoided even the slightest exaggeration; nay, some of his acts I have passed over in si-

lence, through my desire of avoiding prolixity. He was born in the castle of Mosul, on Tuesday the 27th of Muharram, A.H. 549 (April, A.D. 1154), and he died at the hour of noon on Wednesday, the 18th of Ramadân, A.H. 630 (June, A.D. 1233) in his house at al-Balad. This town formed the state of Shihâb ad-dîn Karâta, but, when Muzaffar ad-dîn Kûkubûri arrested him in the year 614 (A. D. 1217-8) and took it into his own possession, he made it his occasional residence. His body was transported to Arbela and buried in the citadel, but, in pursuance to his dying injunctions, it was subsequently sent off to Mekka, where he had erected a mausoleum at the foot of the mountain to receive it, as has been already stated.—When the pilgrim-caravan set out for Hijâz in the year 631, the body was sent with them, but it so happened that, on arriving at Lîna, they were obliged to return without effecting their journey, and the 615 corpse was carried back and interred at Kûfa, near the Mash'had (*or funeral chapel of Ali*). May God in his mercy requite him well, and accept his good works, and receive him into everlasting happiness! — His wife Rabîa Khâtûn, the daughter of Aiyûb, died at Damascus in the month of Shabân, A. H. 643 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 1245-6), and, to the best of my opinion, she had then passed her eightieth year. She was interred in the college which she had erected at the foot of Mount Kâsîyûn, and endowed for the Hanbalites. The number of her male relatives, such as brothers and nephews, whom I saw, and who were also princes, surpassed fifty — exclusive of those who were not princes. To name them individually would extend this notice too far, but I shall simply state, that her husband was prince of Arbela; her daughter's sons, princes of Mosul; the son of one of her brothers, prince of Khalât and that region; al-Ashraf, another brother's son, prince of Mesopotamia; other nephews were princes of Syria and Egypt, whilst Hijàz and Yemen were possessed by her brothers and their sons. From this indication the whole number may be imagined.— *Kûkubûri* is a Turkish name, and signifies *blue wolf* (13).— *Baktikîn* is also a Turkish name. —*Lîna* is the name of a station on the road from Iràk to Hijàz, but nearer to Irâk. In the year before mentioned, the caravan turned back on reaching it, in consequence of the extreme suffering they underwent for want of water (14).

(1) This word is written كوجك in Persian.

(2) The life of Maudûd will be found in this work.

(3) Schulten's *Saladini vita et res gestæ*, page 33.

(4) The *kalaat*, or castle, of Akr al-Humaidiya, was situated in the territory of Mosul.

(5) The following passage from the *Two Gardens* (*see vol. II. page* 190, *note*( 6) ) may serve to elucidate these events: "The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn says: The sultan (*Salâh ad-dîn*) then wrote (*to the princes of Meso-*" *potamia*), requiring them to come and make alliance with him. All those who obeyed were allowed to " preserve their estates, on the condition of serving in the sultan's army and following him in his warfare " against the infidels. Nûr ad-dîn Muhammad Ibn Kara Arslân, lord of Hisn Kaifa, sent in his submission with " an ambassador, and the sultan then departed from al-Bîra and came to a halt under the walls of Edessa. " Fakhr ad-dîn Masûd Ibn az-Zafarâni who was then in the city, made his submission, and it was bestowed on " Muzaffar ad-dîn in addition to Harrân. The sultan then proceeded to Harrân and from thence to ar-" Rakka, which was then held by the emir Kutb ad-dîn Inâl Ibn Hassân, who also made his submission."— (MS. No. 707 A, fol. 167 verso.)

(6) See vol. I. page 275. *Al-Ghaur* is the name given to the valley of the Jordan.

(7) See M. Reinaud's *Extraits d'auteurs arabes relatifs aux Croisades*, page 194.

(8) The fifth form of the verb فقد is here employed by Ibn Khallikân with the signification of *to bring*. A similar signification is given by Ibn Batûta to the eighth form. In the account of his voyage to Sûdân, he says: كانت تفتقدنا بالطعام "she brought us food."

(9) The word *sabîl* (*way*) is often employed to signify *a fountain* for the use of *wayfaring* men (*sahib as-sabîl*). It is here employed to signify a *convoy of provisions*

(10) See vol. I. page 594, note (5).

(11) Insert in the Arabic text ثم ينزل.

(12) The text varies here in the MSS. I take the true reading to be من القلعة الى الخانقاة; "from " the citadel (*and carried*) to the convent..."

(13) *Gûk* in Turkish means *sky-blue*, and *bûri* may perhaps mean *wolf* in some ancient dialect of that language.

(14) Lîna is placed by Berghauss on his map of Arabia in lat. 30° 5′, long. 42° 51′ E. from Paris.

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## AL-LAITH IBN SAAD.

Abû 'l-Hârith al-Laith Ibn Saad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân, the great *imâm* of the people of Egypt in the sciences of jurisprudence and the Traditions, drew his origin from an Ispahan family, and was a *mawla* to Kais Ibn Rifâa, who himself was a *mawla* to Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Khâlid Ibn Musâfir al-Fahmi. The credibility and exactitude of al-Laith Ibn Said as a Tradi-

tionist were of the highest order, nor was he less distinguished for his noble character and liberality. "I had written down," said he, "a great quantity of "the (*legal*) information (*communicated*) by Muhammad Ibn Shihâb az-Zuhri (1) "(*to his disciples*), and I then asked to obtain the use of the post-horses, so that "I might go and see him at ar-Rusâfa (2); but being then apprehensive that, "in taking such (*an easy mode of conveyance*), I should not be acting in the sole "view of God's favour, I abandoned my project." As-Shâfi said of him: "Al-"Laith Ibn Saad is a more learned jurisconsult than Mâlik, only his disciples "do not exalt him sufficiently." (*Some students were one day*) reading, under the tuition of Ibn Wahb (*vol. II. p.* 15), the collection of legal questions which had been decided by al-Laith, when a person who was not a native of the place exclaimed, on hearing one of these questions read (*with its solution*): "Cleverly "done for al-Laith! one would think he had heard Mâlik, and then repeated "his words." On this, Ibn Wahb said to him: "Say rather that Mâlik heard "al-Laith answer, and then repeated *his* words; I swear by the only true God, "that we never saw a more learned jurisconsult than al-Laith!" This *imâm* was noted for his generosity and liberality; he enjoyed a yearly income of five thousand pieces of gold (*dinars*), and this sum he distributed in gifts and other ways. "I went to see al-Laith," said Mansûr Ibn Ammâr (3), "and he gave "me one thousand dinars, saying: 'Let this help to preserve the wisdom with "'which God has endowed thee.'" I saw, in a certain compilation, that al-Laith held the principles of the Hanifite sect, and that he exercised the functions of *kâdi* in Old Cairo. I found stated, in the same work, that Mâlik having sent to him a china cup filled with dates, he returned it filled with gold. He used to have almond-cake made for his disciples, and in it he inserted pieces of gold, so that he who eat most cake might get most money. In the year 113 (A. D. 731-2), being then twenty years of age, he made the pilgrimage, and heard the Traditions delivered by Nâfi (4), the *mawla* of Ibn Omar. He said that, according to what he had been told by his family, he was born A. H. 92 (A. D. 710-1), but it has been positively ascertained that the real date is A. H. 94, in the month of Shaabân. He died at Old Cairo on Thursday (some say Friday), the 15th of Shaabân, A. H. 175 (December, A. D. 791), and was interred the next day in the Lesser Karâfa cemetery, where his tomb still continues to be frequented by pious visitors. As-Samâni places his birth in the month of

Shaabân, A. H. 124, and another writer, in A. H. 93; but our former statement appears to be the most correct. One of his disciples related as follows: "When "we had buried al-Laith Ibn Saad, we heard a voice say:

"Al-Laith is departed, and you possess him no longer! soon also shall learning de-"part and be interred!

"On hearing these words we turned round, but could see no one."—It is said that he belonged to *Kalkashanda*, a village about three parasangs to the north of Cairo.—*Fahmi* means *belonging to the tribe of Fahm*, a branch of that descended from Kais (*son of*) Ghailân. It has produced many eminent individuals.

(1) The life of az-Zuhri is given in this work.

(2) See vol. I. page 299, note (5).

(3) Abû 's-Sari Mansûr Ibn Ammâr Ibn Kathîr, a native of Khorasân, or of Basra, as some say, was celebrated for his wisdom, his piety, the elegance of his language, and his unction as a preacher. Having gone to Irâk, he delivered Traditions there, and afterwards passed into Egypt, where he pronounced moral discourses and exhortations. Al-Laith Ibn Saad, having heard of his proceedings, sent for him, and asked him how he presumed to hold discourses in the city without being authorised by the doctors of the law. He replied that zeal for religion was his only motive, and that, if al-Laith permitted him, he would make a discourse in his presence, promising that, if he then forbid him to preach, he should obey him. Al-Laith agreed to the proposal, and having heard from him a sermon which brought tears to his eyes, he made him a present of one thousand dinars, saying: "Go forth and preach to the people." During his residence in Old Cairo, the house and purse of al-Laith were at his disposal, and, on his departure for Baghdad, the sons of that *imâm* made him another present of one thousand dinars. He died, A. H. 225 (A. D. 839-40).—(*Mirât az-Zamân*, MS. No. 640, fol. 115. *Nujûm*.)

(4) His life will be found in this work.

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## *THE IMAM* MALIK.

Abû Abd Allah Mâlik Ibn Anas Ibn Mâlik Ibn Abi Aâmir Ibn Amr Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Ghaimân Ibn Jathîl Ibn Amr Ibn Zì Asbah al-Hârith al-Asbahi, a native of Medîna and the great *imâm* of that city (*Imâm dâr il-Hijra*), was one of the most eminent among the *imâms* of Islamism. In his genealogy as here set forth,

some substitute *Othmân* for *Ghaimân*, and, in place of *Jathîl*, (*Muhammad*) Ibn Saad (*al-Wâkidi*) writes *Khuthail*. Malik learned to read the Koran under the tuition of Nâfi Ibn Abi Noaim; he heard Traditions delivered by (*Ibn Shihâb*) az-Zuhri and Nâfi, the *mawla* of Ibn Omar (1); he taught Traditions on the authority of al-Auzâi (*vol. II. p.* 84) and Yahya Ibn Said (2), and he acquired his knowledge of the law from Rabia ar-Râi (*vol. I. p.* 517), with whom he acted as *mufti*, or consulting lawyer, to the government. "There were very few men," said Mâlik, "from whom I received lessons, who did not come to me before they died, to "ask my opinion on some point of law." And Ibn Wahb (*vol. II. p.* 15) relates that he heard these words proclaimed by a public crier in Medîna: "Let no "person act as *mufti* to the people except Mâlik Ibn Anas and Ibn Abi Zib (3)." When Mâlik felt inclined to deliver Traditions, he made an ablution, then seated himself in the middle of his mattress, and, spreading out his beard, he assumed a grave and dignified deportment, after which preparations he commenced. When asked his motives for so doing, he replied: "I delight in testifying my "profound respect for the sayings of the Apostle of God, and I never repeat "one unless I feel myself in a state of perfect purity." He avoided delivering Traditions when travelling, or standing, or when pressed for time: "for I like," said he, "to feel the meaning of the Apostle's words when I repeat them to "others." He never went about on horseback in Medîna, even when much enfeebled and advanced in years: "No," he would say, "I shall never ride in "the city wherein the corpse of God's Apostle lies interred." As-Shâfi relates as follows: Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan (4) said to me: "Which of the two is the 615 "more learned; our master or yours?" meaning Abû Hanifa and Mâlik. "Dost "thou wish," said I, "that I should answer with impartiality?" He replied that he did, and I said: "I then ask thee before God, which of the two is the "more learned in the Koran; our master or yours?"—"Yours, to a certainty," said he. "I again ask thee seriously," said I, "which of the two is the more "learned in the *Sunna*; our master or yours?"—"Yours, to a certainty," he replied. "I shall again ask thee," said I, "which of the two is the best ac-"quainted with the sayings (*sentences forming legal decisions*) pronounced by the "companions of God's Apostle; our master or yours."—"Why, yours, to a "certainty," was the answer. "Then," said I, "there only remain the analo-"gical deductions (*kiâs*) (5); and if they be not drawn from the three sources we

"have just mentioned, from whence can they be drawn?" – Al-Wâkidi says: "Mâlik used to go regularly to the mosque and attend the daily prayers, and "the prayer of Friday, and the funerals, and visit the sick, and fulfil all the "duties (*of social life*) and take his seat in the mosque, with his disciples col-"lected round him; he then discontinued sitting in the mosque, but attended "the prayers, after which he would return to his seat and teach; he ceased also "accompanying funerals, but still continued to go and condole with the family "of the deceased; but, at a later period, he gave up all those customs, neither "going to the mosque for daily prayers nor for the prayer of Friday, nor making "any visits of condolence, nor fulfilling any of the social duties; yet the people "bore this patiently, and he continued, till his death, in the same practice. "He was sometimes questioned on his motives for so doing, and he used to "reply: 'It is not given to every man to speak out his own excuses.'" — Some persons went secretly to Jaafar Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs, the uncle of Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr, and accused him of declaring that he did not consider the oath of allegiance to the Abbasides as binding. Jaafar was so highly incensed on hearing this, that he caused Mâlik to be brought before him, and having ordered him to be stripped, he inflicted on him a severe flogging, and caused his arm to be drawn out to such a degree that it was dislocated at the shoulder; in fact, he treated him in a most scandalous manner. But, from the time Mâlik received this flogging, he rose higher and higher in public estimation, so that the punishment he underwent seemed as if it had been an honour conferred upon him. In Ibn al-Jauzi's *Shuzûr al-Okûd* 6), under the year 147, we find the following passage: "In this year, Mâlik Ibn Anas received "seventy stripes of a whip, on account of some legal opinions which did not cor-"respond with the wishes of the *sultans* (*the persons invested with the civil power*)." This may probably refer to the same occurrence which we have just noticed. Mâlik was born A. H. 95 (A. D. 713-4), three years after conception (7), and he died in the month of the first Rabi, A. H. 179 (May-June, A. D. 795), aged eighty-four years. Al-Wâkidi (8) says that he died at the age of ninety, and Ibn al-Furât (9) has the following passage in his historical work drawn up in the form of annals: "Mâlik Ibn Anas al-Asbahi died on the 10th of the first Rabi, A. H. 179." Others place his death in the year 178, and some state that his birth occurred in the year 90. As-Samâni says in his *Ansâb* (*or dictionary of patronymics*),

under the word *al-Asbahi*, that Mâlik was born in 93 or 94: the truth is known to God alone! The *hâfiz* Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi has inserted in his *Judwa tal-Muktabis* (10) the following relation, which had been first made by al-Kaanabi (*vol. II. p.* 19): "I went to Mâlik Ibn Anas in his last illness, and saluted "him; I then sat down and, perceiving that he wept, I said: 'O Abû Abd Allah! "'what maketh thee weep?' And he answered: 'O Ibn Kaanab! why should "'I not weep? and who has more reason to weep than I? By Allah! I wish "'I had been flogged and reflogged for every question of law on which I "'pronounced an opinion founded on my own private judgment (11)! I had it "'in my power to abstain from doing so; O that I had never given opinions "'founded on my own private judgment!' or other words to that effect." He died at Medîna, and was interred in the cemetery called al-Bakî. Malik was of a very fair complexion, inclining to red; tall in stature, having a large head, and the forehead bald; he wore clothes of those excellent stuffs which are brought from Aden, and he disapproved of shaving off the mustaches, considering it to be a sort of mutilation: he never changed the colour of his grey hair, by dying it. The following elegy was composed on his death by Abû Muhammad Jaafar Ibn Ahmad Ibn as-Sarrâj (*vol. I. p.* 323):

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May the grave which has united Mâlik to al-Bakî be watered with benignant showers from the dark thunder-cloud, flashing its lightnings. He was the *imâm* whose *Muwatta* (12) has spread his doctrines throughout the earth. The prophet Muhammad, whose law he exalted, will protect him and preserve him from harm. His Traditions were of the highest authority; his gravity was impressive; and, when he delivered them, all his auditors were plunged in admiration. He had also (*disciples*,) upright friends of truth, land-marks (*to guide us*); you might (*vainly*) ask which of them was the most learned. The son of Idrîs alone (*as-Shâfi*) would suffice for his glory, but that good fortune was only one of many favours.

*Asbahi* means *descended from Zû Asbah*; this person's name was al-Hârith, and his father, Aûf Ibn Mâlik Ibn Zaid Ibn Shaddâd Ibn Zara, was one of the posterity of Yârub Ibn Kahtân. The tribe of Zû Asbah is one of the largest in Yemen, and it is from it that the whips called *asbahite* (*as-Siyât al-Asbahiya*) derive their name. In the *Jamhara tan-Nisab*, Ibn al-Kalbi gives the genealogy of Zû Asbah in the following manner: "Harith, called Zû Asbah, was the son of "Mâlik Ibn Zaid Ibn Ghauth Ibn Saad Ibn Aûf Ibn Adi Ibn Mâlik Ibn Zaid Ibn "Sahl Ibn Amr Ibn Kais Ibn Moawia Ibn Djocham Ibn Abd Shams Ibn Wâthil

"Ibn al-Ghauth Ibn Katan Ibn Arib Ibn Zuhair Ibn Aiman Ibn Humaisa Ibn "Himyar Ibn Sabâ Ibn Yashjub Ibn Yârub Ibn Kahtân; Kahtân, whose real "name was Yoktan (13), was the son of Aâbir (*Eber*) Ibn Shâlikh (*Salah*) Ibn "Arfakhshad (*Arfaxad*) Ibn Sâm (*Sem*) Ibn Nûh (*Noah*)." I must here observe that the genealogy of Zû Ashbah, as I have given it at the beginning of this article, is copied from al-Hâzimi's work, the *Kitâb al-Ajâla* (14).

(1) The lives of these persons are given in this work.

(2) The *kâdi* Abû Saîd Yahya Ibn Saîd al-Ansâri was a native of Medîna. His authority as a traditionist was cited by Mâlik, Abû Hanîfa, Sofyân Ibn Oyaina, and Sofyân ath-Thauri. Having gone to Kûfa to see Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr, that khalif appointed him kâdi of al-Hâshimiya. He died A. H. 143 (A. D. 760-1).—(Ad-Dahabi's *Tabakât al-Huffâz*. Abû 'l-Mahâsin's *Nujûm*.)

(3) The life of Ibn Abi Zîb is given in this volume.

(4) A notice on Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan is contained in this work.

(5) See vol. I. Introduction, page xxvi.

(6) Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi's work, the *Shuzûr al-Okûd fi Târîkh il-Ohûd* (*necklace-beads, on the events of history*), is not noticed by Ibn Khallikân when giving the life of that historian. He quotes it, however, very frequently.

(7) Abû Hanîfa declares that the longest period of pregnancy is twenty-four lunar months; but as-Shâfi lengthens that term to four years and Mâlik to six. See d'Ohsson's *Tab. gén. de l'Empire Othoman*, tom. V. p. 251.—It would appear that Mâlik was born three years after his reputed father's death.

(8) His life is given by our author.

(9) See vol. I. page 87, note (10).

(10) The life of al-Humaidi will be found in this work.

(11) See vol. I. pages xxvi, 534.

(12) *Al-Muwatta*, or the beaten path, is the title of the collection of Traditions which forms part of the basis on which the Malikite system of jurisprudence is grounded. The greater part of its contents are legal maxims and opinions delivered by the Companions of Muhammad.

(13) This is the *Joktan* of the English translation of the Bible; *Gen.* X. 25.

(14) The life of al-Hazimi will be found in this work.

## MALIK IBN DINAR.

Abû Yahya Mâlik Ibn Dînâr, a native of Basra and a *mawla* to the family of the tribe of Koraish called the Banû Sâma Ibn Luwaî, was distinguished for his learning, self-mortification, profound piety, and devout resignation. He never

tasted of any food but that which he had procured with the produce of his own labour, his profession being to write copies of the Koran, for which he received a pecuniary retribution. It is related of him that he said: "I read in the Old "Testament that whosoever worketh with his hand shall have blessings in his "life-time and at his death." He was one day present at an assembly where a story-teller related a tale which drew tears from the eyes of the audience; almost immediately after, some sheep's heads were brought in, and they began to eat of them. Being invited to partake of their fare, he replied: "Those who "wept may eat thereof, but I wept not." His merits were most abundant, and the recollection of them still subsists. It is thus that Ibn Bashkuwâl (*vol. I. p.* 491) relates, in his work entitled *Kitâb al-Mustaghîthîn*, etc. (*book of the implorers of God's assistance*): "Mâlik Ibn Dinâr had one day taken his seat (*to "teach*), when a man went up to him, and said: 'O Abû Yahya! invoke God "'to help a woman who is four years gone with child, and is in great tribu-"'lation (1).' At these words Mâlik got angry and, having shut the volume of "the Koran (*in which he was reading*), he remained silent for some time, and "'then said. 'These people will positively have us to be prophets!' and recom-"menced reading. Having ended, he called upon God, saying: 'O Lord! if that "'which is in the womb of this woman be a girl, change it for her into a boy! "'for Thou canst undo and maintain what thou pleasest; and the book of fate "'is in thy possession!' He then raised up his hands, and the people did the "same, when a messenger came to tell the man that his wife was on the point "of being delivered. Mâlik had scarcely time to lower his hands, when the man "reappeared at the door of the mosque, bearing on his shoulder a four year old "boy, with short curly hair and a complete set of teeth, although his navel-"string was yet uncut." He was one of the great saints. His death took place at Basra, A. H. 131 (A. D. 748-9), a short time before the plague (2).

617 —Writing of Mâlik Ibn Dinâr, I am reminded of some verses which were recited to me by their author, my friend, Jamâl ad-dîn Mahmûd Ibn Abd. He had composed them on a certain prince, who waged war against another and vanquished him, taking his treasures, and making captives of his chiefs and his warriors. When he had got all his adversary's property into his own possession, he distributed the money to his troops, and put his prisoners in chains. It was then that Ibn Abd celebrated his praises in a *kasîda*

of the highest excellence. He describes in it that battle, and in one passage, which we give here, he has a very clever play on the name of Mâlik Ibn Dinâr; he says:

> You set at liberty the wealth which they had kept in confinement, and you reduced to bondage those who before were free. Then each of them who had been a *mâlik* (*a person possessing property*) was induced to wish that he were now a *dinâr* (3).

This is remarkably fine, and I have been induced to mention it for that reason.

(1) See vol. II. p. 549, note (7).

(2) "In this year (*A.H.* 131) occurred the great plague which carried off immense numbers. Ibn al-Jauzi "says that seventy thousand persons died of it in a single day."—(*Nujûm.*)

(3) Because all the *dinârs*, or gold pieces, so long treasured up and confined, had been just set at liberty.

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## MAJD AD-DIN IBN AL-ATHIR.

Abû 's-Saâdât al-Mubârak Ibn Abi 'l-Karam Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Karîm Ibn Abd el-Wâhid as-Shaibâni, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Athîr al-Jazari, was distinguished (*from his brother*) by the title of Majd ad-dîn (*glory of religion*). Ibn al-Mustaufi says of him in his History (*of Arbela*): "He was the most renowned of the learned, the most respected of the "men of talent; one of those distinguished characters at whom the finger of "admiration is pointed, and whose skill in the conduct of affairs acquired them "the highest confidence." He studied the science of grammar under Abû Muhammad Saîd Ibn ad-Dahhân (*vol. I. p.* 574), but did not hear Traditions delivered, neither did he teach them, till he was more advanced in life. He is the author of some elegantly written works, and he composed a number of epistles replete with talent. In one of his productions, the *Jâmî al-Osûl fi Ahadîth ir-Rasûl* (*the combiner of the fundamental treatises on the Traditions of the Apostle*), he inserted the contents of six authentic collections (1); it is drawn up



on the plan of Razîn's work (2), but contains a great quantity of additional matter. His other productions are: the *Kitâb an-Nihâya* (*utmost efforts*), which is a treatise on the obscure terms occurring in the Traditions, and fills five volumes; the *Kitâb al-Insâf*, etc. (*impartial comparison between the* Kashf *and the* Kashshâf) (3); a commentary on the Koran selected from the similar works of ath-Thâlabi (*vol. I. p.* 60) and az-Zamakhshari; the *al-Mustafa wa 'l-Mukhtâr fi 'l-Adeyat wa 'l-Azkâr* (*the selected and chosen, treating of the forms of invocation to God, and of the prayers commemorative of his bounties*); a small volume on the art of penmanship; the *Kitâb al-Badî* (*liber egregiæ* materiæ), being a commentary on Ibn ad-Dahhân's Principles of Grammar; a collection of his own epistles; the *Shâfi*, or *healing*, being a commentary on the imâm as-Shâfi's *Musnad*, or collection of authenticated Traditions, etc. He was born at Jazira tibn Omar, in one of the months of Rabî, A. H. 544 (July-Aug., A. D. 1149). After passing his early youth in that place, he removed to Mosul, and entered into the service of Mujâhid ad-dîn Kâimâz (*vol. II. p.* 510), the lieutenant-governor of that state, and was employed by him to write his correspondence. On the imprisonment of Kâimâz, he passed into the service of Izz ad-dîn Masûd Ibn Maudûd, the lord of Mosul, and was placed at the head of the board of correspondence, which post he continued to fill till that prince's death. He was then attached to the service of Nûr ad-dîn Arslân-Shâh (*vol. I. p.* 174), the son of Izz ad-dîn Maudûd, by whom he was treated with great favour, and under whose protection he enjoyed the utmost honour and respect. He served him for some time in the capacity of secretary of state, till a malady deprived him of the use of his arms and legs; this completely debarred him from fulfilling the duties of his office, and obliged him to confine himself to his house, where he had all the men of rank and learning for constant visitors. He erected a *ribât* (*or convent*) at a village near Mosul, called Kasr Harb, and (*having consecrated*) the house which he inhabited at Mosul (*to a similar pious purpose*), he settled all his property on these two establishments. I have been informed that he composed all the works above-mentioned after his retirement from office, having then sufficient leisure for the task, and being assisted by a number of persons in the labour of making extracts and copying.
618 Amongst the few pieces of verse which he composed, I may notice the following, addressed to the lord *atâbek* of Mosul, on his mule's stumbling under him:

If his mule stumble under him, there is a reason for it. It bears one whose learning is vast (*as a mountain*) and whose liberality is (*ample as*) the ocean.

This idea has now become common-place, and occurs frequently in poetry. It is related by his brother, Izz ad-dîn Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, that, when he was deprived of the use of his limbs, a native of Maghrib went to them and engaged to cure him; declaring at the same time that he would not require any payment unless the treatment which he intended to employ were successful in its results. "We "readily accepted his proposal," said Izz ad-dîn, "and he commenced by the "application of an ointment which he prepared himself. The good effects of "this remedy were soon evident; the patient's legs acquired flexibility, and he "was able to stretch them out; but, when there was every prospect of a com- "plete cure, he said to me: 'Give that Maghribin a remuneration sufficient to "satisfy him, and let him be dismissed.' — 'Why,' said I, 'should we do so, "'since the success of his mode of treatment is so manifest.' To this he "replied: 'It is as thou sayest; but, in my present state, I am delivered from "'the necessity of frequenting the great, and treating them with that ceremony "'to which their rank entitles them; besides, I have settled down into repose "'and solitude, I, who but yesterday, when in the enjoyment of good health, "'had to demean myself by courting their favour. Whereas, now, I remain at "'home; and when any thing serious occurs, they come in person to ask my "'advice: thou seest that, between these two states, the difference is very great. "'Now, I am indebted to my infirmity for this advantage; and I do not there- "'fore think it reasonable to have it removed, or to be treated for it. Besides, "'I have but a short time to live; let me therefore pass the remainder of my "'days as a free man, exempted from the obligation of self-abasement: I have "'already had an abundant share of worldly honour.' We admitted the vali- "dity of these reasons, and dismissed the man with an ample reward." Majd ad-dîn died at Mosul, on Thursday, the 29th of Zu 'l-Hijja, A. H. 606 (June, A. D. 1210), and he was interred within the city in the *ribât* founded by himself in the street of Darrâj (*Darb Darrâj*). We have already spoken of his brother, Izz ad-dîn (*vol. II. page* 288), and, in a subsequent part of this work, we shall insert a notice on his other brother, Diâ ad-dîn Nasr Allah.—*Jazîra tibn Omar* is a city on the Tigris, higher up than Mosul; it is called *Jazîra* (*isle*), because

it is surrounded by the Tigris. Al-Wâkidi says that it was built by a native of Barkaîd, called Abd al-Aziz Ibn Omar.

(1) The six authentic collections of Traditions are those of al-Bukhâri, Muslim, at-Tirmidi, Abû Dâwûd, an-Nasâi, and Ibn Mâja, each of whom has a separate article in this work.

(2) Abû 'l-Hasan Razîn Ibn Moawia Ibn Ammâr al-Abdari (*a member of the tribe of Abd ad-dâr*) and a native of Saragossa in Spain, was *imâm* to the Malikite sect at Mekka. He is the author of a work generally designated by the name of *Razîn's Book* (*Kitâb Razîn*), in which he assembled and classed all the Traditions contained in the *Sahîh* of al-Bukhâri, the *Sahîh* of Muslim, the *Muwatta* of Mâlik, the *Jâmi* of at-Tirmidi, and the *Sunan* of Abû Duwâd. Another of his productions is a history of Mekka, abridged from the work of al-Azraki. He died at that city in the month of Muharram, A. H 525 (December, A. D. 1130). He was one of the masters who conferred licences to teach Traditions on the *hâfiz* as-Silafi (*see vol. I. page* 86).—(Hajji Khalifa.—*Al-Ikd al-Thamîn*, MS. No. 720, fol. 233 *verso*.)

(3) The *Kashshâf* is the title of az-Zamakhshari's commentary on the Koran, and the *Kashf wa 'l-Baiyân* is that of ath-Thâlabi's work on the same subject.

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## MAJD AD-DIN AL-MUBARAK IBN MUNKID.

Abû 'l-Maimûn al-Mubârak Ibn Kâmil Ibn Ali Ibn Mukallad Ibn Nasr Ibn Munkid al-Kinâni, surnamed Saif ad-Dawlat (*sword of the empire*) Majd ad-dîn (*glory of religion*), was one of the great emirs of the empire founded by Salâh ad-dîn, and comptroller of the board of administration for Egyptian affairs. He belonged to a powerful family, two members of which, his grandfather, Sadîd ad-Dawlat (1) Ali (*vol. II. p.* 342), and his cousin Osâma Ibn Murshid (*vol. I. p.* 177) we have already noticed. When Shams ad-Dawlat Tûrân Shâh (*vol. I. p.* 284) was sent into Yemen by his brother Salâh ad-dîn, he reduced that country to submission, and appointed Ibn Munkid to act as his lieutenant in Zabîd. On his return to Syria, Ibn Munkid, who had been authorized by him to delegate his authority to his own brother, Hattân, proceeded to Damascus, and they both returned to Egypt together. On the death of Shams ad-Dawlat, Ibn Munkid was thrown into prison by Salâh ad-dîn, who had been informed that a number of persons had been put to death, and their property seized on, by this emir. He took from him at the same time eighty thousand dinars, and goods to the value of

twenty thousand more. This occurred in the year 577 (A. D. 1181-2). Saif al-Islâm Toghtikîn (*v. I. p.* 655) (2) then set out for Yemen, and having laid siege to the fortress in which Hattân had taken refuge, he induced him to capitulate by promises which he had no intention to fulfil. Having obtained possession of his person, he seized on all his wealth, and imprisoned him in a castle. From that moment, Hattân was never heard of more; some even say that Toghtikîn put him to death. It is mentioned also that Toghtikîn took from his prisoner seventy 619 chests filled with gold. As for Saif ad-Dawlat, he always continued in high influence, and he acquired great renown as an enterprising chief. Being a man of learning, he was fond of it in others: some of the most illustrious poets celebrated his praises, and one of them, al-Kâdi al-Wajîh (*the honourable kâdi*) Rida ad-dîn (*accepted for piety*) Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Yahya Ibn Ahmad, generally known by the surname of Ibn az-Zarawi, composed in his honour a *kasîda* which gained publicity equal to that of a proverb. It begins thus:

Conduct me, and may prosperity attend thee! to the mansions where (*the family of my beloved*) passed the vernal season. Those dwellings still diffuse the perfume of musk which they acquired from the presence of her I loved. O thou whose heart is wounded with desire! this is a valley held sacred by lovers: take off therefore thy sandals; none must tread therein with covered feet.

In this poem we find the following passage:

I have a tame gazelle (*a young page*) on whom God hath bestowed perfect beauty, and who obliges the mouths of all mankind to exclaim: "God preserve us from temptation!" His ruby lips disclose a row of pearls bathed in moisture, and he displays on his cheek a line of emerald (3). Censurers reprove me, but I affect to heed them not, though they indulge in every form of blame. They say: "Who is the person for whom thou diest of love in thy sadness?" Thanks to the Lord! they know not that person!—A learned scholar travelled abroad, but found not a generous man who, when he said "Give!" would answer "Take!" When about to ride off in anger, and ready to undergo the toil of a long journey, I said to him at the moment the camel-driver commenced his song. "Lucky (*mubârak*) is the arrival, when the camels stop at the door of al-Mubârak! and who can deliver (*munkid*) suitors (*from their cares*), unless the son of Munkid."

In that part of the poem which contains the eulogium, we meet a line composed with wonderful art. It is this:

Smoother, in peace, than the belly of the serpent;
Rougher, in war, than the back of the porcupine.



It is a *kasîda* highly to be prized, but I confine myself to these extracts so as to avoid prolixity. Abû 'l-Maimûn al-Mubârak himself composed some poetry; the following, for instance, in which he alludes to fleas:

> A race whom man is permitted to slay, and who profane (*draw*) the blood of the pilgrim, even in the sanctuary. When my hand sheds their blood, it is not their own, but mine which is shed.

It is thus that these two verses were recited and given as his, by Izz ad-dîn Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd Allah Ibn Abi Ali al-Husain Ibn Abi Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn al-Husain Ibn Rawâha Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Rawâha Ibn Obaid Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Rawâha al-Ansâri (4), a native of Hamât. This Ibn Rawâha was born off the coast of Sicily, in A. H. 560 (A. D. 1164-5), and he died A. H. 646 (A. D. 1248-9), at Jibâb al-Turkoman (*the Turcoman wells*), a halting-place between Aleppo and Hamât. He died riding on a camel, and he was born in a ship.—Saif ad-Dawlat al-Mubârak was born at the castle of Shaizar, A. H. 526 (A. D. 1131-2), and he died at Cairo, on Tuesday, the 8th of Ramadân, A. H. 589 (September, A. D. 1193).—*Zarawi* means *belonging to Zerw*, a village in Saîd (*Upper Egypt*).

(1) I suspect that the author meant to write here *Sadîd al-Mulk*.

(2) This person must not be confounded with Abû Mansûr Toghtikîn, prince of Damascus at the time of the first crusade.—See vol. I. page 274.

(3) In this metaphorical language, the *emerald* has the same signification as the *myrtle*. For the meaning of the latter in poetry, see the Introduction to vol. I. page xxxvi.

(4) In giving this long list of names, Ibn Khallikân's object was to show that Izz ad-dîn was a lineal descendant of Ibn Rawâha al-Ansâri, a celebrated poet, who had devoted his talents to the service of Muhammad and proved himself a most useful ally.—See Sale's *Koran*, last note to *sûrat* 26.

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## IBN AL-MUSTAUFI AL-IRBILI.

620 Abû 'l-Barakât al-Mubârak Ibn Abi 'l-Fath Ahmad Ibn al-Mubârak Ibn Mauhûb Ibn Ghanîma Ibn Ghâlib al-Lakhmi, surnamed Sharaf ad-dîn (*nobleness of*



*religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Mustaufi al-Irbili (*native of Arbela*), was a *râis* (*officer in the civil service*) of high influence, and equally noted for his extreme modesty and noble character. Whenever a stranger distinguished by his talents arrived at Arbela, Ibn al-Mustaufi hastened to visit him, and, having offered him a present suited to his merit, he employed every means to gain his heart. This was particularly the case with literary men, who were always sure of being well received. He was a most accomplished scholar, versed in numerous branches of learning: the Traditions, the sciences connected with them, and the names of the persons by whom they were handed down, were so familiar to him, that, on such subjects, he merited to be considered as a master of the highest authority. In the belles lettres his acquirements were also of no inferior order: grammar, philology, prosody, the laws of rhythm and literary composition, the poetry of the ancient Arabs, their history, contests, battles, and proverbs were all equally well known to him, and he displayed also a superior talent in the *science of the diwân* (1), the mode of accounting (*employed*) there, and the keeping of the registers; adhering to the conventional forms on which persons of the profession set such high importance. He compiled a (*literary*) history of Arbela, in four volumes, and to this production I have frequently referred in the course of the present work. His *Kitâb an-Nazzâm* (*book of the stringer of pearls*) forms ten volumes, and contains a commentary on the poetical works of al-Mutanabbi and Abû Tammâm. In the two volumes of which his *Kitâb Ithbât il-Muhassal* (*ascertained results of investigation*) (2) is composed, he elucidates the meaning of the verses cited as grammatical examples, by az-Zamakhshari, in his *Mufassal*. He composed also a work entitled *Sirr as-Santa* (*the secret of laying persons under obligations*) (?), and another to which he gave the title of *Abû Kumâsh* (3), containing much literary information, curious anecdotes, etc. It was his custom to read this book to the learned men who visited Arbela, and, as I was generally present at the time, I heard a great portion of its contents. He left also a *diwan* of very good poetry. In a couplet of his composition he thus expresses his preference of white to brown (4):

Let not a seductive brownness deceive thee; beauty belongs to the white (*or bright*) alone. The brown lance slays, but with a part which by nature belongs not to it, whilst the (*bright*) sword slays with every part, and all those parts are of its own substance.



He took this idea from the following verses composed by Abû 'n-Nida Hassân Ibn Numair al-Kalbi, a celebrated poet of Damascus, and generally known by the appellation of al-Arkala (5):

If thou art seduced by a dark olive complexion, ask the pains I endure what is the effect produced by the silvery white. The part of the (*brown*) lance which slayeth is but a span in length, whilst every part of the (*bright*) sword, except one span (*the handle*), gives deadly wounds.

When Sharaf ad-dîn (*Ibn al-Mustaufi*) composed the two verses given above, a certain literary man observed that he would have more fully expressed the idea, had he said, that the portion of the lance which slayeth is of the same substance as the sword. An amateur of the belles lettres (whether Ibn al-Mustaufi himself or some other, I know not,) then composed the following lines, in which the thought is expressed with that addition:

The bright-complexioned (*the swords*) inflict the most fatal wounds, and the wounds of my heart were inflicted by bright beauties (*of mortal race*). If the brown (*the lances*) slay, it is because their points are formed of the same substance as the bright (*swords*).

Amongst the poems of Ibn al-Mustaufi which were set to music (6), we may notice the following piece:

O night during which I remained awake till morning, comparing (*the beauty of*) thy full moon with (*that of*) its fellow (*which I held in my arms*)! Fortune at length granted me that happy night, and if the lover complained of its length, it was surely with sweet reproaches. I made it a night of life (*and happiness*), but I concealed its existence from 621 my envious foes, whose only thought was to scatter calumnies. She (7) who clung to my neck was sweet in disposition, slender-waisted, and possessing all the charms of beauty. Her port might be thought erect, but her slender waist, whilst the zephyr wantoned with it, was ever bending. (*She trod with faltering steps like one*) intoxicated; passion hurried me towards her, but piety withheld me, and I blushed at my amorous folly. My hand rested on her neck; I touched her cheeks; these I kissed, and the charms of that neck I rifled. Had my sighs not been intermingled with hers (*and been thus concealed*), they had discovered us both to the spy who wished to betray her. The morning was jealous and angry at the night for having joined us, and its precursor (*the dawn*) forced us to separate.

The lines which follow are also of his composing:

Blessings on those nights, short though they were, which brought us together! may genial showers refresh them and give them new life. From that time, I never said



*Proceed!* (*ihi*) to the friend with whom I whiled away the evenings in conversation, but my heart said: *alas!* (*aha*).

These verses are to be met with in a *kasîda* composed by my friend Husâm ad-dìn al-Hâjiri (*vol. II. p. 434*), but most of my acquaintances say that Sharaf ad-dìn (*Ibn al-Mustaufi*) was their real author.—One night, as Ibn al-Mustaufi was returning home from the mosque in the neighbourhood of his house, a man sprung upon him and aimed a dagger at his heart; but he warded off the stroke with his arm, and in so doing received on it a severe wound, which was immediately stitched up, anointed, and bandaged by a barber-surgeon who had been called in. Ibn al-Mustaufi then wrote the following lines to al-Malik al-Moazzam, the sovereign of Arbela, informing him of the attempt which had been made against his life. To the best of my belief, this took place in the year 618 (A. D. 1221-2): I was then a boy, but I remember the circumstance perfectly well. The lines I speak of are these:

O prince whose prowess would excite the admiration of Mars himself (8)! the marks of thy generosity are deeply impressed (*upon our hearts*), and none of them ever effaces the other (9). To thee I denounce a heinous deed, the like of which I never suffered from before; a deed which will form an epoch in history. It is the night of my birth, and in proof thereof I cite as witnesses, the bandages in which I am swathed and the oil with which I have been anointed (10).

This idea is singularly original.—He related that he composed the following lines in his sleep:

We passed the night together, and my jealous foe bit his hands with anger. So ardent is my passion, that I should give the dark (*pupils*) of my eyes to prolong the darkness of the night.

In the year 628 (A. D. 1230-1) Sharaf ad-dìn Abd ar-Rahman Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ibn Isa Ibn Ali Ibn Yarub al-Bawâziji, the poet, arrived at Arbela, and Ibn al-Mustaufi, who was at that time vizir, sent him a *mathlûm* by al-Kamâl Ibn as-Seâr al-Mausili, a person employed in his service, and the author of a historical work. — By *mathlûm* is meant a dinar from which a small portion has been clipped off. This is a general practice in Irâk and the neighbouring countries: they employ these clippings in making purchases, and they call them *kurâda* (*clippings*); the *mathlûms* are also employed by them in the same manner: both

sorts are very common among them.—Al-Kamâl went to the poet, and said: "The *Sâhib* (11) greets thee, and requests thee to employ this sum for thy present
622 "wants, as he will soon send thee something more adequate to thy merit." The poet perceived that the coin was not perfect, and, thinking that Sharaf ad-dîn had sent it to him whole, he suspected al-Kamâl of having clipped it. Desirous of learning the truth of the matter from Sharaf ad-dîn, he wrote to him these lines:

> My lord vizir! you whose generosity is proverbial! you sent me a moon perfect in beauty when at its full (or *when with Kamâl*), but the servant brought it to me a crescent. It would not have decreased, had it not reached its full (or *got into the hands of Kamâl*), for such is the prescribed course of things.

The thought and the double meaning contained in these lines pleased Ibn al-Mustaufi so highly that he bestowed a reward on the poet, and treated him afterwards with great favour.—When I left Arbela, in the year 626 (A. D. 1228-9), Sharaf ad-dîn was *mustaufi* of the Diwân (*or council of state*). In that country the *istîfâ* (*or post of mustaufi*) is one of the highest places under government, being second only to that of vizir. In the year 629 he was raised to the vizirate, and he fulfilled the duties of this office to general satisfaction. He continued in place till the death of Muzaffer ad-dîn (*A. H.* 630; *see vol. II. p.* 542), but then, towards the middle of the month of Shawwâl, the imâm (*khâlif*) al-Mustansir took possession of Arbela, and Ibn al-Mustaufi received his dismissal. From that time he lived in domestic retirement, receiving, as I have been informed, constant tokens of public respect, till the city was taken by the Tartars, on the 27th of the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 634 (June, A. D. 1237). The fatal consequences of this event for Arbela and its inhabitants are well known (12). (*Ibn al-Mustaufi*) Sharaf ad-dîn was one of those who took refuge in the citadel, and thus escaped. When the enemy raised the siege of the citadel, he proceeded to Mosul, where he obtained a pension, and passed the rest of his life universally respected. He possessed a large collection of valuable books. His death took place at Mosul, on Sunday, the 5th of Muharram, A. H. 637 (August, A. D. 1239), and he was interred in the Sâbilah cemetery, outside the Jasâsa Gate. He was born on the 15th of Shawwâl, A. H. 564 (July, A. D. 1169), in the citadel of Arbela. He came of a powerful family, which produced a number of men

distinguished by the posts which they held under government, or by their learning. The place of *istîfâ* at Arbela had been (*previously*) filled by his father, and by his uncle Safi ad-dîn (*pure in religion*) Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Mubârak, a man of eminent abilities. It was he who translated Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli's *Nasîha tal-Mulûk* (*counsel for kings*) from Persian into Arabic, for al-Ghazzâli had composed it in the former language. Sharaf ad-dîn (*Ibn al-Mustaufi*) notices this circumstance in his History, and I heard it mentioned also, during my residence in that country, as a well known fact. An elegiac poem was composed on the death of Ibn al-Mustaufi, by my friend Shams ad-dîn Abû 'l-Izz Yûsuf Ibn an-Nafis al-Irbili, surnamed Shaitân as-Shâm (*the demon of Syria*). Shaitân as-Shâm was born at Arbela, A. H. 586 (A. D. 1190-1); he died at Mosul, on the 16th of Ramadân, A. H. 638 (April, A. D. 1241), and was interred in the cemetery at the Jasâsa gate. Speaking of Ibn al-Mustaufi, he said :

> O Abû 'l-Barakât ! had death known that thou wert the paragon of the age, it would not have smitten thee. The greatest of misfortunes which Islamism could experience was the loss of one whom men and genii are lamenting.

Were I not apprehensive of extending this article too much, I should give a great many more anecdotes concerning him, and notice further particulars of his life, with some of the pieces composed in his praise; for, God be merciful to him! he was one of the ornaments of the age, and the like of him, for merit and influence, has never since existed in that city.—We have already explained the meaning of the word *Lakhmi* (*vol. I. p.* 148) and need not therefore repeat it here. 623

(1) *Diwan* may here mean *register, account-book*, or perhaps the *office* for keeping the public accounts. From the passage which follows, I am induced to think that the art of book-keeping was not unknown to the Arabs.

(2) For the meaning I here give to the passive participle *muhassal*, I shall assign as my authority that given by M. de Sacy in his *Abdallatif*, page 244, to the corresponding active participle *muhassil*. I consider the word here as bearing the passive form, because, in the complete Arabic title, it rhymes to *Mufassal*.

(3) *Abû Kumâsh;* in Latin, *pater supellectilis* or *supellectilem congerens*. A sort of common-place book.

(4) By *white* and *brown* are meant fair-complexioned females and brunettes.

(5) Abû 'n-Nida Hassân Ibn Numair, surnamed Arkala, belonged to a branch of the tribe of Kalb, settled in the neighbourhood of Damascus. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni, who met him at that city, says that he was a great favorite with the princes of the Aiyûbide family, and the constant companion of their convivial

parties, which he enlivened by his gaiety. Salâh ad-dîn promised to give him one thousand dinars on becoming master of Egypt, and when that event took place, Arkala proceeded thither and received the sum. He then returned to Damascus and died there towards the year 566 (A. D. 1170). The *kâtib*, who knew him personally, has given us long extracts from his poetical works, arranged in alphabetical order, according to the rhymes. — See *Kharîda;* MS. of the Bib. du Roi, No. 1414, *fol* 25 *et seq.*

(6) Literally: Which are sung.

(7) Throughout this piece I have changed the gender of the pronouns and made other modifications of a similar kind.

(8) Abû 'l-Maashar al-Balkhi, generally known in Europe by the name of Albumaser, says in one of his astrological works (MS. of the Bib. du Roi, fonds Ducaurroi, No. 24): "*Mars* is the indicator of (*presides over*) warriors, armed men, men of might, libertines, and highway-robbers. *Saturn* is the indicator of kings, old men, gardeners, and farmers. *Jupiter*, of nobles, judges, vizirs, and devout and religious men. *Venus*, of women, eunuchs, and girls. *Mercury*, of *katibs* (*penmen, secretaries*), arithmeticians, merchants, artisans, and boys. *The Sun*, of kings and princes; and *the Moon*, of the post-house establishment (*barîd*), the common people, their trades, and the means by which they gain their daily bread." It may be seen from this that the Arabs have borrowed the attributes of the planets from the Greeks.

(9) This verse is entirely composed of technical terms, such as are employed by dogmatic theologians in discussing the verses of the Koran. The meaning of these terms being familiar to persons who have read Pococke's *Specimen* and Sale's preface to the Koran, I think it unnecessary to explain them; the more so, as they are here used with a different signification.

(10) It seems from this that it was then customary to anoint infants with oil.

(11) See vol. I. page 213.

(12) In the year 634, the Moghuls took Arbela by storm, and put to the sword all the inhabitants who had not taken refuge in the citadel. They then plundered the city, and having burned it down, they directed their attacks against the citadel, but after a forty days' siege, they evacuated the place on receiving a large sum from the garrison. During this period, the inhabitants defended themselves with great courage, but many of them died of thirst.—(D'Ohsson's *Hist. des Monghols*, t. III. p. 73).

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## IBN AD-DAHHAN.

Abû Bakr al-Mubârak Ibn Abi Tâlib al-Mubârak Ibn Abi 'l-Azhar Said, surnamed al-Wajîh (*the respectable*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn ad-Dahhân (*the son of the ointment maker*), was a native of Wâsit, and a grammarian. The designation of ad-Darîr (*the blind*) was also given to him because he had lost his sight. He was born at Wâsit, and passed his youth in that city; he there learned the Koran by heart, and was taught to read it according to the different systems; he studied also the science (*of jurisprudence*), and took lessons

there from Abû Said Nasr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Silm, the philologer, Abû 'l-Faraj al-Alâ Ibn as-Sawâdi, the poet (*vol. II. p.* 415), and other masters. He then removed to Baghdad, and, having taken up his residence in the *Muzaffariya* (*college*), he became the disciple of Abû Muhammad Ibn al-Khashshâb, the grammarian (*vol. II. p.* 66), and Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Anbâri (*vol. II. p.* 95). He attended Abû 'l-Barakât's lessons with assiduity, and acquired vast information under his tuition. He learned Traditions from Abû Zarâ Tâhir Ibn Muhammad Ibn Tâhir al-Makdisi (1), and, having abandoned the Hanbalite sect, he applied himself to the Hanifite system of jurisprudence. Some time after this, the place of grammatical professor at the *Nizâmiya* college became vacant, and, as the founder of that professorship had ordained that it should never be filled by any but a Shafite, al-Wajih Ibn ad-Dahhân passed over to the Shafite sect, and obtained the situation. It was on this occasion that al-Muwaiyad Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn Zaid, a native of Tikrît, composed the following verses:

> Who will bear from me a message to al-Wajîh? yet I know that every message will be useless!—Say to him: You passed to the sect of (*Abû Hanifa*) an-Nomân, after following that of Ibn Hanbal; you did so because you had nothing to eat. It was not through devotion that you next adopted the doctrines of as-Shâfi, but through the desire of obtaining a profitable result. You will surely soon go over to the sect of Mâlik; mark what I say!

Al-Wajih composed some works on grammar, and taught the Koran-*readings* during a long period. His conversation was excessively silly, his discourses prolix, his avarice extreme, and his pretensions exorbitant. He composed some poetry, of which may be quoted these verses:

> Although thou art the prince of generous men, I do not blame thee for requiring to be pressed before thou fulfillest a promise. The Lord of heaven bound himself to furnish food to all men, yet he must be solicited by prayer.

He was born at Wâsit, A. H. 532 (A. D. 1137-8); he died at Baghdad, on the eve of Sunday, the 26th of Shaabân, A.H. 612 (December, A. D. 1215), and was interred in the Wardiya cemetery.

(1) Ibn Khallikân gives some account of Abû Zarâ Tâhir al-Makdisi in the life of that Traditionist's father, Muhammad Ibn Tâhir al-Makdisi.



## MUJALLI IBN JUMAIYA.

Abû 'l-Maâli Mujalli Ibn Jumaiya Ibn Naja, a member of the tribe of Koraish and of the family of Makhzûm, a native of Orsûf, and an inhabitant of Egypt, in which country also he died, was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, and one of the most eminent in that age. He is the author of an ample treatise on jurisprudence, entitled *Kitâb ad-Dakhâir* (*book of treasures*), containing a great quantity of matter connected with the Shafite doctrine, and in which he has inserted a number of extraordinary cases, not, perhaps, to be found in any other work. This is an esteemed production, and in great request. In the year 547 (A. D. 1152), he was appointed *kâdi* of Old Cairo by al-Aâdil Ibn as-Sallâr (*vol. II. p.* 350), who at that time held all Egypt under his rule; and he was removed from office towards the beginning of the year 549; in one **624** of the last ten days of Shaabân (November, A. D. 1154), it is said. He died in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 550 (December-January, A. D. 1155-6), and was interred in the Lesser Karâfa cemetery.— *Orsûf* is the name of a small town on the coast of Syria, which has produced many men eminent for learning, and was frequented by numbers of Moslims who kept garrison there (*against the crusaders*). It is now in the hands of the Franks (*the crusaders*); may God frustrate their projects! —*Postscript*. Orsûf was retaken by al-Malik az-Zâhir Bibars, in the year 663 (A. D. 1265).

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## ABU ALI AT-TANUKHI, *THE KADI*.

The *kâdi* Abû Ali al-Muhassin Ibn Abi 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Fahm Dâwûd Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Tamim at-Tanûkhi: we have already spoken of his father (*vol. II. p.* 304), and given some account of his life, with extracts from his poetry; and ath-Thaâlibi (*vol. II. p.* 129) speaks of them both in the same

chapter (*of his* Yatîma). He begins with the father, and then says of Abû Ali: "He was a crescent of that moon; a branch of that tree; a decisive testimony of "the glory and merit of that father; the master-shoot of that stem; his substi- "tute during his life-time, and his successor after his death." It was of him that the poet Abû Abd Allah Ibn al-Hajjâj (*vol. I. p.* 448) said:

If we speak of elderly *kâdis*, I acknowledge that I prefer the young to the old. Him who concurs not (*with me*) I should never strike but in the presence of our lord the *kâdi* at-Tanûkhi (1).

Abû Ali at-Tanûkhi is the author of a book called *al-Farj baad as-Shidda* (*solace after suffering*). In the beginning of this work he says that, in the year 346 (A. D. 957), he was director of the weighing-office at the mint in Sûk al-Akwâz (2); and, a little further on, he states, that he had occupied the place of *kâdi* at Djazîra tibni Omar. He left a *diwân* of poetry more voluminous than that of his father, and two other works, one entitled *Kitâb nashwân al-Muhâdira* (*the excitement of conversation*), and the other, *Kitâb al-Mustajâd min Fâlât al-Ajwâd* (*the noblest of the deeds of the generous*). He took lessons at Basra from Abû 'l-Abbas al-Athram (3), Abû Bakr as-Sûli (4), al-Husain Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Othmân an-Nasawi, and other eminent masters of that day; he then went down to Baghdad, and, having settled there, he continued to teach Traditions till his death. The masters from whom he obtained these Traditions were persons of the highest authority for veracity. He was an elegant scholar, a poet, and an historian. He began to learn Traditions in the year 333 (A. D. 944-5), and he commenced his judicial career in A. H. 349 (A. D. 960-1) as *kâdi* of al-Kasr, Bâbel (5), and the neighbouring districts, acting in the name of Abû 's-Sâib Otba Ibn Obaid Allah. The khalif al-Muti lillah then appointed him *kâdi* of Askar Mokram, Aidaj (6), and Râmhormuz. After that, he (*successively*) filled a great number of posts in the civil administration, at different places. The following verses of his were composed on a certain *shaikh* who went out (*one day with the people*) to pray for rain: there was a cloud in the sky at the time, but when the *shaikh* finished, it cleared off:

We went out to obtain rain from the blessed effect of his prayers, and the skirt of the cloud was then nearly touching the earth. But when he began to pray, the sky cleared up; and he had not ended, before the cloud disappeared.

The following verses were composed, on a similar occasion, by Abû 'l-Husain Sulaimân Ibn Muhammad Ibn at-Tarâwa, a grammarian, and a native of Malaga in Spain:

> They went out to implore rain, and a cloud which promised a copious shower had already appeared in the west. When they took their places to pray, and it had begun 625 to drizzle in their sight, it cleared off in answer to their invocations; one might have thought they had gone forth to ask for fair weather.

The lines which follow are attributed to Abû Ali al-Tanûkhi:

> Say to the fair maiden in the gold-embroidered veil: Thou hast spoiled the devotion of a pious godly man. Between the brightness of thy veil and that of thy cheek, 'tis strange that thy face is not in flames. Thou hast combined the two means (*of charming our hearts*), and, between the lustre of them both, thou canst not escape being beautiful (7). When an eye is turned to steal a glance (*at thee*), the radiance of thy face says to it: Begone, lest thy sight be gone (8)!

How ingeniously imagined is that expression: *Begone, lest thy sight be gone!*— These verses, on a veil embroidered with gold, remind me of a story which I read some time back at Mosul. A certain merchant went to Medina with a camel-load of black veils, but, not finding any purchasers, his goods remained on his hands, and he gave way to sadness. A person then said to him that no one could assist him in obtaining a profitable sale for them except Miskin ad-Dârimi (9). This Miskin was an excellent poet, celebrated for his wit and licentiousness. The merchant went to him, and found that he had taken to devotion, and never stirred out of the mosque. Having explained his business to him, he received this answer: "What can I do for you? I have renounced poetry, and given myself "up to my present occupation." The merchant answered: "I am a stranger "here, and have no other goods but that load." In short, he spared no entreaty, till at length Miskin left the mosque, and having put on the clothes he formerly wore, he composed these verses and gave them to the public:

> Say to the handsome maiden in the black veil: "What design have you formed "against a pious devotee? He had just girded his loins for prayer, when you sat in "ambush for him at the door of the mosque!"

The report immediately spread about that Miskin ad-Dârimi had relapsed into his former mode of life, and become enamoured with a female who wore a black

veil. On this, there was not a belle in the city but wanted a black veil, and such was their eagerness to procure them, that the merchant disposed of those he had at exorbitant prices. When all were sold, Miskîn returned to his devout exercises in the retirement of the mosque.—The *kâdi* Abû Ali at-Tanûkhi wrote the following lines to a man of high rank, in the month of Ramadân:

> May you obtain by this fast whatever you desire, and may God protect you from whatever you may dread. As this month excels all the others, so you surpass all mankind; nay, you are like the night of *al-Kadar* (10) in it.

He composed many other exquisite pieces. His death took place at Baghdad, on the eve of Monday, the 25th of Muharram, A. H. 384 (March, A. D. 994). He was born at Basra, on the eve of Sunday, the 26th of the first Rabî, A. H. 327 (January, A. D. 939).—His son, Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn al-Muhassin at-Tanûkhi, was an accomplished scholar and a man of great merit. He composed some poetry, but I have never seen any of it. He had been a pupil of Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri (*vol. I. p.* 94), and acquired much information under his tuition. A great quantity of poetical pieces were transmitted by him to his own pupils. The family to which he and his brother belonged was noted for producing literary men of distinguished wit and talent. He was born at Basra, on the 15th of Shaabân, A. H. 365 (April, A. D. 976), and he died on Sunday, the 1st of Muharram, A. H. 447 (April, A. D. 1055). A close intimacy was formed between him and the *khatîb* Abû Zakariya at-Tabrîzi (11), through the medium of Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri. The Khatîb (*Abû Bakr*) (*vol. I. p.* 75) has a notice on him in the History of Baghdad, and enumerates the masters from whom he received and transmitted his traditional information; he then mentions that he himself wrote down some pieces under his dictation, and he assigns to his birth and death the same dates as those given here, with the sole difference that, according to him, he died on the eve of Monday, the 2nd of Muharram, at his own house, in the street of at-Tall. He states also that he attended his funeral, the next day, and said prayers over him. To this he adds, that he (*Abû 'l-Kâsim*) first began to acquire traditional information in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 370 (12). He says also that, when quite a youth, the testimony of Abû 'l-Kâsim was received as valid, and that it continued to be so till the end of his life (*a decisive proof that his character for morality had never been*

*impeached*). He was extremely cautious in giving evidence, guarded in his conduct, and veracious in his discourse. He filled the place of *kâdi* in a number of places, such as al-Madâin and its dependencies, Adarbaijân, al-Baradân (13), Kirmisîn (*Kirmânshâh*), etc.—We have already spoken of the word *Tanûkhi* (*vol. I. p.* 97). It was to Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Tanûkhi that Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri addressed the *kasîda* beginning thus: *Speak to me of Baghdad or of Hît.*

(1) I translate literally, but fear that I have neither perceived nor rendered the point of the verses. The poet perhaps means to say that, were they in the presence of at-Tanûkhi, he would strike his contradictor for not admitting the justness of his sentiments; at-Tanûkhi being himself a young man and of an amiable character.

(2) This is the same city as al-Ahwâz. It was called also Hormuzshahr.

(3) Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Moghaira, surnamed al-Athram (*broken tooth*), a grammarian and philologer of the highest reputation, was a native of Baghdad and an assiduous disciple of al-Asmâi and Abû Obaida, all of whose productions he learned by heart. He obtained and handed down much literary information from some very eminent scholars, and he acquired his knowledge of pure Arabic from the most correct speakers among the Arabs of the desert. According to the author of the *Fihrest*, MSS. No. 874, fol. 76, he died A. H. 230 (A. D. 844-5), but Abû 'l-Mahâsin, in his *Nujûm*, places his death two years later. He left the following works: *Kitâb an-Nawâdir* (*book of anecdotes*) and *Kitâb Gharîb al-Hadîth* (*obscure terms occurring in the Traditions*.)

(4) His life will be found in this work.

(5) In later times the city of Babel (*Bâbil* in Arabic) gave its name to a village which rose in the neighbourhood. As for al-Kasr (*the castle*), it may perhaps be the same as that which al-Idrîsi indicates as situated on the Tigris, between Wâsit and Basra.

(6) According to the author of the *Marâsid*, the city and canton of Aidaj lie between Khûzestân and Ispahân. He says that it possesses a bridge which is one of the wonders of the world.

(7) This is the meaning of the Arabic verse, which is in reality a succession of puns on a single word.

(8) I have here endeavoured to express both the meaning and the quibbling of the original Arabic. The poet, continuing his puns on the different grammatical forms of the root *dahaba*, adds here: *adhabi la tadhabi*. Away! lest thou shouldst become blind; or, lest thou shouldst be destroyed.

(9) Of the poet Rabîa Ibn Aâmir, surnamed Miskîn ad-Dârimi, I have been unable to discover any farther information than that given by M. de Sacy in his *Anthologie Grammaticale*, p. 399.

(10) "The night of al-Kadar is better than a thousand months." See *Koran*, surat 97, and Sale's note.

(11) His life will be found in the last volume.

(12) He means to say that, at the age of five years, Abû 'l-Kâsim had already learned by heart some Traditions, pieces of verse, etc.

(13) Al-Baradân lay on the east bank of the Tigris, at five parasangs above Baghdad.

## AS-SHAFI.

The imâm Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Idrîs as-Shâfi was a member of the tribe of Koraish, and drew his descent from al-Muttalib, the son of Abd Manâf and the ancestor of the Prophet; his father, Idrîs, being the son of al-Abbâs Ibn Othmân Ibn Shâfi Ibn as-Sâyib Ibn Obaid Ibn Abd Yazîd Ibn Hishâm Ibn al-Muttalib Ibn Abd Manâf. The remainder of the genealogy, up to Adnân, is sufficiently known (1). His great-grandfather, Shâfi, when a boy just grown up, saw the Envoy of God (*Muhammad*). As-Sâyib, the father of Shâfi, bore the standard of the Hâshimide family at the battle of Badr; he was taken prisoner in that combat, but redeemed himself from captivity. When he subsequently became a Moslim, he was asked why he did not embrace the true faith when made prisoner, and thus avoid paying the ransom; he replied that he was not a man to frustrate the expectations which the Moslims had founded on it.—As-Shâfi (*the subject of this article*) stood unrivalled by his abundant merits and illustrious qualities; to the knowledge of all the sciences connected with the book of God (*the Koran*), the *Sunna* (*the Traditions*), the sayings of the Companions, their history, the conflicting opinions of the learned (*jurisconsults*), etc., he united a deep acquaintance with the language of the Arabs of the Desert, philology, grammar, and poetry; indeed, he was so well conversant with the last sciences, that al-Asmâi, eminent as he was in these branches of learning, read over the poems of the Hudailites under his tuition. He combined in himself such a variety of scientific information as was never possessed by any other man, and Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (*vol. I. p.* 44) went so far as to say: "I did "not know the annulling from the annulled Traditions, till I took lessons from "as-Shâfi."—"Never did I see a man," said Abû Obaid al-Kâsim Ibn Sallâm (*vol. II. p.* 486), "more accomplished than as-Shâfi."—Abd Allah, the son of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, related as follows: "I said to my father: 'What sort of a "'man was as-Shâfi, that I hear you pray blessings on him so often?' and he "replied: 'My dear boy! as-Shâfi was (*to mankind*) as the sun is to the world, "'and health to the body; what can replace them?'"—Ahmad Ibn Hanbal said also: "Never, for the last thirty years, have I passed a night without praying "God's mercy and blessings upon as-Shâfi."—Yahya Ibn Mâin (2) said: "Ah-

"mad Ibn Hanbal forbade us (*attending the lessons of*) as-Shâfi; but, meeting him "one day walking on foot after as-Shâfi, who was mounted on a mule, I said to "him: 'Abû Abd Allah! you forbade us to frequent him, and you yourself are "'walking after him!' To which he replied: 'Silence! if I even kept company "'with his mule, I should profit by it.'" The khatîb (*vol. I. p.*75) has inserted in his History of Baghdad the following relation given by Ibn Abd al-Hakam (3): "When as-Shâfi was still in his mother's womb, she dreamt that the planet "Jupiter came forth from it and proceeded to Egypt, where it fell, but that a "portion of its rays reached every city upon earth. The interpreters of dreams "declared this to signify that she would give birth to a learned man, who would "communicate his knowledge to the people of Egypt alone, but that it would "spread into all other countries."—"I went to take lessons from Mâlik," said as-Shâfi, "after having learned by heart his *Muwatta*, and he told me to go to "some person who would repeat the book to me (*so that I might learn it*), but I "replied that I would repeat it myself (*to him*). I then did so from memory, and 627 "he pronounced these words: 'If any person is ever to prosper, it is this "youth!'"—When Sofyân Ibn Oyaina (*v. I. p.* 578) was consulted on the meaning of a passage of the Koran, or on a point of law, he would turn towards as-Shâfi and say: "Ask that boy."—Al-Humaidi (4) relates that he heard Muslim Ibn Khâlid az-Zanji (5) say to as-Shâfi: "Give opinions on points of law, O Abû Abd Allah! "it is time for you to do so;" and that as-Shâfi was only fifteen years of age at the time.—Mahfûz Ibn Abi Tauba, a native of Baghdad, relates as follows: "I "saw Ahmad Ibn Hanbal near as-Shâfi in the Sacred Mosque, and I told him that "Sofyân Ibn Oyaina was then teaching Traditions in another part of the edifice; "on which he said: 'This one would be a loss to me, but the other would not.'" —Abû 'l-Hassân az-Ziâdi said: "I never saw Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan (6) show "so much honour to any doctor as he did to as-Shâfi. He was just mounting his "horse, one day, when as-Shâfi came to see him, and he immediately returned with "him into the house, and they remained in private (*conversation*) till the night set "in. Yet Muhammad Ibn Hasan never admitted any person into his presence." —As-Shâfi was the first who ever gave lectures on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, and that branch of science had him for its author.—Abû Thaur (*vol. I. p.* 6) said: "Whoever pretends that he saw the like of as-Shâfi for learning, "elegance of language, general knowledge, and solid information, is a liar. He

" lived without a rival, and, on his death, he left none to replace him."—" There " is not a person," said Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, " who holds an inkhorn or a sheet " of paper, but is under the deepest obligations to as-Shâfi." And as for az-Zafarâni (*vol. I. p.* 373), he said that the Traditionists were sleeping till as-Shâfi came and awoke them.—His merits were innumerable. He was born A. H. 150 (A. D. 767-8); on the day, it is said, on which Abû Hanifa died; his birth took place at Ghazza; some say, but erroneously, at Ascalon, or in Yemen. At the age of two years he was carried from Ghazza to Mekka, where he passed his youth and studied the Koran. The history of his journey to see Mâlik is so well known that it is needless to lengthen this article by repeating it (7). In the year 195 (A. D. 810-1) he went to Baghdad, and, having passed two years in that city, he returned to Mekka. In the year 198 he revisited Baghdad, and after a month's residence he set out for Old Cairo, where he arrived A. H. 199 (A. D. 814-5), or 201, by another account. He continued to dwell there till his death; this event occurred on Friday, the last day of Rajab, A. H. 204 (Jan. A. D. 820), and, on the evening of the same day, he was buried in the lesser Karâfa cemetery. His tomb is much frequented by pious visitors, and is situated near mount Mukattam. Ar-Râbi Ibn Sulaiman al-Murâdi (*vol. I. p.* 519) mentioned that he perceived the new moon of the month of Shaabân as he was returning from the funeral (*and this would prove that he was interred on the eve of the first day of that month*). " Some time after his death," said ar-Râbi, " I saw him in " a dream, and said to him : ' O Abû Abd Allah ! how did God treat thee ?' " and he replied : 'He seated me on a throne of gold, and pearls, fresh (*from* " ' *the sea,*) were scattered over me.' " All the learned men without exception, Traditionists, jurisconsults, dogmatic theologians, philologers, grammarians, etc., agree in acknowledging his veracity, integrity, probity, piety, unblemished character, purity of morals, mortified life, virtuous conduct, intrinsic merit, and generosity (8).—He composed a great quantity of poetry, and I shall insert here a piece of his composition, which I copied from the handwriting of the *hâfiz* as-Silafi (*vol. I. p.* 86) :

He who is blessed with riches and has not received praises or commendation, is a luckless wight. Wealth brings the most distant object within reach; wealth opens every well-barred door. If you hear that a piece of wood produced fruits when held in a rich man's hand, believe it. If you hear that a poor man went to drink at a spring,

and that the water sank into the earth, hold it to be true. If riches could be obtained by subtle policy, you would have found me clinging to the stars of heaven in search
628 thereof. But he who is gifted with intellect is denied riches; how widely do intellect and riches stand apart! A proof of God's providence is found in the indigence of the sage and the pleasant life of the fool.

The following verses are attributed to as-Shâfi :

What will thy guest answer if his family ask how was his reception? Shall he say that he crossed the Euphrates without being able to obtain a drop of its waters, although its waves rolled high? that, when he mounted the ascent of glory, the narrowness of the path prevented him from reaching the object of his wishes? By my adulation you may discover my poverty, as the glass shows the dregs in the water which it contains. But I possess the jewels and the pearls of poetry; I wear the diadem and the crown of style; its flowers surpass those of the gardens on the hills, and its smoothness outvies that of an irrigated meadow (9). An elegant poet is a dangerous serpent, and verses are his poisonous slaver and foam. The enmity of a poet is a dire calamity, but it is easy for the generous man to avert it.

It was he who said:

Were it not a discredit for men of learning to cultivate poetry, I should be to-day a better poet than Labîd (10).

The following lines are attributed to as-Shâfi :

The more experience instructs me, the more I see the weakness of my reason; and the more I increase my knowledge, the more I learn the extent of my ignorance.

The following verse is also attributed to him:

He meant good, and wrought harm undesignedly; thus acts of piety may sometimes become acts of disobedience.

He related that having married a woman of the tribe of Koraish, at Mekka, he happened to say to her in sport:

How unfortunate that you love one who loves you not!

And that she answered (*in the same rhyme and measure*):

She averts her face, and you entreat her, but succeed not.

One of our most eminent *shaikhs* informed me that he composed thirteen works

on the merits of as-Shâfi.—When this great imâm died, his death was lamented in numerous elegies. One of these elegies is attributed to Abû Bakr Ibn Duraid (11), and the Khatib has noticed it in his History of Baghdad. It contains the following passages:

See you not the memorials which the son of Idrîs has left of his existence? in the obscurities of science their guiding lights direct us;—eternal monuments on which time spends its efforts in vain; they still rear their pinnacles aloft, though ages have expired. (*They mark the*) paths which conduct (*to knowledge*), and trace (*for us*) the ways of rectitude. Their obvious meaning is wisdom itself, and the deductions drawn from them embody principles which, till then, had been completely disunited. When calamity darkens the world, the genius of the son of Idrîs, the cousin of Muhammad, spreads over it a brilliant light. When grave difficulties embarrass the mind, the 629 brightness of that genius clears up all obscurities. God chose to raise him and exalt him; none can depress the man who is exalted by the master of the (*heavenly*) throne. Truth was his aim, and piety preserved him from error; 'tis error that degrades a man. He recurred to the example of the Prophet, and his decisions are held to be second only to the Prophet's. In his decisions and judgments he placed his reliance on what is fixed by divine revelation; truth is always plain and clear.

In childhood and youth he arrayed himself in piety; when a boy, he was favoured with the wisdom of old age. He shaped his conduct so sagely, that, when merit was sought for, every finger pointed towards him. He who takes as-Shâfi's learning for guide, will find an ample pasture in the field of learning. Salutations to the tomb which encloses his body! may the dark rain-clouds refresh it with copious showers. The earth of that grave has covered from our view the body of an illustrious man, once highly honoured when auditors flocked around him. Misfortune has afflicted us by his death, but, for its conduct towards him, it must receive affliction in its turn; for his maxims subsist among us, refulgent as the moon; and his traces remain, luminous as the rising stars.

If it be asked how it came that Ibn Duraid, who was not contemporary with as-Shâfi, composed an elegy on his death, we answer that there is nothing extraordinary in such a circumstance, and that it is perfectly natural; we have besides met other examples of it, as in the case of al-Husain (*the son of Ali*), etc.

(1) See Sale, introduction to *Koran*; Pococke's *Specimen hist. ar.* pag. 49, 50, 51; Eichhorn's *Monumenta hist. ar.* Tab. 1.

(2) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(3) The life of Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Hakam is given by our author.

(4) The imâm Abû Bakr Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair Ibn Obaid Allah al-Asadi al-Humaidi, a member of the

tribe of Koraish and a native of Mekka, was a disciple of the imâm as-Shâfi and accompanied him to Egypt. The Hâkim Ibn al-Baii styles him the *mufti* and Traditionist of Mekka, and declares that he was for the people of Hijâz what Ahmad Ibn Hanbal was for those of Irâk. He died in the month of the first Rabî, A. H. 219 (March-April, A. D. 834).—(*Tabakât as-Shâfiyîn.*)

(5) Abû Khâlid Muslim Ibn Khâlid Ibn Saîd, surnamed, for his red complexion, az-Zanji (*native of Zanguebar*), was one of the imâm as-Shâfi's masters. He belonged to the tribe of Koraish and the family of Makhzûm, being a *mawla* to Sofyân Ibn Abd Allah. He was an able doctor and jurisconsult, but his authority as a Traditionist has been rejected by Ibn al-Madîni and al-Bukhâri. He succeeded Ibn Juraij as *mufti* of Mekka, and he died in that city, A. H. 180 (A. D. 796-7).—(*Tabakât al-Fokahâ*, MSS. No 755, fol. 21.)

(6) The life of this celebrated doctor will be found in this volume.

(7) The only thing particular in this journey was the short conversation which passed between him and Mâlik, and which our author has already given in as-Shâfi's own words.

(8) The manuscript of the Bib. du Roi, *ancien fonds*, No. 856, contains an account of as-Shâfi, his life, sayings, virtues, etc. It is a short and interesting work; nearly all of what Ibn Khallikân says in the present article is to be found there, and expressed in the same terms.

(9) In the original Arabic, the last words of this verse have such various significations, that I may possibly have mistaken the idea which the poet meant to convey.

(10) He means Labîd, the author of one of the seven *Moallakas*.

(11) His life will be found in this work.

## IBN AL-HANAFIYA.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Muhammad, the son of Ali, the son of Abû Tâlib, was generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Hanafiya (*the son of the Hanifite female*), because his mother Khaula was the daughter of Jaafar Ibn Kais Ibn Salama Ibn Thaalaba Ibn Yarbû Ibn Thaalaba Ibn ad-Dual Ibn Hanîfa Ibn Lujaim. Some say, however, that she was one of the captives taken in Yemâma (1), and that she passed into the possession of Ali. Others again say that she was of a black colour and a native of Sind; that she had been a servant to a member of the tribe of Hanîfa, and that she did not belong to it by birth. They add, that Khâlid Ibn al-Walîd granted peace to this tribe on condition that they should surrender up to him their slaves, not themselves. Relative to the surname of Abû' l-Kâsim borne by Ibn al-Hanafiya, it is said that he was indebted for it to the kindness of God's blessed Envoy (*Muhammad*), who said to Ali: "After my death, a son shall be "born to thee, and I bestow on him from this moment my own name and sur-



"name; but let no other of my people bear them both." (*Yet*) among the persons who bore the name of Muhammad joined to the surname of Abû 'l-Kâsim were Muhammad, the son of Abû Bakr as-Siddik (*the first khalif*); Muhammad, the son of Talha Ibn Obaid Allah; Muhammad, the son of Saad Ibn Abi Wakkâs, Muhammad, the son of Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Aûf; Muhammad, the son of Jaafar Ibn Abi Tâlib; Muhammad, the son of Hâtib Ibn Abi Baltâa, and Muhammad, the son of al-Ashâth Ibn Kais. Ibn al-Hanafiya was a man of great learning (*in the law*), and profound piety; the *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi (*vol. I. p.* 9) has even given him a place in his *Tabakât al-Fokahâ*, or classified list of jurisconsults. Some extraordinary anecdotes are told of his great bodily strength, and one of them is thus related by al-Mubarrad, in his *Kâmil*: "Ali, "the father of Ibn al-Hanafiya, had a coat of mail which he found too long, and "he therefore ordered a certain quantity of the ring-work to be cut off it. On "this, his son Muhammad took the skirt of it with one hand and the body with "the other, and tore off the piece at the spot marked by his father. When this "circumstance was told to Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair, he was seized with an "*afkal*, or trembling fit, so jealous did he feel of Ibn al-Hanafiya's strength." Ibn az-Zubair also possessed great strength, and on this subject al-Mubarrad 630 relates the following anecdote in his work (2): "He that was king of the Greeks "in the days of Moawia sent to that khalif a message expressed in these terms: "'The kings thy predecessors used to send envoys to our kings, and each "'party endeavoured to produce something by which it might surpass the "'other; permit me then to do as they.' Moawia gave his permission, and "the king sent him two men, one, very tall and bulky, the other possessing "great strength. Moawia then said to Amr Ibn al-Aâsi: 'As for the tall fel- "'low, we can find his match in Kais Ibn Saad Ibn Obâda, but, with regard to "'the strong one, we stand in need of your advice.' Amr made answer: "'There are here two (*strong*) men, but you dislike them both; I mean Muham- "'mad Ibn al-Hanafiya and Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair.'—'Come what may,' "replied Moawia, 'take the one who is nearest (*related*) to us.' When the two "men (*sent by the king of the Greeks*) were brought in, a message was sent to "inform Kais Ibn Saad, and he entered soon after. Having made his salutation "to Moawia, he took off his trowsers and handed them to the foreign infidel (*who* "*tried them on*), and they came up to his breast, on which he hung down his



"head as one who is vanquished. It is mentioned that they blamed Kais for this "action, saying to him: 'Why didst thou take such a liberty in the presence "'of Moawia? why didst thou not send thy adversary another pair?' And "he replied:

> 'I wished all to know, and in the presence of the envoys, that these trowsers be-'longed to Kais; lest it might be said: 'Kais has kept away, and these trowsers belong "'to a man descended from Aad and related to Thamûd (3).' But I am the chief of 'eighty men, and mankind consists of those who command and those who are com-'manded. By my origin and rank I resemble other men, but by the length of my 'body I surpass them.'

"Moawia then sent for Ibn al-Hanafiya, and, when he came in, he informed "him for what purpose his presence was required. Ibn al-Hanafiya then said "(*to the interpreters*): 'Tell him to take his choice, either to sit down and give "'me his hand so that I may try and pull him up, or else to stand and I shall "'sit down.' The Greek preferred sitting down, and Muhammad Ibn al-Ha-"nafiya pulled him up on his feet, whilst he was unable to pull Ibn al-Hanafiya "down. Having then asked Ibn al-Hanafiya to sit, he pulled at him, but was "pulled down himself. Both Greeks retired vanquished (4)."—Ibn al-Hanafiya bore his father's standard at the battle of the Camel; it is said that, in the early part of the day, he hesitated to take it because it was a war between Muslims, a thing which had never been witnessed before; but his father Ali said to him: "Canst thou have doubts concerning (*the just cause of*) an army com-"manded by thy father?" These words decided him, and he took charge of the standard. He was once asked how it happened that his father exposed him to dangers and thrust him into difficulties, whilst he never risked his other sons, al-Hasan and al-Husain? To this he replied: "They were his two eyes "and I was his hands, and he protected his eyes with his hands." One of his sayings was: "He is not a man of prudence who, when in company with a "person whom he cannot avoid, does not treat him with politeness, till such time "as God may set him free." When Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair proclaimed himself khalif and received the oath of allegiance from the people of Hijâz, he told Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs and Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafiya to take the oath, but they refused, saying: "We shall not enter into such an engagement with thee till "thou hast all the land under thy orders, and the people unanimous in thy

"favour." From that moment he rendered their residence in his neighbourhood extremely irksome, and employed every means of annoying them; he even threatened to burn them alive unless they took the oath. But the history of these proceedings would lead us too far.—Ibn al-Hanafiya came into the world (*A. H.* 21, *A. D.* 642) two years before the death of the khalif Omar, and he died at Medina on the first of Muharram, A. H. 81 (Feb. A.D. 700); others say 83, 82, and 73. The funeral service was said over him by Abbân, the son of Othmân Ibn Affân, who was then governor of the city. His corpse was deposited in the Baki Cemetery; but some persons state that he had fled to Tâif in order to escape from Ibn az-Zubair, and that he died there. Others again say that he died at Aila.—The sect called *al-Kaisâniya* believe him to be one of the Imâms, and that he is still residing at Mount Radwa. Kuthaiyir, the lover of Azza, who was himself a Kaisanite, alludes to this opinion in the following verses from one of his poems:

> A grandson (*of the Prophet's*) who shall not taste of death till he lead on the cavalry preceded by the standards. He remains concealed and invisible for a time, at Radwa, having honey near him and water.

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Al-Mukhtâr Ibn Obaid ath-Thakafi was the person who called on the people to acknowledge Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafiya for Imâm, pretending that he was the Mahdi (5).—Al-Jauhari says in his *Sahâh*, that *Kaisân* was the surname of this Mokhtar. Other authors say that Kaisân was a *mawla* to Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib. The Kaisanites pretend that Ibn al-Hanafiya is still residing in a valley of Mount Radwa, and that he is not dead. According to them, he entered there with forty of his companions, and that they were never heard of after; they are still alive however, and receive their sustenance (*from God*). They say also that he remains in this mountain with a lion on one side of him and a panther on the other; near him are two springs, running with water and honey, and he will return to the world and fill it with justice.—Muhammad (*Ibn al-Hanafiya*) dyed his hair with *hinna* and *katam* (6); he used also to wear his ring on the left hand. The histories told of him are well known. The imamate passed from him to his son, Abû Hâshim Abd Allah, and from him to Muhammad Ibn Ali, the father of (*the khalifs*) as-Saffâh and al-Mansûr. Of this we shall speak in the life of Muhammad Ibn Ali.—At-Tabari says, in his great historical work,

under the year 144, that *Radwa* is the mountain of (*the tribe of*) Juhaina, and that it is situated in the canton of Yanbô. Others state that it lies at a day's journey from Yanbô, and at seven days' journey from Medina; to the right of it passes the road leading to Medina, and, to the left, the road leading to the desert, if the traveller be going up to Mekka. It is at two days' journey from the sea. God knows if this be correct! Abû 'l-Yakzân (7) says, in his *Kitâb an-Nisab*, that Ibn al-Hanafiya had a son called al-Haitham, and that he *was held away* (*muwakhkhad*) from the mosque of the Prophet, being unable to enter it. As a word of the (*Arabic*) language, *al-akhîd* (*the held*) means *a prisoner*, and *al-uhkda*, signifies any *charm*, such as magic. It would appear from this that the youth was enchanted.

(1) The expedition into the province of Yemâma by Khâlid Ibn al-Walîd had for object the destruction of the false prophet Musailama and his partisans. A very full account of it is given by at-Tabari. See Kosegarten's *Taberistanensis Annales*, vol. I. pag. 149 et seq. See also Price's *Retrospect*, vol. I. p. 41, etc. and Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals* year 11.

(2) The life of al-Mubarrad will be found in the third volume of this work.

(3) Aad and Thamûd were two Arabic tribes of great antiquity. The Adites were of prodigious stature, the largest being one hundred cubits high, and the least sixty; so Jalâl ad-dîn and az-Zamakhshari inform us in their commentaries on the Koran, when explaining these words, addressed by the prophet Hûd to the Adites: "Call to mind how he hath appointed you successors unto the people of Noah, and hath added unto your "stature largely."—(Koran, surat 7, verse 67.)

(4) I have already made the remark that al-Mubarrad's work seems unworthy of confidence, and I must here express my regret that Ibn Khallikân should have been tempted to quote it so often as he does.

(5) *Mahdi* (for so this word must be pronounced, inasmuch as it is the passive participle of the *first* form of the verb *hada, to direct*) signifies *the guided*, or the *well-directed*. Sale and others are mistaken in pronouncing it *Mohdi* and translating it *the director*.—According to the Moslims, the end of the world will be announced by a number of signs, one of which is to be the appearance of the Mahdi, "concerning whom "Muhammad prophesied that the world should not have an end till one of his own family should govern the "Arabians, whose name should be the same with his own name, and whose father's name should also be the "same with his father's name; and who should fill the earth with righteousness."—(Sale's *Preliminary Discourse* to the Koran.)

(6) The *Katam* (*buxus dioica* of Forskæl) is a species of *hinna*. For its description and use, see Dr. Sontheimer's *Heil-und-Nahrungsmittel* von Ibn Baithar, vol. II. page 348.

(7) Abû 'l-Yakzân Aâmir Ibn Hafs, surnamed Suhaim, was a traditionist of acknowledged authority in whatever regarded the history, genealogy, virtues, and vices of the Arabs. He composed a great number of works, mostly genealogical, and the titles of which are given in the *Fihrest* (MS. 874, fol. 31). According to the author of that work, he died A. H. 170 (A.D. 786-7)

## MUHAMMAD AL-BAKIR.

Abû Jaafar Muhammad, the son of Zain al-Aâbidîn Ali (*vol. II. p.* 209), the son of al-Husain, the son of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, and surnamed al-Bâkir, was one of the twelve Imâms, according to the belief of those who admit the imamate (1), and the father of Jaafar as-Sâdik (*vol. I. p.* 300). Al-Bâkir held a high rank not only by birth but by learning. He received the appellation of *al-Bâkir* (*the ample*) because he collected an ample fund (*tabakkar*) of knowledge (2). It is of him that the poet says :

> O thou, copious collector (*bâkir*) of knowledge for (*the instruction of*) the pious! and best of those who ever said *labbaika* (3) on the mountains!

He was born at Medîna on Tuesday, the third of the month of Safar, A. H. 57 (Dec. A.D. 676), and he completed his third year on the day in which his grandfather, al-Husain, was murdered. His mother, Omm Abd Allah, was the daughter of al-Hasan Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib. He died at al-Humaima, in the month of the first Rabi, A.H. 113 (May-June), A.D. 731); others say, on the 23rd of Safar, A. H. 114, or in 117, or the year following. His corpse was carried to Medîna and interred at the Bakî cemetery, in the tomb wherein are deposited the bodies of his father, and his father's uncle, al-Hasan the son of Ali; it is placed under the same dome which covers the tomb of al-Abbâs.—We have already spoken of *al-Humaima*, in the life of Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs (*vol. II. p.* 220.)

(1) That is, "Who maintain that Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib was lawful khalif and imâm, and that the supreme "authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendants, notwithstanding they may "be deprived of it by the injustice of others or their own fear."—(Sale's *Preliminary Discourse.*)

(2) Others say that he was called *al-Bâkir* because he *split open* (*bakara*) knowledge, that is, he scrutinized it, and examined into the depths of it.

(3) *Labbaika* signifies: *Here I am at thy service!* It is an exclamation employed by the pilgrims on approaching the city of Mekka. In d'Ohsson's *Tab. gén. de l'Empire Othom.* tom. III. pages 66 and 67, will be found full information on this subject.



## MUHAMMAD AL-JAWAD.

632 Abû Jaafar Muhammad, the son of Ali ar-Rida (*v. II. p.* 212), the son of Musâ al-Kâzim (1), the son of Jaafar as-Sâdik (*vol. I. p.* 300), the son of Muhammad al-Bâkir (*see the preceding article*), and surnamed al-Jawâd (*the generous*), was one of the twelve Imâms. Having gone to Baghdad with his wife, Omm al-Fadl, the daughter of (*the khalif*) al-Mâmûn, on a visit to (*the khalif*) al-Motasim, he died in that city. His wife was then borne to the palace of her uncle al-Motasim and placed in the *haram* with the other women.—Al-Jawâd used to repeat the following saying of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib's, citing, at the same time, the names of his ancestors through whom it had been successively transmitted down: "The blessed Prophet sent me to Yemen, and he counselled me, "saying: 'O Ali! he is never disappointed who asks good (*from God*); and he "'never has a motive for repenting who asks advice. Make it a point to travel "'by night, for more ground can be got over by night than by day. O Ali! "'rise betimes (2) in the name of God, for God hath bestowed a blessing on "'my people in their early rising.'" He used to say: "Whosoever gaineth "unto himself a brother in God, hath gained for himself a mansion in Paradise." Jaafar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mazyad relates as follows: "I happened to be in Bagh-"dad, when Muhammad Ibn Manda Ibn Mihrayezd said to me: 'Would you like me to introduce you to Muhammad, the son of Ali ar-Rida?' I replied: 'Cer-"tainly, I would.' He then took me in to him, and we saluted and sat down. He "(*the imâm*) then said: 'A saying of the blessed Prophet was, that Fâtima lived "'chastely; wherefore God pronounced that her offspring should not be touched "'by the fire (*of hell*). But this applied specially to al-Hasan and al-Husain.'" Numerous anecdotes are told of him. He was born on Tuesday, the 5th of Ramadân, some say the 15th, A.H. 195 (June, A.D. 811), and he died at Baghdad on Tuesday, the 5th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 220 (December, A. D. 835). Some say that he died in the year 219. He was interred near his grandfather, Mûsa, the son of Jaafar, in the Cemetery of the Koraish, and the funeral service was said over him by al-Wâthik, the son of (*the khalif*) al-Motasim.

(1) His life will be found in this work.

(2) In the printed text, for اعذ read اغد.

## MUHAMMAD AL-HUJJA.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Muhammad, the son of al-Hasan al-Askari (*v. I. p.* 390), the son of Ali al-Hâdi (*v. II. p.* 214), the son of Muhammad al-Jawâd (see the preceding article), was one of the twelve Imâms, according to the opinion of the Imâmites. He was surnamed al-Hujja (*the proof of the truth*), and it is he whom the Shiites pretend to be the *Muntazar* (*the expected*), the *Kâim* (*the chief* of the age), and the Mahdi (*the directed*). According to them, he is the *Sâhib as-Sirdâb* (*the dweller in the cistern*), and the opinions they hold with regard to him are very numerous. They expect his return (*into the world*) from a cistern at Sarra man râa, when time is near its end. He was born on Friday, the 15th of Shaabân, A. H. 255 (July, A. D. 869). When his father died, he was five years of age. His mother's name was al-Khamt, but some call her Narjis (*narcissus*). The Shiites say that he entered into the cistern at his father's house whilst his mother was looking on, and that he never again came out. This occurred in the year 265 (A. D. 878-9), and he was at that time nine years of age. Ibn al-Azrak says, in his History of Maiyâfârikîn: "The birth of the Hujja took place on the 9th of "the first Rabi, A. H. 258; others say, and with greater truth, on the 8th of "Shaabân, 256 (July, A. D. 870). When he went into the cistern, his age "was four years; some say five; and others again state that he entered it in A.H. "275 (A. D. 888-9), at the age of seventeen years." God best knows which of these statements is true.

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## IBN SHIHAB AZ-ZUHRI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Muslim Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Shihâb Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Zuhra, a member of the tribe of Koraish, and surnamed az-Zuhri, was one of the most eminent *Tâbîs*, jurisconsults, and

Traditionists of Medina. He saw ten of Muhammad's Companions, and a num-
633 ber of the *imâms* of that age received Traditions from him and transmitted them to others. Of these we may mention Mâlik Ibn Anas (*vol. II. p.* 545), Sofyân Ibn Oyaina (*vol. I. p.* 578), and Sofyân ath-Thauri (*vol. I. p.* 576).— It is related that Amr Ibn Dinâr (*vol. I. p.* 580, *n.* (4)) said: "Let az-Zuhri know "what he may, I have met Ibn Omar (*v. I. p.* 567, *n.* (1)), who never went to "meet him; and I have met also Ibn Abbâs (*v. I. p.* 89, *n.* (3)), who never went "to meet him." Az-Zuhri then came to Mekka, and Amr said: "Carry me "to him;" for he had lost the use of his limbs. They carried him to az-Zuhri, and he did not return to his disciples till the next morning. They then asked him how he found az-Zuhri, and he replied: "By Allah! I never in my life "saw the like of that Koraishite."—Mak'hul (1) having been asked who was the most learned man he ever saw, answered: "Ibn Shihâb." He was then asked who came next to him, and he answered: "Ibn Shihâb." Being again asked who came next, he replied: "Ibn Shihâb."—Az-Zuhri had learned by heart all the legal information possessed by the seven jurisconsults (*v. I. p.* 263), and (*the khalif*) Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz wrote these words to all the provinces of the empire: "Take the opinion of Ibn Shihâb (*on points of law*); for you will "find no one better acquainted than he is with the *Sunna* (*or usages*) of times "past."— Az-Zuhri was one day at an assembly (*majlis*) held by Hishâm Ibn Abd el-Malik, and Abou 'z-Zinâd Abd Allah Ibn Zikwân (*vol. I. p.* 580, *n.* (6)) happened to be present. Hishâm then asked az-Zuhri in what month the (*regular*) donations (*from the treasury*) were issued to the people of Medina? and the other replied that he did not know. He then addressed the same question to Abû 'z-Zinâd, who answered: "In Muharram." On this, Hisham said to az-Zuhri: "O Abû Bakr! there is a piece of information which you have ac- "quired to-day." To this az-Zuhri replied: "The Commander of the faithful's "assembly is the fittest place for acquiring information."— When az-Zuhri kept at home, he remained seated with his books around him, and so deeply was he absorbed by their study that he forgot all worldly concerns; this induced his wife to say to him one day: "By Allah! these books annoy me more than "three other wives would do (*if you had them*)."— Abd Allah Ibn Shihâb, his great-grandfather, fought on the side of the infidels at the battle of Badr, and he was one of those who, on the day in which the battle of Ohod was fought,

bound themselves by oath to kill God's Apostle if they saw him, or die in the attempt. It is related that a person said to az-Zuhri: "Was thy ancestor present at the battle of Badr?" and that he replied: "Yes; but on the other side;" meaning that he had been in the ranks of the infidels. Muslim, az-Zuhri's father, was a partisan of Mosab Ibn az-Zubair.— Az-Zuhri remained constantly with Abd al-Malik (2) till that khalif's death, and he then continued with Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik. (*The khalif*) Yazid Ibn Abd al-Malik chose him for *kâdi*. He died on the eve of Tuesday, the 17th of Ramadân, A. H. 124 (July, A.D. 742), (others say, A.H. 123, or 105), at the age of seventy-two, some say, seventy-three years. It is stated, I know not with what degree of truth, that he was born A. H. 51 (A. D. 671). He was interred at *Adâma*, or *Adama*, a farm which belonged to him. This place is situated on the other side of Shaghb and Bada, which are valleys (some say villages,) between al-Hijâz and Syria, on the line of separation between these two provinces. It is mentioned, in the *Kitâb at-Tamhîd* (3), that he died at his house in Naaf, a village near those we have just named, and the same at which Omm Hazra, the wife of al-Jarîr (*v. I. p.* 294), expired. That poet alludes to the circumstance in the following line from one of his poems:

> Was a valley at Naaf, covered with mouldering stones, a fit companion (*for thee*) who wast the dearest object I possessed?

The tomb of az-Zuhri was placed at the road-side, so that every person who passed by might pray for him.—*Zuhri* means *belonging to Zuhra* Ibn Kilâb Ibn Murra, a great branch of the Koraish tribe, the same branch which produced Aamina, the mother of the Prophet, and a great number of the Companions.— Speaking of Shaghb and Bada, Kuthaiyir (*vol. II. p.* 529), the lover of Azza, said:

> It was thou who madest me love the region between Shaghb and Bada, although another country was my native land. When my eyes drop tears, I pretend that it is the dust which makes them water; but that dust is Azza, if the doctor knew it! She dwelt for a season at the one, then at the other, and, from her, both these valleys have derived their perfume.

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This passage seems to prove that they are valleys, not villages.

(1) The life of Mak'hûl is given by Ibn Khallikân.



(2) We must perhaps read: With Yazîd Ibn Abd al-Malik. The printed text agrees, however, with the manuscripts in giving the reading translated here.

(3) Hajji Khalifa indicates a number of works bearing this title; see Fluegel's edition, tom. II. p. 422, 423.

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## MUHAMMAD IBN ABI 'L-LAILA.

Muhammad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abi Laila Yasâr (*alias* Dâwûd) Ibn Bilâl Ibn Ohaiha Ibn al-Jullâh al-Ansâri was a native of Kûfa. We have already spoken of his father (*vol. II. p.* 84). Muhammad was one of those imâms who decided certain points of law by their own private judgment (1), and he exercised the functions of *kâdi* at Kûfa for thirty-three years; first, in the name of the Omaiyides, and afterwards, in that of the Abbâsides. He was also a jurisconsult and a *mufti*. Speaking of his father, he said: "I know nothing of "my father, except that he had two wives, and two green jars in each of which "he made *nabîd*, on alternate days (2)." He studied the law under as-Shâbi (*v. II. p.* 4), and gave lessons to Sofyân ath-Thauri (*v. I. p.* 576). Ath-Thauri said: "Our jurisconsults are Ibn Abi Laila and Ibn Shuburma (*vol. I. p.* 539)." Muhammad Ibn Abi Laila relates as follows: "I went in to Atâ (*vol. II. p.* 203) "and he began to consult me, on which one of the persons present disapproved "of what he did and spoke to him on the subject, but he replied: 'He is more "'learned than I.'" A slight degree of coolness subsisted between him and Abû Hânîfa. It is related that, as he was one day returning from the mosque at Kûfa, wherein he had been sitting in judgment, he heard a woman say to a man: "Thou son of a prostitute and a fornicator (*Ya Ibn az-Zâniyain*)!" on which he caused her to be arrested, and, having returned to his tribunal, he ordered her to be flagellated twice, inflicting on her each time the number of strokes prescribed by law, and this punishment she underwent standing. When Abû Hanîfa was informed of his proceeding, he said: "In "this single affair, the *kâdi* has committed six faults: first, in returning to his "mosque after the sitting was ended, which it was not requisite for him to "do; secondly, by inflicting the punishment of flagellation in the mosque, a

"thing expressly forbidden by the blessed Prophet; thirdly, by flagellating "her, and she standing, whereas women should be flagellated in a sitting "posture and their clothes on; fourthly, by inflicting the flagellation twice, "whereas the calumniator incurs only one flagellation, even if he address the "insulting word to a number of persons; fifthly, were the double flagellation "incurred, he should have waited, before inflicting the second, till the "pain caused by the first had ceased; sixthly, he sentenced her to be flagel- "lated, although no prosecutor had made a complaint against her." When this came to the ears of Muhammad Ibn Abi Laila, he sent this message to the governor of Kûfa: "There is here a youth, called Abû Hanîfa, who attacks my "judgments, and gives opinions in opposition to them, and insults me by say- "ing that I have erred. I wish you would prevent him from so doing." On this, the governor sent to Abû Hanîfa, ordering him not to give opinions on points of law. They then relate that Abû Hanîfa was one day in his house, with his wife beside him, and his daughter, and his son Hammâd, when his daughter said to him: "Papa! I am keeping a fast (*of abstinence*), and some "blood has come out from between my teeth, but I spat it out till my saliva "came clear, without any trace of blood. Should I break the fast if I swal- "lowed my saliva now?" To this her father replied: "Ask thy brother Ham- "mâd, for the governor has forbidden me to give opinions on points of law." This anecdote is cited as an example of Abû Hanîfa's signal merits and of his respectful obedience to the constituted authority; so much so, that he obeyed even in private, and abstained from giving an answer to his daughter; this is the utmost extent to which obedience could be carried.—Muhammad Ibn Abi Laila was born A.H. 74 (A.D. 693-4), and he died at Kûfa, A.H. 148 (A.D. 765-6). He held the post of *kâdi* up to the moment of his death, and the place was then conferred on his nephew by (*the khalif*) Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr.

(1) *As'hâb ar-Rai*. See vol. I. 534.

(2) This is cited as a proof that he never acquired any legal information from his father, Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abi Laila, the celebrated *Tâbi*, although it would have been natural to suppose the contrary.

## MUHAMMAD IBN SIRIN.

635 Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Sîrîn was a native of Basra. His father was a slave to Anas Ibn Mâlik (1), but redeemed himself by giving him a written bond for forty, some say twenty thousand dirhems, the amount of which he finally paid up. He was one of the captives taken at Maisân (*vol. I. p.* 372, *n.* (8)); others say, at Aîn at at-Tamr (2). Sîrîn bore the surname of Abû Amra; he belonged to Jarjarâyâ and was a maker of copper pots (*for cooking*); having gone to Aîn at-Tamr, he there followed his trade till made prisoner by Khâlid Ibn al-Walîd, along with forty young men not natives of the place. (*This circumstance they represented to Khâlid*,) but he refused to believe them, and, on their saying that they belonged to good families, he distributed them (*as slaves*) to persons (*in his army*) (3). Safiya, the mother of Abû Bakr Ibn Sîrîn, was a *mawla* to (*the khalif*) Abû Bakr. (*Preparatory to her marriage*,) she was perfumed by three of the Prophet's wives, and they also invoked God's blessing on her; eighteen of the Prophet's Companions who had fought under him at Badr were present at the marriage ceremony; one of them, Obaiyi Ibn Kaab, offered up prayers, and the rest said *Amen*. Muhammad Ibn Sîrîn delivered Traditions on the authority of Abû Huraira (*vol. I. p.* 570), Abd Allah Ibn Omar (*vol. I. p.* 567, Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair, Imrân Ibn Husain (4), and Anas Ibn Mâlik; Traditions were learned from him and delivered to others by Katâda Ibn Diâma (*vol. II. p.* 513), Khâlid al-Haddâ (5), Aiyûb as-Sakhtiyâni (6), and others of the *imâms*. He was one of the jurisconsults by whose opinions the people of Basra were guided, and one of the persons of that age the most noted for their piety. He went to al-Madâin to see Abîda as-Salmâni (7), and (*speaking of this interview*) he said: "I prayed with him, and, when he had finished "his prayer, he called for breakfast; on which, bread and milk and butter were "brought in. He eat thereof, and we eat with him, and we remained sitting "till the hour of the afternoon prayer. Abîda then rose up, and having pro- "nounced the *izân* and the *ikâma* (8), he said with us the afternoon prayer; "and yet neither he nor any of those who breakfasted with him had made an "ablution between the two prayers (9)." Muhammad Ibn Sîrîn was a friend

of al-Hasan al-Basri (*v. I. p.* 370), but they at length came to a rupture, and, on al-Hasan's death, Ibn Sìrìn absented himself from the funeral. As-Shâbi (*vol. II. p.* 4) used to say (*to students of the law*): "Stick to that deaf man!" meaning thereby Ibn Sìrìn; because he was dull of hearing. Ibn Sìrìn possessed great skill in the interpretation of dreams. He was born (*in A. H.* 33, *A. D.* 653-4) two years before the death of the khalif Othmân, and he died at Basra on Friday, the 9th of Shawwâl, A.H. 110 (January, A. D. 729); one hundred days after the death of al-Hasan al-Basri. He was a draper by profession, but, having fallen into debt, he was imprisoned. He had thirty sons by the same wife, and eleven daughters; none of them, however, survived except Abd Allah. He died thirty thousand dirhems in debt, but his son Abd Allah paid off the whole, and, before his own death, his property was estimated at three hundred thousand dirhems. Muhammad Ibn Sìrìn had served Anas Ibn Mâlik in the capacity of a secretary when in Persia (10). Al-Asmâi (*vol. II. p.* 123) used to say: "Al-Hasan al-Basri "(*was, in furnishing Traditions, like*) a generous prince; but when *the deaf man* "(meaning Ibn Sìrìn) furnishes Traditions, retain them carefully; as for Ka-"âda, (*he was, as a collector of Traditions, like*) one who gathers fire-wood in "the dark, (*picking up both bad and good*)." Ibn Aûf (11) relates as follows: "When Anas Ibn Mâlik was on his death-bed, he desired that Ibn Sìrìn "should wash his corpse and say over it the funeral prayers. As Ibn "Sìrìn was then in prison, their friends went to the governor of the city, "who was a member of the tribe of Asad, and obtained permission for him "to go out. Ibn Sìrìn then went and washed the body, and shrouded it, and "prayed over it in the castle at at-Taff (12), where Anas made his residence, "and then returned directly to prison without going to see his family." I must observe, however, that Omar Ibn Shabba (*vol. II. p.* 375) says, in his History of Basra, that the person who washed the corpse of Anas Ibn Mâlik was Katan Ibn Mudrik al-Kilâbi, the governor of Basra; and a similar statement is made by Abû Yakzân (*vol. II. p.* 578, *n.* (6)).—*Maisân* is the name of a village situated in the lower part of the territory of Basra. Of *Aîn at-Tamr* we have already spoken (*vol. I. p.* 202).

(1) Abû Hamza Anas Ibn Mâlik Ibn an-Nadr (النضر) Ibn an-Najjâr al-Ansâri, surnamed *the servant of God's Apostle* (*khâdim rasûl illah*), was one of the most eminent among the Companions. When a boy, his

mother placed him in the service of Muhammad, from whom she requested, at the same time, a prayer for her son. In compliance with her wish, Muhammad pronounced these words: "Almighty God! give him "great wealth and numerous children, and make him enter Paradise." The effects of this prayer were manifested later; the riches of Anas multiplied, his date-trees bore fruit twice a year (it is said), and he became the father of seventy-eight sons. At the time of Ibn al-Ashâth's revolt, al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf reviled Anas in the grossest terms for having sided with that rebel as he had already done with Ali and Ibn az-Zubair. Anas immediately wrote to Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân, complaining of the indignity with which he, the Prophet's faithful domestic, had been treated; and this brought him a letter of excuses from that khalif, who addressed at the same time a severe reprimand to al-Hajjâj. Anas was ten years in Muhammad's service, and, on his master's death, he removed to Basra. A great quantity of Traditions were delivered by him, some consisted of the sayings which he had gathered from the lips of Muhammad himself, and the rest of those which he received from Abu Bakr, Omar, Othmân, and others. He died A. H. 93 (A. D. 711-2).—(*Siar as-Salaf.* — *Oiyûn at-Tawârîkh.*)

(2) See Kosegarten's *Taberistanensis Annales*, vol. II. p. 63.

(3) Here Ibn Khallikân's text is obscure, and perhaps corrupted. At-Tabari relates the fact thus: "In "templo quadraginta juvenes invenerunt (*Arabes*), evangelio studentes, qui fores occluserant. Fores effregit "Châlid, iisque: quinam estis? inquit. Illi vero: obsides sumus. Tunc fortissimis militibus eos dispertivit. "Erant ex iis Abu Siiâd....Sîrîn, pater Mohammedis ben Sîrîn, etc."—(Kosegarten's *Taberistanensis Annales*, vol. II. p. 65.)

(4) Imrân Ibn Husain al-Khuzâi, one of the Prophet's Companions, became *kâdi* of Basra, and died there in the exercise of his functions, A. H. 53 (A. D. 672-3).—(*Siar as-Salaf.*)

(5) The *hâfiz* Khâlid at-Haddâ was a native of Basra and an eminent *Tâbî*. He delivered Traditions on the authority of Anas, and died A. H. 142 (A. D. 759-60). He received the surname of al-Haddâ, because he used to sit with the shoemakers (*huddâ*) of the place where he resided.—(Al-Yâfi's *Mirât.*)

(6) Abû Bakr Aiyûb Ibn Abi Tamîma, a native of Ghazza and a *mawla*, received the surname of as-Sakhtiyâni because he sold dyed leather (*sakhtiyân*) at Basra. He held a high rank as a *Tâbî*, and he saw some of the most eminent of that body, such as al-Hasan al-Basri, Ibn Sîrîn, Sâlim, and Nâfi. He met also Anas Ibn Mâlik. Traditions were given on his authority by Ibn Sîrîn, Katâda, al-Aamash, the imâms Mâlik, ath-Thauri, Ibn Oyaina, the two Hammâds, etc. All doctors agree in assigning him the highest place for learning in the law and for credibility as a Traditionist. Shôba called him the chief of the jurisconsults, and Ibn Oyaina declared that amongst eighty-six of the *Tâbîs* whom he knew, he never met the like of Aiyûb. He died A. H. 131 (A. D. 748-9).—(*Tab. al-Fokahâ.*)

(7) Abû Muslim Abîda as-Salmâni, a native of Kûfa and a *Tâbî* of the first rank, embraced islamism two years before the Prophet's death, but never had an opportunity of seeing him. He acquired his legal information from some of the principal Companions. He left Kûfa to assist the khalif Ali in his wars against the Kharijites. When Shuraih was unable to resolve a knotty point of law, he sent it to Abîda. This doctor died A.H. 72 (A. D. 691-2).—(*Tab. al-Fokahâ.*)

(8) If the Musulman, before he begins his prayers, has not distinctly heard the call to prayer (or *izân*) pronounced by the *muezzin*, it is incumbent on him to repeat it and the *ikâma* before commencing the regular prayer. The *ikâma* is a repetition of the *izân* with some additional words.—See D'Ohsson's *Tab. gén. de l'Emp. Othom.* tom. II. p. 116.

(9) This circumstance is cited to prove that Abîda did not consider the act of eating as productive of legal impurity.

(10) The original Arabic may here bear another signification, namely: It was in Persia that (*to purchase his liberty*) he gave his bond to Anas Ibn Mâlik.

(11) I read here, Ibn Aûn. Abû Aûn Abd Allah Ibn Aûn Ibn Artabân, a *mawla* of Abd Allah Ibn Dorra, was a distinguished traditionist and one of Ibn Sirin's disciples. He died A. H. 151 (A. D. 768).—(*Nujûm.*)

(12) See vol. II. page 534.—The *Katil at-Taff* (*slain at Taff*) was Husain, the son of Ali.—(Ibn Khaldûn, MS. No. 2402, f. 52 v.)

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## IBN ABI DIB.

Abû 'l-Hârith Muhammad, a member of the tribe of Koraish and of the family of Aâmir, and surnamed Ibn Abi Dib, was the son of Abd er-Rahmân Ibn al-Mughaira Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Abi Dib Hishâm Ibn Said Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abi Kais 636 Ibn Abd Wadd Ibn Nasr Ibn Mâlik Ibn Hisl Ibn Aâmir Ibn Luwaiyi Ibn Ghâlib Ibn Fihr Ibn Mâlik Ibn an-Nadr Ibn Kinâna Ibn Khuzaima Ibn Mudrika Ibn al-Yâs Ibn Modar Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maadd Ibn Adnân. This illustrious jurisconsult was one of the imâm Mâlik's disciples, and a sincere friendship united them in the closest attachment. When Mâlik went to Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr, that khalif asked him what masters (*in the science of jurisprudence*) he had left behind him at Medina, and he replied: "Commander of the faithful! Ibn Abi "Dib, Ibn Abi Salama (1), and Ibn Abi Sabra (2)." Abd ar-Rahmân, the father of Ibn Abi Dib, went to see the emperor of the Greeks (*Kaisar*), but in consequence of some malicious reports which were made against him, that sovereign had him arrested and confined in prison for life. Abû 'l-Hârith Ibn Abi Dib died at Kûfa, A. H. 159 (A. D. 775–6); some say, 158. He was born in the month of Muharram, A.H. 81 (Feb.-March, A.D. 700); some say, A.H. 80, the year of the great torrent (*as-Sail al-Juhâf*) (3).—*Hisl* (*as an appellative name*) signifies *the young of the dubb* (4). If the second syllable of the word *Luwaiyi* be considered as a *hamza*, this name is the diminutive form of *lâi* (*bull*); but, if not, it is the diminutive of *lawa* (*a sand-hill*).—*Fihr* means *a stone*.

(1) Abû Abd Allah Abd al-Azîz Ibn Abi Salama, surnamed al-Mâjishûn, died at Baghdad, A. H. 160 (A. D. 776–7).—(*Tabakât al-Fokahâ.*)



(2) Abû Bakr Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Sabra, a member of the tribe of Koraish, was employed as *kâdi* by Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr. He died A. H. 172 (A. D. 788-9), aged sixty years.—(*Tab. al-Fokahâ*)

(3) "The year 80 (A. D. 699-70) was that of the great torrent at Mekka called *al-juhâf*. It was so deno-"minated because it *bore away* (*jahaf*) men, women, and camels with their loads."—(*Oiyûn at-Tawârikh.*)

(4) See vol. I. page 86, note (8).

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## MUHAMMAD IBN AL-HASAN.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Farkad, a doctor of the sect of Abû Hanîfa, and a *mawla* to the tribe of Shaibân, came of a family which resided at Harasta, a village outside the gate of Damascus and in the midst of the Ghûta (1). His father left Syria and proceeded to Wâsit in Irâk, where he settled. Muhammad, the subject of this article, was born in that city, and he passed his early life in Kûfa. He then travelled to collect Traditions, and met a number of the most eminent *imâms*. During some years, he attended the sittings of Abû Hanîfa, after which, he studied jurisprudence under Abû Yûsuf, the disciple of Abû Hanîfa. He composed many valuable works, such as the Great and the Lesser *Jâmi*, or collection of Traditions, etc. In his various productions he inserted disquisitions on various obscure points, particularly those connected with grammar. He contributed actively to the propagation of the doctrines taught by Abû Hanîfa. He expressed himself with great elegance, and, when he discoursed on any subject, it seemed to the hearers as if the Koran had been sent down to mankind in the language which he spoke. When the imâm as-Shâfi (*vol. II. p.* 569), went to Baghdad, Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan was there, and they both met frequently and discussed points of law in the presence of Hârûn ar-Rashîd. As-Shâfi was (*afterwards*) heard to say: "I "never saw a person who, when questioned on a point which required "reflexion, did not betray some uneasiness by his countenance; but I must "except Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan." He said again: "The information which "I learned by heart from Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan would suffice to load a "camel." The following anecdote was related by ar-Rabi Ibn Sulaimân al-

Murâdi (*vol. I. p.* 519): " As-Shâfi, having asked from Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan
" the loan of some books which he wished to copy, waited for a considerable
" time without obtaining them, and he at length wrote to him the following
" lines :

" Say to him whose like was never seen by any eye you ever saw — to him whose
" aspect would make the spectator think that he had before his eyes (*the united merit of*)
" all former doctors : ' Learning forbids the learned to withhold it from the learned.'
" Perhaps he may bestow it on one deserving ! perhaps he may !

" Immediately on receiving this note, Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan sent him
" the books." I found these verses also in the collected poetical works of Mansûr Ibn Ismail, a jurisconsult whose life I shall give. He is there said to be the author of them, and to have written them to Abû Bakr Ibn Kâsim ; as for the former statement, it is made by Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi (*vol I. p.* 9), in his *Tabakât al-Fokahâ*. It is related that as-Shâfi said : " I never met with a
" fat man possessing acuteness of mind, except Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan." Ar-Rashîd conferred the kadiship of ar-Rakka on Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan, but afterwards removed him, and this doctor then proceeded to Baghdad.
" The following anecdote was related by Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan : " Some
" persons went to consult Abû Hanîfa about a woman who had just died,
" and in whose womb they felt a child stirring. He told them to extract
" the infant by making an incision, and it proved to be a boy. The child
" survived and grew up to be a youth ; and this youth, having commenced
" his studies, used to attend my sittings, where he was known by the appel-
" lation of the son of Abû Hanîfa." Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan remained constantly with ar-Rashîd, till that khalif made his first journey to Rai ; he **637** then set out with him, and died at Ranbawaih, a village near Rai, in the year 189 (A. D. 804-5). He was born A. H. 135 (A. D. 752-3); some say 131 or 132. As-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) says that Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan and al-Kisâi (*vol. II. p.* 237) died at Rai on the same day. It is mentioned that ar-Rashîd was heard to say : " I buried at Rai the sciences of jurisprudence
" and grammar." Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan was cousin by the mother's side to al-Farrâ, the celebrated grammarian and philologer.

## MUHAMMAD IBN ALI AL-HASHIMI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib al-Hâshimi was the father of the two khalîfs as-Saffâh and al-Mansûr. We have already spoken of his father Ali (*see page* 216 *of this volume*). "This "Muhammad," says Ibn Kutaiba, "was a most handsome man, and lived "honoured with the deepest respect. A space of only fourteen years intervened "between his birth and that of his son Ali. The latter used to die his hair "black, and the former, red; it therefore happened that persons who were not "well acquainted with them mistook one for the other." Yazîd Ibn Abi Muslim, the secretary of al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf (*vol. I. p.* 356), states that he heard his master relate the following anecdote: "We happened to be with Abd al-Malik Ibn "Marwân, at a country-seat of his, near Dûma tal-Jandal (1); he was conversing "with a physiognomist and addressing questions to him, when Ali Ibn Abd "Allah Ibn al-Abbâs came in, accompanied by his son Muhammad. On seeing "him approach, Abd al-Malik ceased from conversation; his colour changed, "and he began to mutter some words between his lips. I immediately sprung "up with the intention of preventing Ali from advancing, but the khalif made "me a sign that I should let him alone. He then drew near and made his saluta-"tion, on which Abd al-Malik seated him by his side; and whilst he was pass-"ing his hand (*carelessly*) over his (*Ali's*) clothes, he signed to Muhammad "that he also should be seated. He then commenced discoursing with Ali, the "agreeable tone of whose conversation was well known. A repast being brought "in, the khalif washed his hands, and ordered the tray to be placed near Abû "Muhammad (*Ali*), but he said that he was then keeping a fast, and, rising up "suddenly, he retired. Abd al-Malik followed him with his eyes till he had nearly "disappeared from sight, and then, turning to the physiognomist, he asked "him if he knew who that was? The man replied that he did not, but that "he knew one thing respecting him. The khalif desired to know what that "was, and the physiognomist said: 'If the youth who is with him be his son, "'there will come forth from his loins a number of Pharaohs, destined to "'possess the earth and slay whoever attempts to resist them!' On hearing

" these words, Abd al-Malik turned pale, and said: 'A monk from Aila who
" 'once saw him with me, pretended that thirteen kings should come forth
" 'from his loins, and he described to me the appearance of each.'" The authority (*of the imamate*) was transmitted to him in the following manner: Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafiya, of whom we have already spoken (*vol. II. p.* 574), was considered by the Shiites as having acquired the qualities of the true *imâm* on the death of his brother al-Husain. When Ibn al-Hanifiya died, his authority passed to his son Abû Hâshim (*vol. II. p.* 577). The influence which Abû Hâshim possessed was immense, and the Shiites acknowledged him for their chief. Being taken ill in Syria, and at the point of death, he left the authority to Muhammed Ibn Ali, as he had himself no offspring, and he said: "Thou art now
" the possessor of this authority, and it shall remain with thy children." He then delivered him his books (*or letters*), and the Shiites immediately turned towards him. When Muhammad was on his death-bed in Syria, he left his authority to his son Ibrahîm, surnamed (*thenceforward*) the *Imâm*. Ibrahîm was imprisoned in the city of Harrân, by Marwân Ibn Muhammad, the last of the Omaiyides, and, feeling convinced that this prince meant to put him to death, he transmitted the authority to his brother as-Saffâh, who was the first of the Abbaside family who obtained the khalifate. Such are the main points of the whole proceeding, but 638 to expose the particulars of it would lead us too far. Muhammad (*Ibn Ali*) was born A. H. 60 (A. D. 679-80); so, at least, I have found it mentioned; but this date cannot be reconciled with that of his father's birth, if, as has been already stated, fourteen years only intervened between them: we have observed (*vol. II. p.* 220) that his father's birth took place in the lifetime of Ali, or, in admitting another statement, on the night in which that khalif was assassinated; now, Ali's death occurred in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 40 (January, A. D. 661); how then could fourteen years only have elapsed, when it appears, on the contrary, that there must have been at least twenty years between the two events?—Muhammad died A. H. 126 (A. D. 743-4), some say 122, the same year in which was born al-Mahdi, the son of Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr and the father of Harûn ar-Rashîd. Others refer the death of Muhammad to the year 125, and state that he breathed his last at as-Sharât. At-Tabari says, in his History: "Mu-
" hammad Ibn Ali expired on the first of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 126 (August,
" A. D. 744), at the age of sixty-three years." We have spoken of as-Sharât in

the life of his father Ali (*vol. II. p.* 220). — In at-Tabari's historical work, the following passage is inserted under A. H. 98: " Abû Hâshim Abd Allah, the son " of Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafiya, went to see Sulaimân Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn " Marwân, by whom he was received with marked honour. He then set out for " Palestine, and Sulaiman suborned a person to await his passage on the road, " and offer him a draught of poisoned milk. Abû Hâshim had no sooner swal- " lowed the milk than he felt death to be at hand, and he immediately turned off " from his way, and proceeded to al-Humaima. He there found Muhammad Ibn " Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs, and told him that he transmitted his rights " as legitimate khalif to Abd Allah Ibn al-Hârithiya, the son of Muhammad Ibn " Ali."—This Ibn al-Hârithiya is the same person who afterwards bore the title of as-Saffâh.—" He then delivered to him the letters written by the missiona- " ries (*or political agents*) (3) and instructed him how to act at al-Humaina." At-Tabari takes no notice here of Ibrahîm the Imâm, yet all other historians agree in stating that Abû Hâshim's rights to the khalifate were transmitted to Ibrahîm, who did not, however, attain to their full exercise.

(1) The author of the *Marâsid* notices a number of places bearing the name of *Dûma tal-Jandal;* one of them, a castle in the district of Medîna; another, a village at five parasangs from Damascus; and the third, a place in the vicinity of the Two Mountains of Tai (*Jabalai Tai*). That which is mentioned in this article seems to be the second indicated in the *Marâsid*.

(2) The cultivated country around Damascus is called the Ghûta.

(3) It has been already observed, vol. I. p. 26, that some of the Moslim dynasties had the way prepared for their establishment by political agents or missionaries. Those dynasties all claimed kindred with Muhammad, and this was the basis on which they founded their pretensions to the khalifate. In M. de Sacy's *Exposé de l'Histoire des Druzes*, a very clear light is thrown on the proceedings of the Ismailian missionaries.

## AL-BUKHARI.

The *hâfiz* Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ismail Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn al-Mughaira Ibn al-Ahnaf Yezdibah (or Yezdezbah, according to Ibn Mâkûla),

a *mawla* to the tribe of Jôfi, and surnamed al-Bukhâri, was the great *imâm* in the science of the Traditions, and the author of the work entitled *al-Jâmi as-Sahîh* (*the authentic collector*) and of the (*well-known*) history (1). Animated with the desire of collecting Traditions, he went to see most of the Traditionists in all the great cities, and he wrote down in Khorâsân, in the cities of Irâk, in Hijâz, in Syria, and in Egypt (*the information he thus acquired*). On visiting Baghdad, the inhabitants gathered round him, and acknowledging his merit, declaring him to be the first man of the age for his learning in the Traditions, and for his talent in delivering them to others. It is related by Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi, in his *Jadwa tal-Muktabis*, and by the *Khatîb*, in his History of Baghdad, that, when al-Bukhâri arrived at that city, the Traditionists assembled, and, having selected one hundred Traditions, they applied to the text of each a wrong *isnâd* (2), and gave them by tens to ten different persons, whom they directed to attend the conference held by al-Bukhâri, and submit to him these Traditions. When the appointed day came, a great number of Traditionists from Khorâsân proceeded with those of Baghdad to the meeting. The assembly having taken their places, one of the ten men came forward and questioned al-Bukhâri on one of these Traditions. This doctor answered that he was not acquainted with it, and the other proceeded to ask his opinion on the remaining nine, which he submitted to him successively. As Al-Bukhâri continued to answer: "I am not acquainted with it;" the jurisconsults present at the meeting began to turn from one to another and say: "The man knows what he is about;" but some of the auditors were led to conclude that he was a man of great incapacity and slight information. Another of the ten men then came forward, and, having proposed in a similar manner his ten altered Traditions, he obtained the same answers as his predecessor. The eight others then advanced successively, but the result was always the same. When al-Bukhâri perceived that they had done, he turned to the first man and said: "Thy first Tradition should be said so and so; thy second so and so;" repeating them till he came to the last, and prefixing to the text of each the *isnâd* which belonged to it. He then commenced with the second man, answering him in the same way, and he continued till he ended by the tenth. The whole assembly then acknowledged his abilities as a *hâfiz*, and admitted his superior merit. When Ibn Sâid (3) spoke of al-Bukhâri, he called him *the butting ram* (*whom none could withstand*).—Muhammad

Ibn Yûsuf al-Farabri (4) relates that he heard al-Bukhâri say: "I never inserted a Tradition in my *Sahîh* till after I had made an ablution, and offered up a prayer of two *rakas* (5)." It is also stated that al-Bukhâri said: "It took me sixteen years to draw up the *Kitâb as-Sahîh*. I selected the matter which forms its contents from a mass of six hundred thousand Traditions, and I have offered it up to God as a title to his favour."—Al-Farabri mentioned that ninety thousand persons had learned the *Sahîh* from al-Bukhâri, and, that of all who taught it on the authority of the author, he himself was the sole survivor. Abû Isa at-Tirmidi (6) also taught Traditions on the authority of al-Bukhâri. The birth of al-Bukhâri took place after the public prayer of Friday, the 13th of Shawwâl, A. H. 194 (July, A. D. 810); but Abû Yala al-Khalili (*vol. I. p.* 53, *n.* (3)) states, in his *Kitâb ar-Irshâd*, that it happened on the 12th of the above mentioned month. He died at Khartank, on the eve of Saturday, the first of Shawwâl, A. H. 256 (September, A. D. 870), after the evening prayer, and he was buried the following day, on the termination of the afternoon prayer. Ibn Yûnus mentions, in his History of Foreigners (*see page* 93 *of this vol.*), that al-Bukhâri came to Egypt and died there. This is, however, a mistake, and the truth is as we have just stated. Khâlid Ibn Ahmad Ibn Khâlid ad-Dohli, the governor of Khorâsân, banished al-Bukhâri from Bukhâra, and sent him to Khartank; Khâlid then made the pilgrimage, and, on arriving at Baghdad, he was imprisoned by al-Muwaffak Ibn al-Mutawakkil, the brother of the khalif al-Motamid, and detained in confinement till he died. Al-Bukhâri was a lean-bodied man and of the middle size. Different opinions are held respecting the true name of his ancestor (*surnamed* al-Ahnaf); some say that he was called *Yezdibah*, but Ibn Mâkûla says, in his *Ikmâl* (*vol. II. p.* 248), that his name was *Yezdezbah*. This person was a Magian and died in that religion. The first of his ancestors who embraced Islamism was al-Mughaira.—In another work, I find the former of al-Bukhâri's ancestors called al-Ahnaf, it is therefore possible that Yezdibah was really *ahnaf*, or club-footed.—*Bukhâri* means *belonging to Bukhâra*, a great city in Transoxiana, at eight days' journey from Samarkand.—*Khartank* is a village in the district of Samarkand.—We have already spoken of *Jofî* (*vol. I. p.* 106). Al-Bukhâri bore the surname of Jofî because his family were *mawlas* to Saîd Ibn Jaafar al-Jôfi, governor of Khorâsân.

(1) See Fluegel's Hajji Khalifa, tom. II. pag. 117, No. 2174.

(2) See vol. I. Introduction, page xxii.

(3) Abû Muhammad Yahya Ibn Sâid, a native of Baghdad and a *mawla* to Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr, was one of the most eminent *hâfiz* of Irâk. He died A. H. 318 (A. D. 930-1).—(*Nujûm*. Al-Yâfi.)

(4) His life will be found in this work.

(5) See vol. I. page 624.

(6) His life will be found in this volume.

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## IBN JARIR AT-TABARI.

Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Jarîr Ibn Yazîd Ibn Khâlid at-Tabari (*native of Tabarestân*) is the author of the great commentary on the Korân and of the celebrated history. Some say that his grandfather Yazîd was the son of Kathîr 640 Ibn Ghâlib. At-Tabari was an *imâm* (*master of the highest authority*) in many various branches of knowledge, such as koranic interpretation, Traditions, jurisprudence, history, etc. He composed some fine works on various subjects, and these productions are a testimony of his extensive information and great abilities. He was one of the *mujtahid imâms* (1), as he (*judged for himself and*) adopted the opinions of no particular doctor. Abû 'l-Faraj al-Moâfa Ibn Zakariya an-Nahrawâni, surnamed Ibn Tarâra, was a follower of his doctrines. We shall give a notice on this person. Ibn Jarîr at-Tabari is held to merit the highest confidence as a transmitter of traditional information, and his history is the most authentic and the most exact of any. The *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi (*vol. I. p.* 9) places him among the *mujtahids*, in his *Tabakât al-Fokahâ* (*classified list of jurisconsults*). I found in some compilation or other the following verses attributed to at-Tabari :

> When I am reduced to poverty, I let my brother know it not; and when I am rich, I enrich my friends. My honest pride prevents me from losing my self-respect; and if I do ask a favour, modesty is always my companion. But did I condescend to forego my self-respect, I should soon be on a beaten path to riches.

He was born A. H. 224 (A. D. 838-9), at Amul in Tabarestân, and he died at Baghdad on Saturday evening, the 25th of Shawwâl, A. H. 310 (February, A. D.

923). He was buried, the next day, in (*the court of*) his own house. I saw in the Lesser Karâfa cemetery, at the foot of Mount Mukattam near Old Cairo, a tomb which is often visited, and at the head of which is a stone bearing this inscription : " This is the tomb of Ibn Jarir at-Tabari." The public imagine it to belong to the author of the history, but this opinion is erroneous, the fact being that he was buried at Baghdad ; and Ibn Yûnus himself says, in his History of the foreigners who came to Egypt (2), that such was really the case. Abû Bakr al-Khowârezmi, a celebrated poet whose life we shall give, was a sister's son to at-Tabari.

(1) See vol. I. Introduction, page xxvi, 201.
(2) See vol. II. page 94.

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## MUHAMMAD IBN ABD AL-HAKAM.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abd al-Hakam Ibn Aâyan Ibn Laith Ibn Râfi was a native of Egypt and a doctor of the Shafite sect. He commenced by receiving lessons from Ibn Wahb (*vol. II. p.* 15) and *Ash'hab* (*vol. I. p.*223), the disciples of the *imâm* Mâlik, but, when as-Shâfi went to Egypt, he became his pupil and studied jurisprudence under him. During the persecution at Baghdad (1), he was taken before the *kâdi* Ibn Abi Duwâd al-Iyâdi (*vol. I. p.* 61), but, as he refused to do what was required of him, they sent him back to Egypt, where he finally became chief of the Shafite sect. He was born A. H. 182 (A. D. 798-9), and he died on Wednesday, the first of Zû'l-Kaada (some say the 15th), A. H. 268 (May, A. D. 882.) His tomb is stated to be near those of his father and of his brother Abd ar-Rahmân, and these two are situated close to as-Shâfi's. Of this we have already spoken (*vol. II. p.* 14). Ibn Kâni (*vol. I. p.* 374) mentions that he died at Old Cairo, A. H. 269. Abû Abd ar-Rahmân an-Nasâi cites him as his authority for some of the Traditions which he gives in the *Sunan* (*vol. I. p.* 58). Al-Muzani (*vol. I. p.* 200) relates as follows : " We " used to go to as-Shâfi that we might hear his lessons, and we would sit down

"at the door of his house. Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abd al-Hakam "would then come, and go in, and make a long stay; he would even sometimes "breakfast with him. On coming down, as-Shâfi would begin to read to us, "and, on finishing, he would bring Muhammad's mule and help him to mount, "after which, he would keep watching him till he disappeared, and then say: "'To obtain a son like him, I should consent to be in debt for a thousand dinars "'and unable to find wherewithal to pay them.'"—It is related that Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Hakam said: "I used to go frequently to as-Shâfi, and in consequence "of this, a number of persons belonging to our sect went to my father"—who, as has been said (*vol. II. p.* 14), was a Malikite—"and said to him: 'Abû "'Muhammad! (*thy son*) Muhammad attaches himself exclusively to this man, **641** "'and frequents him constantly. This indicates that thy son has a dislike for "'the sect to which he belongs.' My father essayed to calm them, say- "ing: 'He is young, and wishes to learn and examine the different opinions "'held on the same subject.' He then took me in private and said: 'Stick "'to that man, my boy! for if you leave this city, and happen to say, when "you discuss a question: *Ash'hab relates that Mâlik said*—you will be asked who "'was Ash'hab.' In consequence of this advice, I attended with assiduity the "lessons of as-Shâfi, and the words of my father never left my memory; till, "having gone to Irak, the *kâdi* consulted me on a question in the presence of "the company assembled at his house, and, in discussing it, I happened to "say: 'Ash'hab relates that Mâlik said'—on which he asked who was Ash'hab, "and turned towards the company for an answer. One of the persons present "replied, as if perfectly ignorant on the subject: 'I know neither Ash'hâb "'(*brown*) nor Ablak (*gray*)!" Of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Hakam, numerous anecdotes are related. Al-Kudâi states, in his *Khitat* (2), that this was the Muhammad whom Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn (*vol. I. p.* 153) took by night to the aqueduct which he had constructed at al-Maâfir, and the water of which the people hesitated to employ either for drinking or for making ablutions (3). Muhammad then drank thereof and made use of it for his ablutions, whereat Ibn Tûlûn was so highly pleased, that he detained him no longer and sent him a rich present (4). It is generally said that the circumstance here spoken of occurred to al-Muzani, but this is not exact.

(1) This was the persecution in which Ahmad Ibn Hanbal displayed the fortitude which rendered him illustrious. See vol. I. page 44. The khalif al-Motasim endeavoured to force the doctors of that time to hold that the Koran was created. See Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 219.

(2) The life of al-Kudâi will be found some pages farther on.

(3) The people refused to make use of the water coming from this aqueduct, because they imagined that the money employed in its construction had not been acquired by the sovereign in a lawful manner. See, vol. I. p. 414 of this work, the anecdote told by Ibn Khallikân of Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi's repugnance to saying his prayers in the *Nizâmiya* College.

(4) "The compiler of the history of Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn says: When Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn had finished the "erection of this aqueduct, he learned that some persons did not consider it lawful to drink of the water "which it supplied. Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abd al-Hakam"—the doctor whose life Ibn Khallikân gives here—"relates as follows: I was one night in my house, when a slave of Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn's came to "find me and said: 'The emir wanteth thee.' Filled with terror and apprehension, I mounted my horse, "and the slave led me off the public road. 'Whither dost thou take me?' said I. 'To the desert,' was his "answer, 'and the emir is there.' Convinced that my last hour was come, I said to the slave: 'God help "'me! I am an aged and feeble man; dost thou know what he wanteth with me?' He took pity on my "state and answered: 'Avoid making any remark against the aqueduct.' I still went forward with him, "till suddenly I perceived torch-bearers in the desert, and Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn on horseback at the door of "the aqueduct, with great wax-lights burning before him. I immediately dismounted and saluted him, but "he did not greet me in return; I then said: 'O emir! thy messenger hath grievously fatigued me, and I "'suffer from thirst. Allow me, I beg, to take a drink.' On this, the pages offered me water, but I said: "'No; I shall draw some for myself.' I then drew water whilst he looked on, and I drank to such a degree "that I thought I should have burst. On finishing, I said: 'O emir! may God quench thy thirst at the "'rivers of Paradise! for I have drunk to my utmost wish, and I know not which to praise most—the excellence "'of the water, joined to its sweetness and coolness, or its clearness, or the sweet smell of the aqueduct.' "He looked at me a moment, and said: 'I want thee for something, but this is not the time. Let this man "retire.' I immediately retired, and the slave said to me: 'Thou hast hit the mark!' To which I answered: "'May God reward thee! were it not for thee, I had perished.' The construction and completing of this "aqueduct cost forty thousand dinars."—(Al-Makrîzi's *Khitat;* chapter towards the end of the work, and entitled قناطر ابن طولون وبيره.

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## AT-TIRMIDI *THE JURISCONSULT*.

Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Nasr at-Tirmidi, a jurisconsult of the sect of as-Shâfi, was the ablest of them all in that age, the most devout and the most abstemious. He resided at Baghdad, and taught Traditions in that city on the authority of Yahya Ibn Bukair al-Misri (1), Yûsuf Ibn Adi, Ka-

thîr Ibn Yahya, and other masters. Traditions were delivered on his own authority by the *kâdi* Ahmad Ibn Kâmil (*vol. I. p.* 874), Abd al-Bâkî Ibn Kânî (*vol. I. p.* 374), and others. His character as a traditionist is perfectly established, and he bore a high reputation for learning, merit, and self-mortification. Abû 't-Taiyib Ahmad Ibn Othmân as-Simsâr, the father of Abû Hafs Omar Ibn Shâhîn (*vol. I. p.* 324) relates as follows: "I was at Abû Jaafar at-Tirmi-" di's, when a person consulted him about the saying of the Prophet, that *God* " *descendeth to the heaven of the world* (i. e. *the lowest of the seven heavens*); and " this person expressed his desire to know how there could, in that case, be " any thing more exalted (*than the lowest heaven*)? To which at-Tirmidi replied: " 'The descent is intelligible; the manner how is unknown; the belief therein " 'is obligatory, and the asking about it is a blamable innovation.'" His moderation in respect to food was extreme, and this resulted from indigence, devotion, and patience under poverty. It is related by Muhammad Ibn Mûsa Ibn Hammâd, that at-Tirmidi told him that he had subsisted seventeen days on five pence—(three pence, according to another version)—"I then asked " him," said Ibn Hammâd, "how he had managed, and he replied: 'That " 'sum was all I possessed, and I laid it out on turnips, one of which I ate " 'each day.'" Abû Ishâk az-Zajjâj (*vol. I. page* 28) states that at-Tirmidi received a monthly stipend of four dirhems (2), and that he never asked any thing from any person. At-Tirmidi used to relate the following circumstance: "I had studied jurisprudence under Abû Hanîfa, when, being in the mosque of Medîna the year I made the pilgrimage, I had a dream in " which I saw the blessed Prophet, and I said: 'O Apostle of God! I have " 'studied the system taught by Abû Hanîfa; shall I adopt it?' and he answered: " 'No!' I then said: 'Shall I adopt that of Mâlik Ibn Anas?' and he replied: " 'Adopt that portion of it which is in conformity with my *sunna* (*sayings and* " '*doings*).' I then asked him if I should adopt the system taught by as-Shâfi, " and he replied: 'It is not his system; he took my *sunna*, and nothing more, " 'and he refuted those who contradicted it.' After having this dream, I " immediately proceeded to Egypt and copied out as-Shâfi's books." Ad-Dâra-" kutni (*vol. II. p.* 239) styles him a Traditionist of veracity, trust-worthy and pious. At-Tirmidi mentioned that he passed twenty-nine years in writing out the Traditions. He was born in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 200 (July,

A. D. 816); some say A. H. 210; and he died on the 11th of Muharram, A. H. 295 (October, A. D. 907). He never dyed his hair (*as was customary at that period*). Towards the close of his life, his intellect got deranged to an extreme 642 degree.—"*At-Tirmidi*, says as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) "means *belonging to* "(*Tirmid*) an ancient city on the bank of the river of Balkh, which is called "Jaihûn (*the Oxus*). Various opinions are held respecting the pronunciation "of this name; some say *Turmid* and others *Tirmid*; the inhabitants themselves "pronounce it *Tarmid*; the pronunciation which was long familiar to us was "*Tirmid*; but persons who pretend to exactness, and possess information on the "subject, pronounce it *Turmud*. Each of these pronunciations has its partisans, "who give reasons in support of their opinion." Such are the words of as-Samâni, and I am unable to offer any thing decisive on the subject. Persons who have been there inform me that it is situated, not in the province of Khowârzem, but in that of Transoxiana, and on the same side (*of the river*) as the latter.

(1) Yahya Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Bukair, a *mawla* to the tribe of Makhzûm, was an eminent traditionist of Egypt, and taught Mâlik's *Muwatta* from memory. He died in the month of Safar, A. H. 231 (October, A. D. 845).—(*Husn al-Muhadira*.)

(2) Four dirhems are nearly equivalent to half a crown. This stipend was paid to him out of the public treasury: every doctor of the law, regularly ordained, being entitled to a pension from the state.

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## IBN AL-HADDAD, *THE JURISCONSULT.*

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Jaafar, surnamed Ibn al-Haddâd, was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, a native of Egypt, and a member of the tribe of Kinâna. He is the author of the work entitled *Kitâb al-Furû* in which he treats of the development of the law according to Shafite principles. It forms a small volume, but is replete with information, and the questions of which it treats are discussed with extraordinary subtility. Some of the most eminent *imâms* have undertaken to comment it; al-Kaffâl al-Marwazi (*vol. II. p.* 26) composed a moderately-sized volume on the subject; the *kâdi* Abû 't-Taiyib

at-Tabari (*v. I. p.* 644) elucidated its obscurities in one large volume, and the *shaikh* Abû Ali as-Sinji (*vol. I. p.* 419) drew up a complete commentary on it, wherein he fully discusses every point. This last is one of the best productions of the kind. Ibn al-Haddâd learned jurisprudence from Abû Ishak al-Marwazi (*vol. I. p.* 7). My master Imâd ad-dîn Ibn Bâtîsh (*vol. I. p.* 187) states, in the work composed by him on (*Abû Ishak's*) *Muhaddab*, and in his *Tabakât al-Fokahâ*, or classified list of jurisconsults, that Ibn al-Haddâd was one of the most distinguished disciples of Abû Ibrahîm al-Muzani (*v. I. p.* 200), but this is an oversight on his part, for Ibn al-Haddâd was born the year al-Muzani died. Nay, al-Kudâi (1) mentions, in his *Khitat*, that his birth took place on the day of al-Muzani's death. How then could he possibly have been his disciple? I notice this error here lest persons should be led to think al-Kudâi mistaken, and Ibn Bâtîsh in the right. The latter also attributes to Ibn al-Haddâd the verses rhyming in *z*, which I have quoted in the life of Zâfir al-Haddâd, native of Alexandria (2). Ibn al-Haddâd was a doctor of great exactness in the examination of points of law, and singularly skilful in obtaining clear results from the depths of obscurity in which they lay concealed (3). He occupied the posts of *kâdi* and professor at Old Cairo; the princes and the people held him in the highest respect, and it was to his opinion they deferred when doubts arose on a point of law, or when any grave event took place. People used to say: "It "would be the strangest circumstance that ever occurred to find an executioner "angry (*from having nothing to do*), or to meet with a heap of dung free from "impurities, or to see an opinion of Ibn al-Haddâd's refuted (4)." His birth took place on the 24th of Ramadân, A. H. 264 (May, A. D. 878), and he died A. H. 345 (A. D. 956-7), or 344 according to as-Samâni. He delivered Traditions on the authority of Abû Abd ar-Rahmân an-Nasâi (*vol. I. p.* 58) and other masters. Al-Kudâi states, in his *Khitat*, that Ibn al-Haddâd expired on his return from the pilgrimage, A. H. 344, at a place called Munya Harb, near the gate of Old Cairo; on the spot, it is said, where Cairo now stands. He was versed in a great variety of sciences, such as those connected with the Koran, jurisprudence, the Traditions, poetry, the combats of the ancient Arabs, grammar, philology, etc. During his life he remained without a rival, and was beloved by all persons, from the highest to the lowest. The emir Abû 'l-Kâsim Anûjûr Ibn al-Ikhshid attended his funeral, in company with Kâfûr (*vol. II. p.* 524) and followed by

a crowd of the inhabitants. He lived to the age of seventy-nine years, four months, and two days.—*Haddâd* means *a worker in iron*, or one who *sells* it.

(1) His life will be found in this volume.

(2) See vol. I. p. 668, the lines beginning thus: "Had he taken refuge in an exemplary patience."

(3) Literally: He was an exact doctor and a diver for the meanings.

(4) In the original Arabic, this saying consists of three short sentences, rhyming together.

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## ABU BAKR AS-SAIRAFI.

643 Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah, generally known by the name of Sairafi, was a native of Baghdad and a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi. He ranked among the (*regular*) jurisconsults (*of that city*). Having studied the law under Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn Suraij (*vol. I. p.* 46), he acquired distinction by his acuteness in the discussion (*of points of law not hitherto settled*), by his skill in the use of analogical deduction, and by his penetration as a dogmatic theologian. He composed a work of quite an original cast on the fundamentals of jurisprudence; and Abû Bakr al-Kaffâl (*see next article*) states, in his work on that subject, that Abû Bakr as-Sairafi was, next to as-Shâfi, the most learned of men in that branch of science. He was the first person of our sect (*the Shafite*) who undertook to compose a treatise on the drawing up of bonds (1), and the work which he produced on this subject is of the highest excellence. He died on Thursday, the 21st of the latter Rabi, A. H. 330 (January, A. D. 942).—The signification of *Sairafi* is well known; it means *one who changes gold and silver coin*. I mention this here, because many persons mispronounce his surname and say *Sîrafi*.

(1) In Arabic: *Ilm as-Shurût*. See vol. I. p. 53, note (5).

## ABU BAKR AL-KAFFAL AS-SHASHI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Ismaîl al-Kaffâl (1) as-Shâshi, a doctor of the Shafite sect, was incontrovertibly the ablest jurisconsult (*imâm*) of that age, and possessed not only a deep knowledge of the law and the Traditions, but was also versed in dogmatic theology, and proved himself a learned philologer and a good poet. The Shafites did not possess in Transoxiana a man to be compared to him. (*In the furtherance of his studies*) he travelled to Khorâsân, Irâk, al-Hijâz, Syria, and the northern frontier of Mesopotamia, and his reputation spread far and wide. He learned jurisprudence from Ibn Suraij (*vol. I. p.* 46), and composed a great number of works. He was the first who drew up a treatise on the approved method of dialectics (*jadal*) employed by the jurisconsults among themselves (2). He composed also a treatise on the principles of canonic jurisprudence, and a commentary on the *Risâla* (3). It was he who propagated the Shafite doctrines in Transoxiana. He taught Traditions on the authority of Ibn Jarîr at-Tabari (*vol. II. p.* 597) and other eminent doctors of that age, and Traditions were delivered on his own authority by the Hâkim Abû Abd Allah Ibn al-Baiî (4), Abû Abd Allah Ibn Manda (5), Abû Abd ar-Rahmân as-Sulami (6), and many others. He was the father of al-Kâsim, the author of the work cited, under the title of *at-Takrîb* (*simplification of the Shafite doctrines*), in the *Nihâya* and the *Basît* (7). Al-Ghazzâli mentions him in the second chapter of the section on pledges and mortgages, but calls him Abû 'l-Kâsim, wherein he is mistaken. Al-Ijli (*vol. I. p.* 191) states, in his Explanation of the Obscurities met with in the *Wajîz* and *Wasît*, in the second chapter of the section on purification with sand, that the author of the *Takrîb* was Abû Bakr al-Kaffâl, and that some attribute the work to his son al-Kâsim. He then adds: "And for "this reason it is that, in citing him, they designate him by the vague appella- "tion of *the author of the Takrîb*." I shall here add that, in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 665 (July, A. D. 1267), I saw in the library of the *Âdiliya* college (*at Damascus*) a copy of the *Takrîb* in ten volumes, but bound in six, and bearing an inscription indicating the author to be Abû 'l-Hasan al-Kâsim Ibn Abi Bakr al-Kaffâl as-Shâshi; and this copy was in the handwriting of the *shaikh* Kutb ad-

din Masûd an-Naisâpûri, a doctor whose life will be found further on. It bore also a note written by Kutb ad-din, declaring that he had made a *wakf* of it (8). This is a different work from that of as-Sulaim ar-Râzi (*vol. I. p.* 584) bearing the same title, yet I have met a great number of jurisconsults who supposed it to be the same. This induces me to draw the reader's attention to the circumstance. Copies of al-Kaffâl's *Takrîb* are scarce, but those of ar-Râzi's are in every person's hands, and it is by the work of the latter that the jurisconsults of Khorâsân finish their studies. Some difference of opinion subsists respecting the true date of Abû Bakr al-Kaffâl's death; thus the *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi states, in his classified list of jurisconsults, that he died A.H. 336 (A.D. 947-8), and the Hâkim Ibn al-Baii says that he breathed his last at as-Shâsh, in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A.H. 365 (August, A.D. 976). He then adds: "I wrote "down (*pieces of information*) under his dictation, and he also did the same under "mine." As-Samâni (*v. II. p.* 156) makes a similar observation in his *Ansâb*, and 644 then adds: "He was born in the year 291 (A.D. 903-4)." The same author mentions however, in his *Zail*, or Supplement, that he died A.H. 366, and he repeats the same statement in his *Ansâb*, under the head of *as-Shâshi*; but the former date is given by him in the life of al-Kaffâl himself.—*Shâshi* means belonging to *as-Shâsh*; this is a city beyond the Sihûn (9), and has produced a number of learned men.—This al-Kaffâl is a different person from al-Kaffâl al-Marwazi (*see vol. II. p.* 26), a doctor who lived at a later epoch.

(1) *Al-Kaffâl* signifies *locksmith*. See p. 26 of this volume.

(2) For the elucidation of this, see the extract from Ibn Khaldûn, given by M. de Sacy in his *Anthologie Arabe*, pages 474, 475.

(3) This is the celebrated epistle composed by as-Shâfi on his own doctrine.

(4) His life will be found in this volume.

(5) The life of Ibn Manda is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(6) Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Mûsa as-Sulami (*member of the tribe of Sulaim*) was a native of Naisâpûr and the most eminent Sûfi doctor of that age. He travelled to all parts in search of instruction, and collected information from the lips of numerous masters. He composed a commentary on the Koran, a history, and nearly one hundred other works. His death took place in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 412 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 1021).—(*Nujûm*. Al-Yâfi.)

(7) These works are by Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli. Ibn Khallikân gives his life.

(8) See vol. I. p. 49.

(9) The *Sihûn* or *Cirr*, the ancient Jaxartes, falls into the lake of Aral.

## ABU 'L-HASAN AL-MASARJISI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Sahl Ibn Muslih al-Mâsarjisi, a Shafite jurisconsult, was one of the great masters of that sect in Khorâsân, the best acquainted of them with the doctrines promulgated by its founder, with the regular system which they form, and with the ramifications of those points of controversy to which its main principles give rise. He studied jurisprudence in Khorâsân, Irâk, and Hijâz, and was the assiduous disciple of Abû Ishak al-Marwazi (*vol. I. p.* 7), whom he accompanied to Egypt, and with whom he remained till his death. He then proceeded to Baghdad, where he acted as deputy to Ibn Abi Huraira (*vol. I. p.* 375) every time that the latter absented himself from his class. In the year 344 (A. D. 955-6) he returned to Khorâsân, and gave lectures at Naisâpûr, which were attended by the jurisconsults of that city. He taught jurisprudence to the *kâdi* Abû 'l-Taiyib at-Tabari (*vol. I. page* 644), and he himself received lessons from his maternal uncle al-Muwammal Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Isa al-Mâsarjisi. When in Egypt, he collected (*legal*) information from the disciples of al-Muzani (*vol. I. page* 200) and from Yûnus Ibn Abd al-Alâ as-Sadafi (1). The Hâkim Ibn al-Baii (2) states that, in the month of Rajab, A. H. 381 (September-October, A. D. 991), regular assemblies were held to hear him give dictations in the *Dar as-Sunna* (*college for teaching the Traditions*). He died on Wednesday evening, the 5th of the latter Djumâda, A. H. 384 (July, A. D. 994), at the age of seventy-six years, and was interred on the evening of the following day. The *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi (*vol. I. page* 9) says in his *Tabakât*, that his death occurred in A. H. 383. — *Mâsarjisi* means *related to Mâsarjis;* this person was grandfather to Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Isa Ibn Mâsarjis an-Naisâpûri, and had been a Christian, but was converted to Islamism by Abd Allah Ibn al-Mubârak (*vol. II. p.* 12). The doctor Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad al-Mâsarjisi was son to the daughter of this Abû Ali, and surnamed after him, like all the other members of the family.

(1) His life will be found in this work.

(2) The life of the Hâkim is given by our author.

## AL-KHATAN.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ibrahîm, a native of Istirâbâd, or of Jurjân according to some, and a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, was generally known by the surname of al-Khatan. He acquired a high distinction by his piety, his talent as a jurisconsult, and the excellent traditional information which he possessed on points connected with Shafite law (1). In the science of controversial reasoning, and in those connected with the Koran and its *readings*, he held the first rank, and was one of the most eminent amongst the learned whose skill lay in speculative investigations and dialectics. When in his native town, he received lessons from Abû Noaim Abd al-Malik Ibn Muhammad Ibn Adi, and other masters of the same epoch; in the year 337 (A. D. 948-9) he visited Naisâpûr, and remained there two years, after which he proceeded to Ispahân, where he studied Abû Dâwûd's (*vol. I. p.* 589) *Musnad* (*authenticated collection of Traditions*) under the tuition of Abd Allah Ibn Jaafar (2). He then passed into Irâk, and, when upwards of forty years of age, he began to write, and produced numerous works. He was an indefatigable traveller, and received information from the lips of many doctors. A commentary was composed by him on the *Talkhîs*, a work of Abû 'l-Abbas Ibn al-Kâss (*vol. I. p.* 48). He died on the Festival of the Sacrifice (*the* 10*th of Zû 'l-Hijja*), A. H. 386 (Dec. A. D. 996) at the age of seventy-five years.—He was called *al-Khatan* (*the son-in-law*) because
645 he was thus allied to Abû Bakr al-Ismaili (*vol. I. p.* 8).

(1) Such I take to be the meaning of the words وله وجوه فى المذهب, an expression which frequently occurs, and which, in a former part of this work, I rendered erroneously by: *he had some excellent views on the subject of the* Shafite *doctrine*. The وجوه are undoubtedly the particular channels through which certain decisions on points of law passed down to posterity by oral transmission. When a doctor was the sole possessor of some traditional information of this kind, and if the persons through whom it descended to him were men of acknowledged credibility, the expression just mentioned was applied to him. If the points of information which he possessed were transmitted down through an unusual channel, the expression employed was: وله وجوه غريبة فى المذهب. See also p. 616 of this volume, in the life of al-Fârisi.

(2) Read من عبد الله in the printed text.



## ABU SAHL AS-SOLUKI.

Abû Sahl Muhammad Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Harûn Ibn Mûsa Ibn Isa Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Bishr al-Hanafi al-Ijli (*a member of the tribe of Hanîfa, a branch of that of Ijl*), and generally known by the name of as-Solûki, was born at Ispahân, the native place of his family, and dwelt at Naisâpûr. He was a doctor of the Shafite sect, an interpreter of the Koran, a scholastic theologian, an adept in the belles-lettres, a grammarian, a poet, a prosodian, and a *kâtib*. The Hâkim Abû Abd Allah Ibn al-Baii mentions him in his historical work, and says: "He was the chief doctor of the age, and the ablest of con- "temporary jurisconsults; he had studied the law under Abû Ishak al-Marwazi, "and fathomed all the depths of science. He then proceeded to Irâk, and went "to Basra, where he continued to give lessons for some years, when his presence "was required at Ispahân, where he also remained during some years (1)." On learning the death of his uncle Abû 't-Taiyib (2), he departed secretly for Naisâpûr, in the year 337 (A.D. 949), and, for three days, he sat there in public to receive condolences, during which the *shaikh* Abû Bakr Ibn Ishak (3) remained seated at his side, as did also all the chiefs of the civil administration, the *kâdis*, and the *muftis* of the two sects (4). When the ceremony of mourning was terminated, regular assemblies were held to hear him discuss points of law, and there did not remain an adversary or an approver of his opinions, but acknowledged his merit and superiority. The *shaikhs* visited him repeatedly, to request him that he would bring to their city those whom he had left behind him (*his wife and family*) at Ispahân, and he at length acceded to their wishes. He then undertook the duties of professor and *mufti* at Naisâpûr, and the jurisconsults of the place received lessons from him. The *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p.* 212) used to say: "We never saw the like of Abû Sahl as-Solûki, and he himself never "saw his like." Abû 'l-Walid (5) being asked concerning the respective merits of Abû Bakr al-Kaffâl (*vol. II. p.* 26), and as-Solûki, he replied: "Who could "possibly equal as-Solûki?" This doctor was born A. H. 296 (A. D. 908-9); he began to learn the Traditions, A. H. 305; he went to attend Abû Ali ath-Thakafi's (6) lectures on law in 313, and he died towards the end of the year 369

(A. D. 980), at Naisâpûr. His body was borne on a bier to the hippodrome of al-Husain, and the sultan authorised Abû 't-Taiyib (*vol. I. p.* 606), the son of the deceased, to celebrate the funeral service. He was interred in the mosque where he used to teach. — The word *Solûki* has been already explained (*vol. I. p.* 607).

(1) Being unable to distinguish where the extract from Ibn al-Bati's work finishes, I indicate it as ending here; but what follows to the date of as-Solûki's death may perhaps belong to it. I am however inclined to suppose it shorter than I have indicated, and that the last words of it are: *The ablest of contemporary jurisconsults.*

(2) Abû 't-Taiyib Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sulaiman al-Hanafi as-Solûki, an eminent doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, a traditionist and philologer, died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 337 (Jan.-Feb. 949) —(*Tab. as-Shâfiyin.*)

(3) Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Ishak Ibn Aiyûb, a native of Naisâpûr, and surnamed ad-Dubai (الضبعى) was one of the *imâms* of the Shafite sect, and a *mufti* of the highest reputation. He wrote a number of large works, such as the *Mabsût* (*the developed*, probably a treatise on Shafite jurisprudence), a treatise on nouns and adjectives, another on faith and free-will, a fourth on the merits of the four first khalifs, etc. Born A.H. 258 (A. D. 871-2); died in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 342 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 953-4).— (*Tabakât as-Shafiyin.*)

(4) The two sects were probably the Hanifite and the Shafite.

(5) Abû 'l-Walîd Hassân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, a member of the Omaiyide family and a native of Naisapûr, was one of the imâms of the Shafite sect, and the first Traditionist of his age in Khorasân. He was distinguished for piety and learning. In one of his works, he treated of Moslim's *Sahîh*, and, in another, of the Shafite doctrines. He composed also an excellent commentary on as-Shâfi's *Risala* (see p. 606, note (3) ). Died in the month of the first Rabî, A. H. 349 (May, A.D. 960), aged seventy-two years.—(*Tab. as-Shafiyin*).

(6) Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhâb ath-Thakafi al-Hâjjâji drew his descent, as his surnames indicate, from al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf ath-Thakafi. This *imâm*, equally distinguished for learning and piety, resided at Naisâpûr. Born A. H. 244 (A. D. 858-9); died in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 328 (Feb.-March, A. D. 940).— (*Tab. as-Shâfiyin.*)

## ABU 'T-TAIYIB IBN SALAMA AD-DUBBI.

Abû 't-Taiyib Muhammad Ibn al-Mufaddal Ibn Salama Ibn Aâsim ad-Dubbi, a native of Baghdad, and one of the most eminent doctors of the Shafite sect, studied jurisprudence under Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn Suraij (*vol. I. p.* 46). He was noted for his extreme penetration, and this induced Abû 'l-Abbâs to pay him the

greatest attention, and take the utmost pains in giving him instruction. Abû 't-Taiyib composed a number of works, and he died in the month of Muharram, A. H. 308 (May-June, A. D. 920); being cut off in the flower of his age. He possessed some excellent traditional information on points connected with the Shafite doctrines (1).—His father, Abû Tâlibal-Mufaddal Ibn Salama Ibn Aâsim ad-Dubbi, was a philologer, and author of some celebrated works on various branches of literature, and on the rhetorical figures of the Koran. He belonged to the school of Kûfa (2) and wrote an elegant hand. He met (*and received information from*) Ibn al-Aarâbi (3) and other men eminent for learning, and he composed a book in which he pointed out and corrected the errors committed by al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad in his *Kitab al-Aîn* (*vol. I. p.* 496). The following is a list of his works: the *Kitâb at-Târîkh* (*book of history*), treating of philology; the *Kitâb al-Fâkhir* (*liber se jactantis*); the *Kitâb al-Ud wa 'l-Malâhi* (*on the lute and other musical instruments*); the *Kitâb Jalâ as-Shubah* (*obscurities cleared up*); the *Kitâb at-Taif* (4), the *Kitâb Dîâ il-Kulûb* (*light of hearts*), treating of the rhetorical figures of the Koran, and filling more than twenty volumes; the *Kitâb al-Ishtikâk* (*on etymology*); the *Kitâb az-Zari wa 'n Nabât* (*on seed and plants*); on the members of **646** the human body; on the requisites for a *kâtib*; on the words ending in a long and in a short *elif*; a *Mudkhil*, or Introduction to the science of grammar (5). Abû Bakr as-Sûli (6) transmitted traditional information on his authority, and says that he attended his lessons in the year 290.—Salama Ibn Aâsim, the grandfather of Abû 't-Taiyib, was the pupil of al-Farrâ (7), and the person who transmitted to the world his master's peculiar system of Koran-*reading*. They belonged to a family of which all the members were celebrated for talent.—Al-Mufaddal was a favorite of the vizir Ismaîl Ibn Bulbul (8); being informed that the poet Ibn ar-Rûmi (*vol. II. p.* 297) had composed a satire on him, (*he made a complaint to*) the vizir, (*who*) testified his displeasure towards Ibn ar-Rûmi by refusing him a share in the recompenses which he was accustomed to distribute. The poet then composed the following verses against al-Mufaddal:

> Cover yourself with the cloak of al-Kisâi—or dress in the furred garment of al-Farrâ—or have al-Khalîl for a friend or Sîbawaih for an inseparable companion (9)—or become one of Abû 'l-Aswad's company (10) and take a surname indicative of melancholy; yet God will never permit thee to be counted a man of learning, but will let you be reckoned among the dunces (11).

(1) See page 601, note (1), of this volume.

(2) See vol. I. page 379, note (2).

(3) His life is given in this work.

(4) This is a treatise on the *Taif al-Khiâl*. See vol. I. Introd. p. xxxvi.

(5) Compare this list with that of al-Asmâi's works, page 126 of this volume, and see an observation on the subject in the Introduction to vol. I. page xxiii.

(6) The life of Abû Bakr as-Sûli is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(7) The life of al-Farrâ is given in this work.

(8) Abû 's-Sakr (الصقر) Ismail Ibn Bulbul was appointed vizir to al-Motamid by al-Muwaffak, that khalif's brother. His noble and generous character gained him many friends, and his talents placed him at the head of the civil and military authority of the empire. This office procured him the title of the grateful (الشكور) vizir. In his youth he led a disorderly life, but, when invested with power, his conduct gave general satisfaction, and drew from the poets al-Bohtori, Ibn ar-Rûmi, and others, the warmest eulogiums. He claimed kindred with the tribe of Shaibân, but this was repelled as an unfounded pretension by some of his enemies, and Ibn ar-Rûmi incurred his displeasure by reciting to him a piece of verse in which he said that even if he had not the honour of being descended from Shaibân, he would have been an honour to Shaibân. The poet who thus unintentionally lost his patron's favour, became his enemy and lashed him in virulent satires. Ibn Bulbul was arrested by al-Motadid; and, after undergoing severe tortures, he was executed in prison by that khalif's orders.—(*Ad-Dual al-Islamiya*, MS No. 895, fol. 233.)

(9) Literally: As a pledge in (*your*) possession.

(10) That is: *a grammarian*. See vol. I. page 662.

(11) This piece is a mere tissue of puns on the names of the most celebrated grammarians. Their lives are given in this work.

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## IBN AL-MUNDIR AN-NAISAPURI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn al-Mundir an-Naisâpûri (*native of Naisâpûr*), a jurisconsult of great learning and information, is spoken of in these terms by Abû Ishak (1) in his *Tabakât al-Fokahâ* (*classified list of jurisconsults*): " The questions on which jurisconsults disagree were set forth by him in some " works of quite an original cast, and which are indispensable for such persons " as wish to defend or attack any of those points." I do not know from whom he acquired his knowledge of the law. He died at Mekka, A. H. 309 (A. D. 921-2), or 310. A well-known book of his, on the points of disagreement between jurisconsults, is that which bears the title of *Kitâb al-Ishrâf* (*view of*

*the different systems*); it is a large work, and proves him to have closely examined the systems of the great jurisconsults (*imâms*). It is an excellent work, most instructive, and of great utility. Besides this, he composed a treatise called the *Mabsût* (*extended*), in which also he sets forth the systems of the principal jurisconsults, and indicates the points in which their opinions differ. This work is larger than the *Ishrâf*. He left also a small treatise on the *ijmâ* (*points of law on which the imâms unanimously agree*).

(1) He means Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi. See vol. I. p. 9.

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## ABU ZAID AL-MARWAZI.

Abû Zaid Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad al-Marwazi al-Fâshâni, a doctor of the Shafite sect, and one of its most eminent *imâms*, was distinguished for his skill in the discussion of doubtful points, his life passed in the practices of devotion, his acquirements as a *hâfiz* of the sect (1), and the rare information which he possessed on its doctrines (2). He learned jurisprudence from Abû Ishak al-Marwazi (*vol. I. p.* 7), and taught it to Abû Bakr al-Kaffâl al-Marwazi (*vol. II. p.* 26). Having proceeded to Baghdad, he taught Traditions there, and had among his pupils the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Hasan ad-Dârakutni (*vol. II. p.* 239) and Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Kâsim al-Mahâmili (3). He then set out for Mekka, and resided in that sanctuary seven years, during which he taught the Traditions contained in al-Bukhâri's *Sahîh*, having himself learned them from Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf al-Farabri (4). — The *Khatîb* (*vol. I. p.* 75) said of him: "Abû Zaid is the most eminent of those "who taught this book by oral transmission;" and Abû Bakr Ibn al-Bazzâz related as follows: "The jurisconsult Abû Zaid travelled with me from Naisâ-"pûr to Mekka; one camel sufficed to bear us both, and, as we sat in baskets "slung on each side of the animal, I was his counterpoise all the way (5). And "I do not think that the recording angels ever wrote down any thing against

"him." By *any thing* he means *any sin*. The jurisconsult Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Hâtimi said: I heard Abû Zaid al-Marwazi say: "When at "Mekka, I saw in a dream the Apostle of God, and he seemed to say to Jibril "(*the angel Gabriel*): 'O spirit of God! accompany that man to his home.'" In the early part of his life, he was poor and bereft of means; so he passed the winter without a cloak, notwithstanding the severity of the cold in that country; and he used to answer, when spoken to on the subject: "I have an "incommodity which prevents me from wearing wadded clothing." That *incommodity* was poverty, and he never was induced to inform any person of his real state. Towards the end of his life, fortune became propitious, but, as 647 he was then advanced in age and had lost his teeth, he could neither chew nor enjoy sexual pleasure; he therefore used to address his prosperity in these terms: "May God withhold his blessing from thee! thou hast come when I "have neither teeth nor strength (6)." He died on Thursday, the 13th of Rajab, A. H. 371 (January, A. D. 982), at Marw. — The words *Marwazi* and *Fâshâni* have been already explained (*the first in vol. I. p. 7, and the second in vol. I. p.* 78) (7).

(1) *A* hafiz *of a sect* is one who knows by heart and transmits to others various legal questions which have been resolved by the doctors of that sect.

(2) See vol. II. page 608, note (1).

(3) This was the father of the Mahâmili whose life is given in vol. I. p. 56.

(4) The life of this traditionist is given by our author.

(5) The Arabic text expresses this very concisely and very clearly; translated literally, it would run thus: "I counterpoised the jurisconsult Abû Zaid from Naisâpûr *to Mekka*."

(6) I have modified the meaning of the word نصاب, but it is clear enough from what precedes.

(7) As it might be supposed that this doctor's name was *al-Kâshâni*, not *al-Fâshâni*, I may be allowed to observe that the latter reading is confirmed by the *Tabakât as-Shâfiyîn*, where we read that the word is written with a *fâ* and a *shîn*.

## IBN WARKA AL-UDANI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Nasr Ibn Warkâ al-Udani, a jurisconsult of the sect of as-Shâfi, was their chief imâm in that age. The Hâkim Ibn al-Baîi (1) mentions his name in the History of Naisâpûr, and says: "On his return from the pilgrimage, he resided with us, at Naisâpûr, for "some time, and surpassed all the other jurisconsults by his self-mortification "and by his lamentations for having been remiss in God's service." He died at Bukhâra, in the month of the first Rabî, A.H. 385 (April, A.D. 995), and was buried at Kalâbâd.—"*Udani* means *belonging to Udana*, a village in the depen-"dencies of Bukhâra:" such are as-Samâni's (*vol. II. p.* 156) words, but the jurisconsults mispronounce it and say *Udi*. When I was studying the law, I heard one of my masters pronounce it *Audani*.—This doctor had received by tradition some particular information on points connected with the doctrines of his sect (2). The author of the *Wasît* (*Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli*) frequently mentions his name.—"*Kalâbâd* is the name of a quarter in the city of Bukhàra. "It was from this place that a traditionist of great authority, Abû Nasr Ahmad "Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Rustum al-Kalâ-"bâdi, derived his surname. He died on the 22nd of the latter Jumâda, "A.H. 398 (March, A.D. 1008), and he was born in A.H. 460 (A.D. 1067-8)." Such are the words of Abû Saad as-Samâni, but he must be mistaken, since he places al-Kalâbâdi's birth subsequently to his death. I have consulted in many quarters, hoping to clear up this error, but could find no indications on the subject; so I let as-Samâni's words stand as they are (3).

(1) His life will be found in this work.

(2) See vol. II. page 608, note (1).

(3) It appears from the *Tabakât al-Huffâz*, that al-Kalâbâdi taught Traditions at Baghdad in the lifetime of ad-Dârakutni. That doctor died A. H. 385, whence we may conclude with great probability that the date of 398 is that of al-Kalâbâdi's death, and such is, in fact, the statement of the author of the *Tabakât*. He places his birth in the year 318.



## ABU BAKR AL-FARISI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Shâhawaih, a native of Fars (*al-Fârisi*) and a doctor of the Shafite sect, is spoken of in these terms by the Hâkim Abû Abd Allah Ibn al-Baii, in his history of Naisâpûr: "He resided for some "time at Naisàpûr and then proceeded to Bukhâra, whence he returned to the "former city; he then came back to this country, Fars, and occupied the post "of *kâdi*. He subsequently removed to Naisâpûr, and taught Traditions in "that city." He died there, A. H. 362 (A. D. 972-3). Some points of traditional information, connected with the doctrines of the sect, and received from the very highest authorities, were communicated by him to his disciples; he was the only person in possession of this information, and we have never found it given on the authority of any other person but himself. I do not know from whom he acquired his knowledge of jurisprudence.— *Shâhawaih* is a Persian name, composed of *Shâh* (*king*), and *waih* (*woe!*). Relative to this last word, al-Jauhari (*vol. I. p.* 22) says, in his *Sahâh*: "*Sîbawaih* and other names of a "similar form are composed of a noun and an interjection, coalescing so as to "form a proper name."—*Fâris* is an extensive region, of which the capital is Shîrâz. Its pronunciation is so well known, that it is needless to indicate it.

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## ABU ABD ALLAH AL-KUDAI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Salâma Ibn Jaafar Ibn Ali Ibn Hukmûn Ibn 648 Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muslim al-Kudâi, a doctor of the Shafite sect and the author of the *Kitâb as-Shihâb* (1), is spoken of, in the History of Damascus, by the *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir (*v. II. p.* 252); he mentions there that Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi transmitted Traditions on his authority, and that he was appointed deputy-kâdi of Old Cairo by the Egyptian government (*the Fatimides*), and had

been once sent by them on an embassy to the Greek court. He composed a great number of works, such as the *Kitâb as-Shihâb* (*the flambeau*), a treatise on the merits of the *imâm* as-Shâfi with an account of his life, the *Anbâ an il-Anbîa* (*history of the prophets*), the *Tawârîkh al-Khulafâ* (*history of the khalifs*), and the *Khitat Misr* (*topography of Cairo*) (2). The emir Abû Nasr Ibn Mâkûla says, in the *Kitâb al-Ikmâl* (*v. II. p.* 248), that he was conversant with a great variety of sciences. He died at Old Cairo on the eve of Thursday, the 16th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 454 (Nov. A. D. 1062), and the funeral service was said over him in the Musalla (3) of an-Najjâr, on the afternoon of the following day. As-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) mentions, in his article on the *Khatîb* Abû Bakr Ahmad (*vol. I. p.* 75), the author of the History of Baghdad, that the *Khatîb* made the pilgrimage, A. H. 445, the same year as Abû Abd Allah al-Kudâi, and that he learned some Traditions from him. We have already spoken of al-Kudâi in the life of az-Zâhir al-Obaidi (*vol. II. p.* 341), and that he was *alâma*-writer to al-Jarjarâi al-Akta (*the mutilated*), that prince's vizir. — *Kudâi* means *belonging to Kudâa*, the son of Maadd Ibn Adnân ; or, according to some, a descendant of Himyar; the latter opinion is more generally held, and comes closer to the truth. Kudâa's real name was Omar Ibn Mâlik; a great number of tribes draw their descent from him, such as those of Kalb, Bali, Juhaina, Ozra, etc.—The Najjâr (*carpenter*) whose name is borne by the Musalla, was a *mawla* to the family of Ghâfik, and bore the name of Imrân Ibn Mûsa an-Najjâr: some say, however, that he was called Abû 't-Taiyib Muhammad Ibn Jaafar al-Baghdâdi an-Najjâr, and that he bore the surname of al-Ghundar (*the corpulent*); he died A.H. 358 (A.D. 968-9), some time previously to the arrival of the Kâid Jauhar (*vol. I. p.* 340) in Egypt.

(1) The *Shihâb* is noticed by Hajji Khalîfa; he calls it the *Shihâb al-Akhbâr* (*flambeau of information*), and says that it contains moral maxims, proverbs, and rules of politeness, extracted from the sayings of the Prophet, by Abû Abd Allah al-Kudâi.

(2) This work appears to have been closely copied by al-Makrîzi, in his compilation usually bearing the same title.

(3) See vol. I. page 605.

## ABU ABD ALLAH AL-MASUDI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Masûd Ibn Ahmad al-Masûdi (1), a Shafite jurisconsult, an *imâm* of that sect, and eminently distinguished for his talents and piety, was a native of Marw. He studied the law under Abû Bakr al-Kaffâl al-Marwazi (*vol. II. p.* 26), and wrote an excellent commentary on al-Muzani's abridgment of the Shafite doctrines (*vol. I. p.* 200). He taught a few traditions on the authority of his master al-Kaffâl. Al-Ghazzâli tells an anecdote of him in the *Wasît*, third chapter of the section on Faith, wherein he treats of the different modes by which perjury may be committed: speaking of a subtle question on a point of law, he says: "*Question to which the preceding one gives rise* (2). If a person swear that he will not eat eggs, and he "goes afterwards to a man and says: 'By Allah! I shall eat what thou hast "'in thy pocket!' and behold, it is an egg! (*what is to be done so as to avoid "perjury?*) This question was proposed to al-Kaffâl as he was seated in the "chair (*presiding an assembly of his pupils*), but he could not find an answer "to it. On this, his pupil al-Masûdi said: 'Let him have a biscuit made "'with the egg and eat that; he will thus have eaten what was in the man's "'pocket, and not have eaten the egg.' This answer received general appro"bation, and it was certainly a most ingenious solution of the difficulty (3)." Al-Maşûdi died at Marw subsequently to the year 420 (A. D. 1030). He was called *al-Masûdi* (*the Masûdian*) after his grandfather Masûd.

(1) Another and more celebrated al-Masûdi, the author of the *Meadows of gold*, is noticed by ad-Dahabi in his *Târîkh al-Islâm*, MS. No. 646, fol. 211; I there find the following indications: Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali, surnamed al-Masûdi, because (it is said) he drew his descent from Ibn Masûd, one of the Prophet's Companions, was the author of the *Murûj ad-Dahab* (*meadows of gold*) and a native of Baghdad, but he dwelt for some time in Egypt. This learned historian and transmitter of curious information composed also the following works: *Kitâb Dakhâir al-Olûm* (*the treasures of science*); the *Kitâb ar-Rasâil* (*book of essays*); the *Kitâb al-Istizkâr, etc.* (*memorial of what occurred in former times*); the *Akhbâr al-Umam* (*history of nations*); the *Makâlât fi usûl ad-Diânât* (*discourses on the dogmas of the different religions*); the *Akhbâr al-Khawârij* (*history of the Kharijites*), etc. Yâkût has a notice on him in his *Târîkh al-Udabâ* (*Hajji Khalifa, No.* 472), or *history of learned scholars*, but places his death in the year 346, which is not exact. Al-Masûdi held the opinions of the Motazalites. He died in the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 345 (Sept.-Oct.



A. D. 956) —For further information respecting al-Masûdi and his writings, see M. de Sacy's notice on the *Tanbîh wa 'l-Ishrâf* (another work by the same author, in the eighth vol. of the *Notices et Extraits*, and an article in the *Journal Asiatique* for January 1839. The first vol. of a translation of the *Murûj* has been published by Dr. Sprenger, under the patronage of the Oriental Translation Committee.

(2) Literally: *Branch;* that is: ramification of the principle which precedes.

(3) Abû Hanîfa resolved this question much better. He said that the egg should be hatched, and that the man should eat the chicken.

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## ABU AASIM AL-ABBADI.

The *kâdi* Abû Aâsim Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abbâd al-Abbâdi, a native of Herat (*al-Harawi*) and a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi, studied jurisprudence at Herat under the *kâdi* Abû Mansûr al-Azdi, and at Naisâpûr under the *kâdi* Abû Omar al-Bastâmi. He then became perfectly master of a great variety of sciences, and was noted for the subtilty of his investigations. In his travels to different countries he met a great number of *shaikhs* (*masters*), and received from them information. He is the author of some useful works, such as a treatise on the duties of a *kâdi*, the *Mabsût* (*extended*), the *Hâdi* (*guide*) to the doctrines of the learned, a refutation of as-Samâni, and a small volume containing a classified list of jurisconsults. Abû 649 Saad al-Harawi (1), the author of the *Ishrâf*, or *elucidation* of the duties of a *kâdi*, and of the *Ghawâmid al-Hukûmât*, or *obscure judgments*, drew some of his information from al-Abbâdi. (*Abû Aâsim al-Abbâdi*) received and transmitted Traditions. He died in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 458 (August-Sept. A. D. 1066); he was born A. H. 375 (A. D. 985-6).—*Abbâdi* means *descended from Abbâd*, the person whose name occurs in Abû Aâsim's genealogy.

(1) Abû *Saîd* Muhammad Ibn Abi Ahmad al-Harawi (*native of Herat*), a Shafite doctor and the author of an exposition of the duties of *kâdis*, entitled *al-Ishrâf ala Ghawâmid al-Hakûmât* (*elucidation of the obscure principles on which certain decisions are founded*), was *kâdi* of Hamadân. He fell a martyr, with his father, in the great mosque of that city, in the month of Shaabân, 518 (Sept.-Oct, A. D. 1124). Ad-Dahabi says that the doctor who was killed at Hamadân was a Hanifite.—(*Tab. as-Shâfiyîn*).



## AL-KHIDRI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Khidri, a native of Marw and a doctor of the Shafite sect, was *imâm* and chief jurisconsult of the Shafites in city. He had studied under Abû Bakr al-Fârisi (1) and was one of the most distinguished disciples of Abû Bakr al-Kaffâl as-Shâshi (*vol. II. page* 605). He always continued to reside at Marw, devoting his efforts to the propagation of as-Shâfi's peculiar doctrines. The retentiveness of his memory was proverbial. He possessed some points of traditional information relative to the doctrines of his sect, and of which he was the sold depository; these were transmitted down orally by the jurisconsults of Khorâsân on his authority. He stated that as-Shâfi considered as valid the indication of the *kibla* by a little boy (2), but, added al-Khidri, the *kibla* here means the niche which is visible in the mosque (*and marks the direction of Mekka*); otherwise, if the mere direction be pointed out by the boy, according to the best of his belief, the indication is not receivable. Abû 'l-Futûh al-Ijli (*v. I. p.* 191) writes as follows in his *Mushkilât*, or elucidation of the obscurities in the *Wajîz* and the *Wasît* (3), towards the beginning of the section on marriage: "The *shaikh* Abû Abd Allah al-Khidri was asked if it was "lawful for a woman to cut her nails in the sight of a man to whom she was "not related? and he reflected a long time without uttering a word. But his "wife, the daughter of the *shaikh* Abû Ali as-Shabbûi, who happened to be "present, said to him: 'What need hast thou to reflect? didst thou not hear "'my father say, in answer to this very question, that, if it be the nails of her "'fingers which she cuts, the man may lawfully look on; but, if it be the nails "'of her toes, he must not look on. And the reason is, that her hands are "'not parts of the body indecent to be shown, whereas the instep is one of "'those parts which cannot be shown.' Al-Khidri was delighted at these "words, and exclaimed: 'Had I only gained this single point of information "'from frequenting persons of learning, I should think it quite enough for my "'pains.'" I may here observe that this distinction between the hands and the feet is questionable, for the doctors of our sect say that (*a woman's*) exposing of her hands during prayer is not indecent; but we consider it indecent (*in her*) to

expose either the hands or the feet before a strange man. It may be perceived that this point requires consideration. Al-Khidri had some knowledge in the Traditions, and his authority therein is held to be good. He died between the years of 380 and 390 (A.D. 990-1000).—*Khidri* means *descended from Khidr*; this Khidr was one of his ancestors: if the surname be pronounced *Khadari*, his ancestor's name must then have been Khadir. This is analogous to the derivation of *Namari* from *Namira* (4), and this rule is absolute, admitting of no exception.—*Shabbûi* means *belonging to Shabbûyah*; this person was one of the *shaikh* Abû Ali's ancestors; he was an able jurisconsult and a native of Marw.

(1) This must be either the same doctor whose life is given by Ibn Khallikân (*page* 616 *of this volume*), or else Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Sahl al-Fârisi, a doctor of the Shafite sect and author of the esteemed treatise on Shafite law, entitled *Oyûn al-Masâil*. He died A. H. 350 (A.D. 961-2), or 305 by another account. He composed some other works, treating of jurisprudence and controversy.—(*Tab. al-Fok.*)

(2) It must be recollected that, with the Moslims, prayers are not valid unless the worshipper face the *kibla* when saying them. The *kibla* is the point of the horizon in which Mekka lies. Now, if a Moslim be in a country where he does not know the direction of the *kibla*, and if he ask a little boy how it lies, and then says his prayers in that direction, is his prayer valid? for the boy might have been mistaken. This is the point on which as-Shâfi answered affirmatively. It is true that al-Khidri gives a different turn to the meaning of as-Shâfi's words.

(3) These are two celebrated treatises on Shafite law by Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli. See next article.

(4) See M. de Sacy's *Grammaire Arabe*, tom. I. p. 331, No. 770.

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## ABU HAMID AL-GHAZZALI.

Abû Hâmid Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Ghazzâli, surnamed Hujja tal-Islâm (*example* for the followers *of Islamisism*) Zain ad-dîn (*ornament of religion*), was a native of Tûs and a doctor of the Shafite sect. Towards the close of his life, the Shafites had not a doctor to be compared to him. He commenced his studies at Tûs under Ahmad az-Zâdkâni, and, having then proceeded to Naisâpûr, he attended the lessons of the Imâm al-Haramain, 650 Abû 'l-Maâli al-Juwaini (*v. II. p.* 120), under whom he studied with such assiduity

that, in a short time, he completed his education; and became, even in the lifetime of his master, one of the most distinguished among the doctors. It was at that period he began his labours as an author. As long as his master lived, he remained with him, and he never ceased furnishing him motives of just pride in having such a pupil. On the Imâm's death, he left Naisâpûr and went to the army, where he met with a highly honorable reception from the vizir Nizâm al-Mulk (*vol. I. p.* 413). A number of men eminent for talent were then at the vizir's court, and in some public conferences which Abû Hâmid had with them, he remained victorious in the debate and acquired a reputation which spread to distant lands (1). Soon after this, the professorship in the *Nizâmiya* College of Baghdâd was conferred upon him, and, in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 484 (June-July, A. D. 1091), he commenced his lessons. His abilities filled the people of Irâk with admiration, and they gradually conceived for him the highest respect. In the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 488 (Nov. A. D. 1095), he abandoned all the occupations in which he had been hitherto engaged, and entered on the path of ascetism and retirement from the world. He then undertook the pilgrimage to Mekka, and, on his return, he proceeded to Syria and stopped for some time at Damascus. During his residence in that city, he gave lessons in a corner of the Great Mosque situated on the west bank of the Tigris. He then set out for Jerusalem, where he applied himself with ardour to the practices of devotion, and visited the holy monuments and venerated spots of that sacred ground. He next passed into Egypt and remained for some time at Alexandria, whence, it is said, he intended to sail to Maghrib, in hopes of having an interview with the emir Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn, the sovereign of Morocco; but, having received intelligence of that prince's death, he abandoned the project. The life of Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn will be found in this work. On leaving Egypt, he returned to Tûs, his native place, and, having resumed his studies, he composed those instructive works, on various branches of knowledge the most celebrated of which are the *Wasît* (*medium treatise*), the *Wajîz* (*compendium*) (2), the *Khulâsa fi 'l-Fikh* (*quintessence of jurisprudence*), and the *Ihya-Olûm ad-Dîn* (*revival of the sciences of religion*). This last is a most valuable and comprehensive work. To this we may add the *Mustasfa* (*chosen extract*), treating of the principles of jurisprudence, and which he terminated on the 6th of Muharram, A. H. 503 (August, A. D. 1109), a treatise

on polemics, entitled *al-Manhûl wa 'l-Muntahal* (doctrines *falsely attributed* to others *and falsely claimed* by some), the *Tahafut al-Falâsafa* (3), the *Mahakk an-Nazar* (*whetstone of reflexion*), the *Mîyâr al-Ilm* (*the weighing-scale of science*) (4), the *Makasid* (*al-Falâsafa*), or *tendencies* (*of the philosophers*), the *Maznûn bihi ala ghairi Ahlih* (*doctrines attributed to wrong persons*) (5), the *Maksad al-Asna* (*the highest aim*), being an explanation of the excellent names of God, the *Mishkât al-Anwâr* (*niche for the lights*) (6), the *Munkid min ad-Dalâl* (*deliverer from error*), and the *Hakîka tal-Kaulain* (*the truth of the two sayings*) (7). His works are very numerous, and all of them are instructive. Having been recalled in the most pressing manner to Naisâpûr, in order that he might resume his lessons in the *Nizâmiya* College, he at length consented, after receiving and refusing repeated invitations to that effect; but he finally renounced this occupation and returned home to his native place, where he erected, in the proximity of his own house, a convent for *sûfis*, and a college for the study of the law. He thenceforward allotted out his time to pious occupations, such as reading the Koran through, conversing with men of contemplative minds (8), and holding sittings for the instructing of students; in this mode of life he persevered till he was removed into the presence of his Lord. Some verses composed by him have been handed down traditionally, and amongst them are the following, given as his by the *hâfiz* Abû Saad as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) in his *Supplement*:

> The scorpions (*ringlets*) of her forehead settled in the moon of her cheeks, and she thus became incomparable (*for beauty*). We have seen the moon in the sign of the scorpion; but here, for a wonder, the scorpion is in the moon.

I found these verses elsewhere attributed to a different person. God knows best which of the two is the author. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni gives the following verses as his, in the *Kharîda*:

> Suppose that I were in love as you imagine, and that I enjoyed the pleasure of kissing that ringlet-adorned cheek; know that I am a seceder from established opinions (*a Motazelite*), and that the beloved received me with an Asharite face (9).

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The *katib* quotes also the preceding verses as al-Ghazzâli's. (*Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli*) was born A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058-9), and he died on Monday, the 14th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 505 (December, A. D. 1111), at at-Tâbarân. The



accomplished scholar and poet, Abû 'l-Muzaffar Muhammad al-Abîwardi, a person whose life we shall give, composed an elegy on his death, containing the following line:

> He is gone! and the greatest loss which ever afflicted me, was that of a man who left not his like among mankind.

On the death of al-Ghazzâli, the imâm Ismaîl al-Hâkimi quoted the following verses from one of Abû Tammâm's (*vol. I. p.* 348) most celebrated *kasîdas*, and applied them to himself:

> I wondered at my patience when deprived of him by death; I, who used to shed tears of blood when he was absent from me. But the age is now so productive of wonders, that it has ceased to excite our wonder.

Al-Ghazzâli was buried at at-Tâbarân, the citadel of Tûs. Of the word Ghazzâli we have already spoken (*vol. I. page* 80) in the life of his brother Ahmad, the ascetic divine and preacher.—*At-Tâbarân* is one of the two towns which compose the city of Tûs; of this we have also spoken in the same article.

(1) Literally: Which travelled with the caravans.

(2) Both of these works treat of Shafite jurisprudence.

(3) *Tahâfut al-Falâsafa* signifies literally *the rushing of the Philosophers;* the words *fi 'd-Dalâl* (*into error*) seem to be understood. This treatise has been translated into Latin under the title of *Destructio Philosophorum*, and published in the collection of Averrhoe's works; Venice, 1560, tom. IX.

(4) This is a treatise on logic.

(5) The manuscript of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 884, contains five treatises by al-Ghazzâli, one of which appears to be the work here mentioned. The title, however, is different, as it runs thus: *Al-Masnûn bihi an Ghairi Ahlih* (*doctrines to be treasured up from the unworthy.*)

(6) This treatise has been published with a French translation by Dr. Schmoelders, in one volume, entitled *Essai sur les écoles philosophiques chez les Arabes.* Paris, 1842.

(7) This may perhaps be a treatise on the two points of the Moslim profession of faith: *There is but one God; Muhammad is the Apostle of God.*

(8) Literally: With the people of the hearts. This appears to be a technical expression used by the Sûfis.

(9) I have been obliged to modify the meaning of these strange verses, and should have suppressed them, were they not attributed to so grave a divine as al-Ghazzâli. It would seem that he was suspected *barbatuli juvenis amore correptum fuisse*, and he answers by a scholastic pun. Al-Ashari was an ardent opponent of the Motazelite doctrines, and *ashari* (*asharite*) signifies *belonging to al-Ashari*, and *covered with hair*. The simplicity with which Ibn Khallikân quotes these lines would be quite unaccountable, had such passions been considered in any other light but purely platonic.



## ABU BAKR AS-SHASHI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Omar, surnamed Fakhr al-Islâm (*glory of Islamism*), and generally known by the appellation of al-Mustazhiri, was born at Maiyafârikîn, but his family belonged to Shash (*vol. II. p.* 606). This doctor, who was the first Shafite jurisconsult of that age, commenced the study of the law at Maiyafârikîn under Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Baiyân al-Kâzarûni (*vol. I. p.* 377), and under the *kâdi* Abû Mansûr at-Tûsi, the disciple of Abû Muhammad al-Juwaini (*vol. II. p.* 27). He continued to attend their lessons till the removal of Abû Mansûr from the kadiship of Maiyafârikîn; he then proceeded to Baghdad and attached himself to the *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi (*vol. I. p.* 9), under whose tuition he pursued his studies and whom he served in the capacity of an under-tutor. He also read over the treatise on jurisprudence, entitled the *Shâmil*, under the author, Abû Nasr Ibn as-Sabbâgh (*vol. II. p.* 164). He accompanied the *shaikh* Abû Ishak to Naisâpûr, and then returned to Baghdad, after having discussed with great ability, and in the presence of the Imâm al-Haramain (*vol. II. p.* 120), a question on a point of law. He is noticed by the *hâfiz* Abd al-Ghâfir al-Fârisi, in the *Siâk*, or continuation of the History of Naisâpûr (*vol. II. p.* 170). On the death of his master Abû Ishak, he had attained such a reputation in Irâk, as a doctor of the law, that he was nominated chief of the Shafite sect. A number of instructive works were composed by him, such as the *Hilya tal-Ulamâ* (*ornament of the learned*), wherein he treats of the Shafite system of jurisprudence. Having composed this work, he added to it the conflicting opinions of the *imâms* on each point of doctrine, and thus formed a large compilation, to which he gave the title of *al-Mustazhiri*, because he had composed it by the desire of the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Mustazhir billah. He wrote also some controversial works. In the year 504 (A. D. 1110-1), he was appointed professor at the *Nizâmiya* College of Baghdad, and this place he continued to fill till his death. His predecessors in it were, the *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shirâzi, Abû Nasr Ibn as-Sabbâgh, Abû Saad al-Mutawalli, the author of the *Tatimma tal-Ibâna* (*v. II. p.* 90), and Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli (*vol. II. p.* 621). A learned *shaikh* of our sect informed me that,

as Abû Bakr as-Shâshi was one day sitting on the *sudda* (*sofa*), as is customary with professors when teaching, he applied his handkerchief to his eyes and wept bitterly, repeating, at the same time, this verse :

> The dwellings are empty and I am now the chief, though unworthy of authority ; it is for me an affliction to have become the sole depository of power.

682 In this, he was actuated by a feeling of justice and the desire of acknowledging the merit of his predecessors and their superiority to himself. The verse just mentioned belongs to a piece which is inserted in the *Hamâsa* (1). Abû Bakr as-Shâshi was born in the month of Muharram, A. H. 429 (Oct.-Nov. A. D. 1037), at Maiyâfârikîn. He died on Saturday, the 25th of Shawwâl, A. H. 507 (March, A. D. 1114), at Baghdad, and was interred at the Shirâz Gate, in the same tomb with his master Abû Ishak. Some say that he was buried in a grave at the side of his master's.

(1) See *Hamâsa*, page ٣٧٥.

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## ABU NASR AL-ARGHIYANI.

Abû Nasr Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah al-Arghiyâni was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi. Having left his native place (*Arghiyân*) and proceeded to Naisâpûr, he studied under the Imâm al-Haramain (*vol. II. p.* 120), and obtained distinction by his knowledge of the law, after which he rose to the rank of an *imâm* (*chief doctor of the sect*) and acquired a high reputation as a *mufti* and a devout ascetic. He learned Traditions from Abû 'l-Hasan Ali al-Wâhidi, the author of the celebrated commentaries on the Koran (*vol. II. p.* 246), and he has transmitted to us the manner in which that doctor explained these words of the Koran : *Verily, I perceive the smell of Joseph* (1): according to al-Wâkidi, "the East wind asked permission of Almighty "God to waft to Jacob the smell of Joseph, before the bearer of good tidings

"should reach him with his son's shirt (2); and, permission having been given, "it bore the smell to him. It is for this reason that persons in sadness are "revived by the breath of the East wind; the human body softens under its "influence and sinks into placid enjoyment; the east wind causes the heart to "long for the sight of friends and of home (3). And a poet has said :

> 'I implore you, O two mountains of an-Namân (4)! to let the breath of the East 'wind come unto us; that breeze which dispels all cares from a melancholy mind.'"

Abû Nasr al-Arghiyâni was born A. H. 454 (A. D. 1062-3), and he died on the eve of the 24th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 528 (September, A. D. 1134), at Naisâpûr. He was buried outside the city, at a spot called al-Hira, on the road-side. Relative to the *fatwas*, or legal opinions, extracted from the work entitled *Nihâya tal-Matlab* (5), and which are called the *Fatâwa Arghiyâniya*, I was doubtful whether they belonged to Abû Nasr or to his brother Abû 'l-Fath Sahl (*vol. I. p.* 605), as I had not seen the book for a long time before : I even mentioned, in the life of Abû 'l-Fath, that he was its author, but I have since obtained the certain proof of its having been composed by Abû Nasr.—The word *Arghiyâni* has already been explained (*vol. I. p.* 606).

(1) Koran, sûrat 12, verse 94.

(2) See Koran, *loco laudato*.

(3) The Arabian poets attribute to the east wind effects which European poets would attribute to the west wind, or Zephyr. Indeed, throughout this work, whenever the east wind is mentioned in a piece of verse, it has been rendered by *zephyr* in the translation.

(4) A great number of places in Arabia bear the name of an-Namân; it is therefore difficult to determine which of them the poet means here.

(5) According to the author of the *Tabakât as Shâfiyin*, the *Nihâya tal-Matlab* here mentioned is the work under that title composed by the Imâm al-Haramain. See page 121 of this volume.



## MUHAMMAD IBN YAHYA.

Abû Saad Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Abi Mansûr, a doctor of the Shafite sect, a native of Naisâpûr, and surnamed Muhi ad-din (*reviver of religion*), was the most eminent of the later jurisconsults, and surpassed them all in learning and piety. He studied the law under Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli (*vol. II. p.* 621), and Abû 'l-Muzaffar Ahmad al-Khawâfi (*vol. I. p.* 79). Having acquired a superior knowledge of this science and composed a number of works, some on it, and others in defence of his sect, he was appointed chief of the jurisconsults of Naisâpûr. Persons then came from all countries to pursue their studies under him, and, of the numerous students who profited by his tuition, the majority became *saiyids* (*able doctors*) and skilful controvertists. His works are: the *Muhît* (*comprehensive*) (1), being an explanation of (*al-Ghazzâli's*) *Wasît*; the *Intisâf fi Masâil al-Kilâf* (*justification*; *treatise on controverted points* of Shafite doctrine), etc. The hâfiz Abd al-Ghâfir al-Fàrisi (*vol. II. p.* 170) mentions him with commendation in the *Siâk*, or *Continuation* of the history of Naisâpûr, and adds: "He "possessed abilities as an exhorter to piety, and his mind was stocked with "copious information on various sciences. He taught in the *Nizâmiya* College 683 "of Naisâpûr, and then in the *Nizâmiya* College of Herât. Among the portions "of traditional information which he had received, were some transmitted "to him orally by *shaikh* Abû Hâmid Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn "Abdûs, and (*then*) read to him by the imâm Abû Nasr Abd ar-Rahim, son of "Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Karîm al-Kushairi (*vol. II. page* 154) in the year 496 "(A. D. 1102). The following verses, were recited to him by a person of "talent who happened to attend one of his lectures, and was struck with his "instructive observations and the manner in which they were conveyed:

> The mouldering remains of religion and of Islamism receive new life from our master Muhî ad-dîn (*the reviver of religion*), the son of Yahya (*the living*). When he gives a lesson, (*it seems*) as if he had received a revelation from God, the Lord of the Throne.

I found the following verses attributed to him in a collection of extracts; and I have since read in a life of the *shaik* Shihâb ad-din Abû 'l-Fath Muhammad

Ibn Mahmûd Ibn Muhammad, a Shafite jurisconsult, born at Tûs and settled at Egypt (2), that this doctor said : "The *imâm* Abû Saad Muhammad Ibn Yahya "recited to me the following verses composed by himself :

'When they said that a hair placed in water and exposed to the sun becomes a ser- 'pent, I did not credit their words ; but, when the ringlets of my beloved settled on 'the water of her face (3) and stung my heart, I found the statement true..' "

This doctor was born at Turaithit, A. H. 476 (A. D. 1083-4), and he died a martyr in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 548 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 1153), having been killed by the Ghozz, when they took Naisâpûr after defeating the Seljûk sultan, Sinjar (*vol. I. p.* 601). They put Muhammad Ibn Yahya to death by cramming earth into his mouth. Ibn al-Azrak al-Fâriki states, in his history (*of Maiyâfârikîn*) that this occurred in the year 553, but the former is the correct date. A number of learned men composed elegies on his death, and one of them, Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Abi 'l-Kâsim al-Baihaki, said in allusion to his fate :

O thou who hast shed the blood of a man profoundly learned, whose reputation reached to distant kingdoms ! tell me, wicked man, I conjure thee, and speak without dread : How couldst thou take away the life of him who was a *muhi ad-dîn* (*giver of life to religion*) ?

The Shihâb ad-dîn at-Tûsi mentioned in this article died in Old Cairo on the 20th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 596 (September, A. D. 1200), and was interred in the Karâfa cemetery. His birth took place A. H. 522 (A. D. 1128). He professed at the college called Manâzil al-Izz (*vol. II. p.* 392), and sojourned in Cairo, at the *khânakâh* (*convent*) of Saîd as-Saadâ.—*Turaithît* is an extensive district in the dependencies of Naisâpûr ; it has produced a number of eminent men, some of them remarkable for learning.

(1) According to the author of the *Tabakât as-Shafiyîn*, this work forms eight volumes.

(2) The date of this doctor's death will be found farther on.

(3) By the *water of her face*, he means the clear complexion of her cheeks. It must be recollected also that, in Arabic, *ringlets* and *scorpions* are permutable terms. See Introduction to vol. I. page xxxvi.

## ABU MANSUR AL-BARAWI.

Abû Mansûr Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saad Ibn Abd Allah al-Barawi, a highly distinguished jurisconsult of the Shafite sect, attained the eminent rank which he held by his knowledge of the law, his talent for discussion, and his abilities as a dogmatic theologian and preacher. His style was charming, and his diction pure and elegant. He studied the law under Muhammad Ibn Yahya, the doctor whose life has been just given, and was one of his best pupils. He composed an excellent and well-known *Taalîka* (1) on the points of controversy between his sect and the other three, and a treatise on dialectics, entitled *al-Muktarih fi 'l-Mustalih* (*the requisite for the conventional*). This is also a good and well known treatise; jurisconsults make it one of their principal subjects of study, and it has been fully elucidated by the doctor Taki addin Abû 'l-Fath Muzaffar Ibn Abd Allah al-Misri (2), who was ever afterwards known by the surname of *at-Taki* (*Taki ad-dîn*) *al-Muktarih*, because he knew this book by heart (3). In the year 567 (A. D. 1171-2), al-Barawi went to 654 Baghdad, and was most honourably received by both high and low. He then obtained the place of professor in the *Bahâiya* (4), a college situated near the *Nizâmiya*, and every day he gave a number of lessons which were attended by crowds of people. He opened also a class for the discussing (*of points of law*) in the Mosque of the Castle, and this attracted all the professors and other distinguished men. He held sittings also at the *Nizâmiya* college for the purpose of giving pious exhortations, and, at that time, the person who professed there was Abû Nasr Ahmad Ibn Abd Allah as-Shâshi. He sometimes betrayed there, by his gestures, his desire of becoming professor at the *Nizâmiya*; and, one day, in the course of the sitting, he pointed to the place which the professor used to occupy, and recited the following verses, taken from the commencement of one of al-Mutanabbi's *kasîdas* :

> I wept, O thou vernal mansion! till I had nearly made thee also weep; I poured forth my feelings and my tears over thy abodes. Receive my morning salutation! thou hast awakened my heart to sadness; return our greeting, for, behold, we salute thee. How could time have decreed that the gazelles of the desert were to replace the gazelles (*maidens*), thy former inhabitants!

The persons present understood the allusion, and, as he was worthy of the place, he received the promise of obtaining it, but death overtook him. He was born at Tûs on Tuesday, the 15th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 517 (January, A. D. 1124), and he died at Baghdad on the afternoon of Thursday, the 16th of Ramadân, A.H. 567 (May, A.D. 1172). The next day, Friday, the funeral service was said over him in the Mosque of the Castle by the khalif al-Mustadi biamr illah. He was buried the same day, at the Abrez Gate, in the funeral chapel of the shaikh Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi (*vol. I. p.* 9). The *hafiz* Ibn Asâkir (*vol. II. p.* 252) mentions, in his history of Damascus, that Abû Mansûr al-Barawi went to that city, in the year 565, and lodged in the *ribât* of as-Sumaisâti. He states also that he read over to him some pieces which had been written down under his dictation.—*Barawi*: I do not know the derivation of this relative adjective, neither is it given by as-Samani (*vol. II. p.* 156); but I am inclined to think that the place to which it refers is in the dependancies of Tûs.

(1) See vol. I. page 55.

(2) Taki ad-dîn Muzaffar Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ali al-Misri (*native of Egypt*), and surnamed al-Muktarih because he knew by heart the work bearing that title, composed some works on jurisprudence, dogmatic theology, and controversy, and was remarkable for his piety, humility, and learning. A number of pupils finished their studies under him at Cairo and at Alexandria. His birth took place A. H. 526 (A. D. 1131-2), and his death in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 612 (Dec. A.D. 1215).—(As-Soyûti's *Husn al-Muhâdira*.)

(3) I read with Hajji Khalifa فلا يقال له لا الخ.

(5) This *Bahâiya* was probably the college founded by the vizir Bahâ ad-dîn Sâbûr Ibn Ardashîr (*see vol. I. p.* 555). The *Nizâmiya* college was founded, as its name imports, by the vizir Nizâm al-Mulk (*see vol. I. p.* 413).

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## ABU 'l-HASAN IBN AL-KHALL.

Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Bakâ al-Mubarâk Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad, surnamed Ibn al-Khall, was a doctor of the Shafite sect and a native of Baghdad. He studied jurisprudence under Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ahmad as-Shâshi, surnamed al-Muztazhiri (*vol. II. p.* 625), and he

attained a high distinction by his learning. It was his custom to remain seated in the mosque of ar-Rahaba, a place on the east side of Baghdad, and never to leave it unless in cases of absolute necessity; and there he passed his time, giving opinions on points of law, and instructing pupils. Previously to this, he had been the sole depository, at Baghdad, of the decisions given by preceding doctors on points connected with the *Suraijian* question (1). He composed a work in the form of a commentary on (*Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi's work*) the *Tanbîh*, or Call, and to which he gave the title of *Taujîh at-Tanbîh* (*the right directing of the Call*); it is a short treatise, however, and of no utility, though the first composed on the subject. In another of his works he treats of the fundamentals of jurisprudence. He learned Traditions from Abû Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Abi Talha an-Niâli, Abû Abd Allah al-Husain al-Busri, and other masters. Some Traditions were delivered down on his authority by Abû 's-Saad as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) and others. I heard a jurisconsult mention that Ibn al-Khall wrote an excellent *mansûb* (2) hand, and that, to obtain specimens of it, the people used to ask him for *fatwas* (*written answers to questions on points of law*), although they had no real occasion for them. The quantity of *fatwas* thus required of him became so great, that he had not a moment left to himself, and, discovering at length the motive of these numerous applications, he in future broke the point of his pen before writing his answers. The people then ceased to trouble him. Some say, however, that it was his brother who wrote so well, but God knows best! Ibn al-Khall died at Baghdad in the year 552 (A. D. 1157-8), and his body was taken to Kûfa for interment.—His brother, Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn al-Mubârak, was 633 also an able jurisconsult and a good poet. Imâd ad-dîn al-Ispahâni mentions him with commendation in the *Kharîda*, and quotes some passsages from his poems, with some of his couplets. One of the pieces which he gives is the following, on a certain preacher:

> How vexatious that people should place reliance on the whims of that stuttering madman!—of a *shaikh* whose piety is tainted with hypocrisy, and whose hypocrisy imposes on very few. When he casts his eyes on the professor's chair, he perks up, as if he meant to say: "That place, by right, should be mine." With his bony fist he strikes his bosom (3), filled (*not with compunction but*) with hidden hate, and says: "What shall "I say?" words which proceed, not from an abundance of ideas, but from the want of them.

From his *dûbaits*, or couplets, we select the following:

Behold the object of the passion which I so long concealed, wishing thus to spare the feelings of her whom I adore. O thou who wast the first, and shalt be the last, to cause my torment! who can tell the ardour of my passion (4)?

They departed, and grief came to settle in my heart! none ever felt such torments as they made me suffer: love, desire, the burning fires of passion; my strength fails me! I sink! I can bear it no longer!

It would not have harmed the camel-drivers had they set out less promptly with my beloved friends! The morning of their departure brought me to my last gasp! A heart in trouble—tears which flow as if through emulation—whilst my firmness was already shaken by the dread of that separation.

Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn al-Mubârak was born A. H. 482 (A. D. 1089-90); he died, A. H. 552 (A. D. 1157-8), or 553.

(1) The *Suraijian question*, so named after Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn Suraij (*vol. I. p.* 46), was a treatise very familiar to Shafite students, and contained the discussion of some points relative to divorce.

(2) See vol. II. page 331, note (1).

(3) In the printed text, the word على should have been placed in the first hemistich.

(4) Literally: Who can interpret the signs (*verses*) of my passion for me? An allusion to the interpreting of the *signs* or verses of the Koran.

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## MUHI AD-DIN IBN AZ-ZAKI.

Abû 'l-Maâli Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Ali Ibn Abd al-Aziz Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husain Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd ar-Rahman Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn al-Walid Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Abd ar-Rahman Ibn Abbân Ibn Othmân Ibn Affân (*a descendant of the khalif Othmân*), a member of the tribe of Koraish, and surnamed Muhi ad-din (*reviver of religion*), but generally known by the appellation of Ibn az-Zaki, or son of Zaki ad-din, was a native of Damascus and a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi. He displayed acquirements of the most varied kinds, being versed in the law, general literature, and other sciences, and having composed some beautiful poetry, sermons (*khotbas*), and epistles. On Wednesday, the 20th of the first Rabi, A. H. 588 (April, A. D. 1192), he was

appointed *kâdi* of Damascus; so, at least, I have found it written in the handwriting of al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil (*vol. II. p.* 111), and the same place had been previously filled by his father and grandfather, as it was subsequently by two of his own sons. He possessed, to the highest degree, the favour of the sultan Salâh ad-dìn, and, when that prince took the city of Aleppo, on Saturday, the 18th of Safar, A. H. 579 (June, A. D. 1183) (1), he recited to him a poem rhyming in *b*, a masterpiece of perfection. One of its verses, which has since obtained great currency among the public, was the following :

> Thy taking of the Grey Castle (2) in the month of Safar, announces the conquest of al-Kods (*Jerusalem*) for the month of Rajab.

This was really the case, that city having been taken on the 27th of Rajab, A. H. 583 (Oct. A. D. 1187). Muhi ad-din having been asked how he came by that idea, he replied that he took it from the comment of Ibn Barrajân (3) on these 656 words of the Koran : *Alef, lâm, mîm. The Greeks have been overcome in the nearest part of the land, but, after their defeat, they shall be victorious within a few years* (4). From the moment I met with the verse given above, and learned this account of it, I began searching for the commentary of Ibn Barrajân, and found the statement to be true; but the passage was written on the margin of the leaf and in a different hand from that of the text, and I know not whether it be an interpolation or a part of the work. A long (*cabalistic*) calculation of his is there given, by which he deduces this result from the words : *a few years.* — When the sultan Salâh ad-din took Aleppo, he confided to Muhi ad-dìn the post of chief magistrate and judge, and gave him for deputy Zain ad-din Banna Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Bânyâsi. On the conquest of Jerusalem, all the learned men who happened to be in the retinue of the sultan, aspired to the honour of pronouncing the *khotba* on the ensuing Friday, and each of them sent in for examination a *khotba* written with great eloquence, in the hopes of being chosen; but the sultan addressed an order to Muhi ad-dìn, directing him to be the preacher. This was the first Friday on which the public prayer was said at Jersulem after the taking of the city, and the sultan with all the chief men of the empire attended at the ceremony. Muhi ad-dìn then mounted the pulpit and commenced his discourse by pronouncing the opening *sûrat* of the Koran, and then said : " God hath cut off " the uttermost part of those who acted perversely; *so praise be unto God, the*

" *lord of all creatures. Praise be unto God, who hath created the heavens and the* " *earth, and hath disposed darkness and light!* (Koran, sûrat 6, verse 1.) *Praise be* " *unto God who hath not begotten any child, who hath no partner in the kingdom, nor* " *requireth any one to protect him from contempt; and magnify him by proclaiming* " *his greatness* (sur. 17, ver. 111). *Praise be unto God, who hath sent down unto* " *his servant the book* (of the Koran), *and hath not inserted therein any crookedness, but* " *hath made it a straight rule; that he should threaten thereby the unbelievers with a* " *grievous punishment from himself, and should bear good tidings unto the faithful,* " *who work righteousness, that they shall receive an excellent reward,* (the reward of " paradise,) *wherein they shall remain for ever; and that he should warn those who* " *say God hath begotten issue* (s. 18, v. 1, 2, 3). *Say, Praise be unto God; and* " *peace be unto his servants whom he hath chosen! is God more worthy, or the false gods* " *which they associate with him?* (s. 27, v. 60.) *Praise be to God, unto whom be-* " *longeth whatever is in the heavens and on earth : and unto him be praise in the* " *world to come; for he is wise and intelligent* (s. 34, v. 1.). *Praise be unto God,* " *the Creator of heaven and earth; who maketh the angels his messengers, furnished* " *with two, and three, and four pair of wings. God maketh what addition he* " *pleaseth unto his creatures; for God is almighty* (s. 35, v. 1)."—In this, the preacher's design was, to quote all the passages of the sacred Koran in which praise is given to God; he then commenced the *khotba* and said : " Praise be " unto God by whose aid Islamism hath been exalted, and by whose might po- " lytheism hath been humbled; whose orders control all events, and who " rewardeth gratitude by continuing his favours. *He* hath enveloped the infidels " in his toils, whose justice hath decreed that time should be a series of vicissi- " tudes, whose bounty hath granted success to those that feared him, who spread " his shade over his servants, and caused his religion to triumph over every " other. In his might he is far above his creatures, and nought can resist him; " his sway extends over the world, and nought can withstand it. He ordereth " what he pleaseth, and none can disobey him; he decideth what he will, and " none can oppose him. I praise him for his victorious assistance; for his " exalting of his friends; for his aiding of those who aided in his cause, and for " his cleansing of his Holy House from the filth of polytheism and its pollutions. " (*I give him*) such praise as a man can offer whose inmost feelings are conscious " of gratitude, and who denotes it by his outward bearing, and I declare that

" there is no other god but the Only God, who hath no associate in his power, " who *is one and eternal; who begot not offspring, neither was he begotten, and who " never had any one like unto him* (5). Such is the declaration of one who " hath purified his heart by the professing of God's unity, and hath given it in " charge unto his Lord. I bear witness that Muhammad is his servant and " apostle, the remover of doubt, the confuter of infidelity, and the dispeller " of falsehood; that God *transported him by night from the Holy Temple* (of " Mekka) *to the Farther Temple* (of Jerusalem) (6), and raised him up to the " highest heavens, even unto *the lote-tree of the utmost bound, near which is the " garden of eternal abode; and his eye-sight turned not away, neither did it wan- " der* (7): may God's blessing be upon him and upon his khalif (*successor*) Abû " Bakr as-Siddik (*the veracious*), the first to embrace the faith; and upon the " commander of the faithful, Omar Ibn al-Khattâb, the first who removed from " this house the sign of the cross; and upon the commander of the faithful, " Othmân Ibn Affân, the possessor of the two lights (8), the collector of the " Koran; and upon the commander of the faithful, Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, the " destroyer of polytheism and the breaker of idols; and God's blessing be on " the family of Muhammad, on his Companions, and on the *Tâbis*. O Men, 657 " rejoice at good news! God is pleased with your conduct; and that is the " utmost term, the highest point, of man's desires; inasmuch as he rendered it " easy for your hands to recover this strayed camel (*Jerusalem*) from the pos- " session of a misguided people, and to bring it back to the fold of Islamism, " after it been abused by the polytheists for nearly one hundred years. (*Rejoice " at*) the purifying of this house *which God allowed to be raised, and in which he " permitted his name to be mentioned* (9); the ways of which he hath delivered " from polytheism, after he had spread his tent over it and established his " rites within it; a house of which the foundations were laid on the profession " of God's unity, for that is the best basis to build on, and of which the edifice " was erected to his glory, for it stands founded on piety from ancient times " till now. It was the dwelling-place of your father Abraham; the spot from " which your blessed Prophet Muhammad mounted to heaven; the *kibla* towards " which you turned to pray at the commencement of Islamism, the abode of the " prophets; the place visited by the saints; the cemetery of the apostles; the " spot where the divine revelation descended, and to which the orders and the

"prohibitions were sent down: it is the country where mankind will be as-
"sembled for judgment; the ground where the resurrection will take place; the
"holy land whereof God hath spoken in his perspicuous book (10); it is the
"mosque wherein the Apostle of God offered up his prayer and saluted the angels
"admitted nearest to God's presence; it is the town to which God sent his
"servant and apostle, and the Word which he caused to descend on Mary, and
"his spirit Jesus, whom he honoured with that mission and ennobled with the
"gift of prophecy, without removing him from the rank he held as one of his
"creatures: and the Almighty said that Christ *will not proudly disdain to be a*
"*servant unto God, neither the angels who approach near to the divine presence* (11).
"They lied, those who said that God had equals, and widely did they err. *God*
"*hath not begotten issue; neither is there any other God with him: otherwise every*
"*god had surely gone* (apart) *with that which he had created; and some of them had*
"*exalted themselves above the others. Far be that from God which they affirm of*
"*him* (12). *They are surely infidels who say: Verily God is Christ, the son of*
"*Mary*(13)."—Here the preacher repeated the remaining verses of the *sûrat* of the
Table.—"This temple is the first of the two *kiblas* (14), the second of the two
"sacred Mosques (15), the third after the two holy cities (*Mekka and Medîna*);
"the next place, after these two Mosques, to visit which travellers girth their
"camels; the next spot named after these two mansions, when the number of
"holy places is counted on the fingers. Therefore, had you not been of God's
"chosen servants, of those whom he selected from amongst the dwellers in his
"cities, he had not honoured you with this favour wherein you will never have
"a rival, and in the excellence of which you will remain without a competitor.
"Blessings be on you for an army which hath procured the triumph of the
"miraculous powers displayed in the Apostle's gift of prophecy, which hath
"fought battles like those of Bedr, which hath shown resolution like that of
"Abû Bakr, achieved conquests like those of Omar's, behaved like the armies of
"Othmân, and charged like those of Ali! You have renewed for Islamism the
"the glorious days of Kâdisiya, the conflicts of Yarmûk, the sieges of Khaibar,
"and the impetuous attacks of Khâlid Ibn al-Walîd. May God grant you his best
"rewards for the service you have rendered to his blessed prophet Muhammad!
"may he recompense you for the blood you lost in combating his foes! may he
"accept from you as an agreeable offering the blood which you have shed! and

"renumerate you with Paradise, for that is the abode of happiness! Appre-
"ciate then (and God be merciful unto you!) this favour at its just value, and
"thank for it the Almighty with fit acknowledgment, inasmuch as he placed
"you under deep obligations by conferring this honour upon you, and appoint-
"ing you for this service! It is a victory which hath opened for you the gates
"of heaven, and hath illumined by its light the face of the darkness, which hath
"made the most highly favoured of the angels to rejoice, and hath solaced the eyes
"of the prophets who were sent unto mankind! How great a favour was that
"which rendered you the army by whose hands the Sacred City was recaptured
"in these latter times, the body of troops whose swords set up again the mo-
"numents of the faith, after that the mission of prophets had ceased! Soon,
"perhaps, may God achieve, by your hands, other victories such as this; vic-
"tories whereat the people of the green (*the inhabitants of Paradise*) will rejoice
"yet more than the people of the earth: is this not the House whereof God hath
"spoken in his book and explicitly named in this formal address directed to
"himself: *Praise be unto him who transported his servant by night from the Holy*
658 "*Temple to the Farther Temple* (16). Is it not the house which all religions honoured?
"towards which the prophets turned themselves, and in which were read the
"four books sent down from Almighty God (17)? Is it not the house for the
"sake of which God staid the sun over Joshua so that it set not, and delayed its
"pace so that the victory might be rendered prompt and easy? Is it not the
"house which God commanded Moses to order his people to deliver, yet none
"obeyed him but two men? Wherefore he waxed wroth against them, and cast
"them into the wilderness in punishment for their disobedience. Give there-
"fore praises unto God for having helped you to the fulfilment of your resolu-
"tions in an undertaking from which the children of Israil, his chosen people,
"recoiled, and for having prospered you in an attempt wherein the nations of
"former ages failed, and for having made you of one opinion after that you
"were divided, and for having enabled you to speak of this as a past event,
"when before you spoke of it only as an event to come (18). Receive our
"congratulations, inasmuch as God hath mentioned your conduct to those near
"him, and hath made you his own troops after you had been troops in the
"service of your passions; rejoice at the coming of the angels, sent down
"to thank you for the sweet odour of the profession of God's unity where-

" with you have gifted this House, and for the perfume of sanctification and glo-
" rification you have spread throughout it, and for having removed from their
" paths therein the nuisance of polytheism and trinitarian doctrines, and a cri-
" minal and evil belief. Now, the angels of the heavens implore God's mercy on
" you, and pray for you and give you blessings. Therefore, with the help of
" God, preserve this gift which you have obtained, and protect this favour which
" you have received, by living in the fear of God, that fear which saveth him who
" holdeth unto it and delivereth from danger him who clingeth thereto. Beware
" the seductions of your passions; avoid falling into perdition, or turning back
" from the path of righteousness, or recoiling before an enemy: seize this op-
" portunity for removing the annoyances which still subsist in the land; fight
" the good fight in the cause of God, and devote yourselves, O servants of God!
" to his will, for he hath made of you his chosen servants. Beware lest Satan
" cause you to slip and lead you into rebellion; making you imagine that this
" victory was owing to your sharp swords, your fleet steeds, and your intrepidity
" in battle.—No, by Allah! victory cometh not but from the Mighty, the Wise!
" Take care, O servants of God! lest that, after his having ennobled you by
" this great conquest, this signal favour, and after his having reserved for you
" so evident a triumph, and placed within your grasp his strong cord (*of gui-*
" *dance*), take care not to commit such deeds as he hath forbidden or show the
" grievous sin of disobedience; lest you be *like unto her who undid what she spun,*
" *after she had twisted it strongly* (19), and like *to him unto whom we brought our*
" *signs, and he departed from them; wherefore Satan followed him, and he became*
" *one of those who were seduced* (20). Maintain the holy war; it is the best means
" which you have of serving God, the most noble occupation of your lives; sup-
" port God's cause, and He will support you; protect His religion, and He will
" protect you; remember Him, and He will remember you; thank Him, and He
" will give you an increase of favours and reward you. Labour to expel the evil
" (*which afflicts us*), and tear up the enemy by the root; purify the rest of the
" land from this filth which hath angered God and his Apostle; lop off the
" branches of infidelity and cut through its roots; for now the times cry aloud:
" *Vengeance for Islamism and the Muhammedan religion! God is mighty! God giveth*
" *victory and aid! God conquers and subdues! he humbleth the infidel!* Know there-
" fore, and God be merciful unto you! that this is the opportunity, therefore

"seize it; this is the spoil, hasten to obtain it; this is the serious matter, put "forth your serious efforts to accomplish it, and send forward the troops of "your resolutions in battle-array; for each deed is judged by its result, and "each merit by its recompense. God hath now made you victorious over this "misguided enemy who was equal to you in number, or even surpassed you; "and how was it when you were one to twenty? Almighty God hath said: *If* "*twenty of you persevere with constancy, they shall overcome two hundred; and if* "*there be one hundred of you, they shall overcome one thousand of those who believe* "*not, because they are a people who do not understand* (21). May God enable us "and you to follow his commandments and be restrained by his prohibitions! 659 "may he aid us, Moslims, with succour from himself! If God assist you, who "can overcome you? and if he deprive you of his protection, who then can "help you? The best saying is that which is uttered in fitting place; the "arrow which striketh deepest is that which is shot from the bow of speech; the "best word by which one can touch the intelligence is that of the only God, the "sole God, the Mighty, the Wise, who hath said: *And when the Koran is read,* "*hearken thereto, and keep silence; that ye may obtain mercy* (22). I fly to God "from Satan the accursed! in the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement!"— The orator then read the commencement of *the Emigration* (23), after which, he said: "The Apostle ordered you and me to conform to that which God hath com- "manded on the subject of devoted obedience to his will; let us therefore obey "him: he forbad you and me to commit the foul sin of disobedience; let us not "therefore revolt against him (24). I ask pardon of God for myself, for you, "and for all Moslims; ask also pardon."—He then prayed for the *imâm* an-Nâsir, the khalif of that age, after which he said: "And prolong, O Almighty God! "the reign of thy servant, so humble in his fear of thee, so thankful for thy fa- "vours, so grateful for thy gifts,—thy trenchant sword, thy shining flambeau, "the defender of thy faith, the champion and protector of thy holy land, the "firmly resisting, the great, the helping prince, him who gave might to the de- "claration of the true faith, who vanquished the adorers of the Cross, the weal "(*salâh*) of the world and of religion (*ad-dîn*), the sultan of Islamism and of the "Moslims, the purifier of the Holy Temple, Abû 'l-Muzaffar Yûsuf, the son of "Aiyûb, the giver of life to the empire (*muhî ad-dawlat*), the commander of the "true believers. Grant, O Almighty God! that his empire extend over the

"earth, and that the angels ever encircle his standards; reward him for the ser-
"vices he hath rendered to the orthodox belief, and for his firm resolution and
"prompt execution in the defence of the Muhammedan religion. Preserve his
"life, we beseech thee, for the prosperity of Islamism; protect his empire for
"the advantage of the faith, and extend his authority over the regions of the
"East and of the West. As thou hast enabled his hand to retake Jerusalem
"when men had begun to doubt of thy intentions (25), and when the Moslims
"were suffering under their trials, so let his hand take possession of the land
"far and near; help him to seize infidelity by the forelock; let him scatter
"their squadrons, disperse their multitudes, and send them, band after band,
"to join their predecessors (*in hell*). Reward him, O God! in the name of Mu-
"hammad, for his efforts, and let his orders and prohibitions issue uncontrolled
"to the East and to the West; let the centre and the frontiers of the land, and
"all the regions of the kingdom prosper under his rule; let him humble the
"pride of the infidels, and tame the insolence of the perverse; spread his do-
"minion unto every city, and post the detachments of his troops on the roads to
"every country. Maintain, O God! him and his children in the possession of the
"empire till the day of judgment; preserve his days and those of his sons and
"brethren, princes highly favoured; strengthen his power by granting them long
"life, and decide, by thy will, the exaltation of his friends and theirs. O God!
"inasmuch as thou hast produced, through his means, this lasting advantage for
"Islamism, to endure as long as months and years pursue their course, grant
"him the eternal kingdom in the abode of the pious, and answer his prayer
"when he says: *O Lord! excite me that I may be thankful for thy favour wherewith*
"*thou hast favoured me and my parents; and that I may do that which is right, and*
"*well-pleasing unto thee; and introduce me, through thy mercy, among thy servants*
"*the righteous* (26)." He then pronounced the usual prayers.—This doctor was
born at Damascus, A. H. 550 (A. D. 1155); he died in that city on the 7th of
Shaabân, A. H. 598 (May, A. D. 1202) and was buried at the foot of Mount Kâ-
siyûn.—His father Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, surnamed Zaki ad-dîn, filled the place of
*kâdi* at Damascus; he was a man of great virtue and piety. Having requested,
and obtained, permission to resign his post, he made the pilgrimage to Mekka,
and returned to Baghdad in the month of Safar, A. H. 563 (Nov.-Dec. A. D.
1167), and there fixed his residence. He held a high rank as a traditionist,

having received Traditions from a great number of persons; and, during his residence at Baghdad, he taught them publicly. He remained in that city till 660 his death, which happened on Thursday, the 28th of Shawwâl, A. H. 564 (July, A. D. 1169). The funeral service was said over him in the mosque of the Castle, and he was interred in the cemetery of the *imâm* Ahmad Ibn Hanbal.— Abû 'l-Hakam Abd as-Salâm Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân al-Lakhmi, the Ibn Barrajân mentioned in this article, was a man of great sanctity, and the author of a commentary on the Koran, wherein he explains the greater part of it according to the mystic system of the Sûfis. He died in the city of Morocco, A. H. 536 (A. D. 1141-2).

(1) See M. Reinaud's *Extraits*, p. 184.

(2) The Grey Castle (*al-Kalâa 'tas-Shahba*) was one of the names by which Aleppo was known.

(3) Ibn Khallikân gives a short notice of this doctor at the end of the article.

(4) Koran, sûrat 30, verse 1

(5) Koran, sûrat 112, verse 2.

(6) Koran, sûrat 7, verse I.

(7) Koran, sûrat 53, verse 14, 15, 17.

(8) He was so called because he had married successively two of Muhammad's daughters.

(9) Koran, sûrat 24, verse 36.

(10) Koran, sûrat 5, verse 24.

(11) Koran, sûrat 4, verse 170.

(12) Koran, sûrat 23, verse 93.

(13) Koran, sûrat 5, verse 76.

(14) Muhammad at first directed the Moslims to pray with their faces turned towards Jerusalem, but soon after, he chose Mekka for the point towards which they were to look on those occasions.

(15) Koran, sûrat 17, verse 1.

(16) *Ibid.*

(17) *The four books;* the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Koran.

(18) Literally: Who hath enriched you with that which the words *kan* (*was*) and *kad* (*already*) put in the past tense, in exchange for that which *sauf* (*shall be*) and *hatta* (*till such time as*) put in the future tense.— This quibble must have been highly pleasing to a congregation of Moslims for whom grammar is one of the first among the sciences.

(19) Koran, surat 16, verse 94.

(20) Koran, sûrat 7, verse 174.

(21) Koran, sûrat 8, verse 66.

(22) Koran, sûrat 7, verse 203.

(23) Koran, sûrat 59.

(24) This was said by the preacher in connexion with the last words of his quotation from the Koran. The quotation finished with the seventh verse of the fifty-ninth sûrat.

(25) Literally: When thoughts were entertained.

(26) Koran, sûrat 27, verse 19.

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## AS-SADID AS-SALAMASI.

Muhammad Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Abd Allah as-Salamâsi, surnamed as-Sadid (*the well directed*), was a doctor of the Shafite sect and its chief *imâm* in that age. Having exercised the functions of under-tutor (*mûîd*) in the *Nizâmiya* College, he mastered various branches of science, and was the first who made known in Irâk the Sharîf's *Tarîka* (1). It is even said that he could repeat the contents of that work without recurring to the book, and that he knew equally well (*Abû Hâmid*) al-Ghazzâli's *Wasit* and *Mustasfa*. Pupils came from all countries to study, under him, and by his excellent mode of tuition, they all became learned jurisconsults, professors, and authors. Amongst the number were the two *imâms* and *shaikhs* Imâd ad-dîn Muhammad and Kamâl ad-dîn Mûsa, the sons of Yûnus, whose lives will be found in this work; to these may be added the *shaikh* Sharaf ad-dîn Abû 'l-Muzaffar Muhammad Ibn Alwân Ibn Muhâdjir and other eminent doctors. His opinions on points of law were held to be excellent (2). He died at Baghdad in the month of Shabân, A. H. 574 (Jan.-Feb. A. D. 1178-9). —*Salamâsi* means *belonging to Salamâs*, a city in Adarbaijân which has produced a number of illustrious men.

(1) The *Sharîf* Sharaf Shâh Ibn Melekdâd al-Abbâsi, a celebrated professor in the *Nizâmiya* College (*of Naisâpûr*), was a jurisconsult of great acuteness He composed a *Tarîka*, or *systematic* defence of the Shafite doctrines, which acquired extensive circulation, and he wrote some other works on dialectics. He died in the flower of his youth at Naisâpûr, A.H. 543 (A.D. 1148-9).—(*Tabakât as-Shâfiyîn*.) — This is the Sharîf whose name I had not been able to discover, when writing the note (2), page 237 of this volume.

(2) Literally: "He was considered as well directed (*musaddad*) in *fatwas*." He probably received the title of *Sadîd* for this reason.



## HAFADA TAT-TUSI.

Abû Mansûr Muhammad Ibn Asaad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn al-Kâsim al-Attâri, generally known by the appellation of Hafada, and surnamed Imâd ad-dîn (*column of the faith*), was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and a native of Naisâpûr. He bore the surname of at-Tûsi because his family belonged to Tûs. This able jurisconsult was also an eloquent preacher and a profound dogmatic theologian. He studied the law at Marw under Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Mansûr as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 157), the father of the celebrated *hâfiz;* he then removed to Marw ar-Rud (*vol. I. p.* 50), and continued his studies under the kâdi Husain al-Farrâ al-Baghawi (*vol. I. p.* 419), the author of the Explanation of the *Sunna* and of the *Tahdîb*. He proceeded thence to Bokhâra and studied under the Hanifite doctor Burhân ad-dîn Abd al-Azîz Ibn Omar Ibn Mâza, after which he returned to Marw, and regular assemblies were held there to hear him preach. He remained in that city for some time, but, in the year 548, the disastrous invasion of the Ghozz obliged him to retire into Irâk. Of this invasion we have spoken in the life of the jurisconsult Muhammad Ibn Yahya (*vol. II. p.* 629). He then passed into Adarbaijân, and proceeded through Mesopotamia to Mosul. In this city, crowds assembled to hear him preach and deliver Traditions. One of the passages which he dictated to his disciples was the following :

> As-Shâfi shines among the learned like the sun among the stars. Say to whoever compares him to one who equals him not: "Can light be compared to darkness."

He one day recited these lines from the pulpit :

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> May the thunder announce to the dwelling wherein Hind resided the salutation of a genial shower, offered by the dark clouds. She departed from us, and we, seduced by love, lent her our hearts ; but objects lent by lovers are never returned.

The exhortations which he made at his assemblies were admirable. He died in the month of the latter Rabi, A. H. 571 (Oct.-Nov. A. D. 1175), in the city of Tibriz (*Tauris*): but some persons place his death in the month of Rajab, A.H. 573.—Notwithstanding all my researches, I have not been able to discover why he was called *Hafada*.—*Tibrîz* is one of the largest cities in Adarbaijân.

## AL-KHUBUSHANI.

Abû 'l-Barakât Muhammad Ibn al-Muwaffak Ibn Said Ibn Ali Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Abd Allah al-Khubûshâni, surnamed Najm ad-dîn (*star of religion*), was an able doctor of the Shafite sect, and noted for his devout life. He studied jurisprudence under Muhammad Ibn Yahya (*vol. II. p.* 625), and he so well knew by heart that author's commentary on the *Wasît*, entitled the *Muhît* (*comprehensive*), that, it is said, he once repeated it from memory (*to his pupils*), as he happened not to have a copy of it at hand. We have a large work of his called the *Tahkîk al-Muhît* (*proofs of the doctrines contained in the* Muhît), and I have seen a copy of it in sixteen volumes. Mention has been already made of his interview with al-Aadid al-Obaidi (*vol. II. p.* 74). When the sultan Salâh ad-dîn obtained the sovereignty of Egypt, he took al-Khubûshâni into favour and treated him with marked honour, having conceived a high opinion of his learning and piety. It was by this doctor's advice, it is said, that he built the college situated near the tomb of the *imâm* as-Shâfi; and, on the completion of the edifice, in the year 572 (A. D. 1176-7), he appointed al-Khubûshâni to it, as professor. In this same year he built the hospital in the citadel of Cairo. I met a number of this doctor's old pupils, and they all extolled his talents and piety; remarking at the same time, that he was a man of the soundest moral principle and very little acquainted with the ways of the world. He was born on the 13th of Rajab, A. H. 510 (November, A. D. 1116), at Ustawa (*a place near*) Khûbûshân, and he died on Wednesday, the 12th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 587 (December, A. D. 1191), at the college of which we have just spoken. He was interred under a cupola at the foot of as-Shâfi's grave, and a grating separates the two tombs.—*Khubûshâni* means *belonging to Khubûshân*, a small town in the district of Naisâpûr.—*Ustawa*, pronounced also *Ustuwa*, is the name of a canton in the same district, containing a great number of villages.

## KAMAL AD-DIN AS-SHAHROZURI.

Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad Ibn Abi Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Abi Ahmad al-Kâsim as-Shahrozûri, surnamed Kamâl ad-din (*perfection of religion*), was a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi. Mention has been already made of his father and grandfather (*vol. II. pages* 29 *and* 497). Kamâl ad-din studied jurisprudence at Baghdad under Asaad al-Mihani (*vol. I. p.* 189), and learned Traditions from Abû 'l-Barakât Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khamis al-Mausili. He filled the place of *kâdi* at Mosul, and built a college for Shafites in that city. He erected also a convent (*ribât*) at Medina. The *atâbek* Imâd ad-din Zinki employed him as his envoy, and frequently dispatched him, in that capacity, from Mosul to 662 (*the court of*) Baghdad. When Zinki lost his life at the siege of Kalât Jaabar (*vol. I. p.* 540), Kamâl ad-din was at the army with his brother Tâj ad-din Abû Tâhir Yahya, the father of the *kâdi* Diâ ad-din, and they accompanied the army on its return to Mosul. The sovereign authority having devolved to Saif ad-din Ghâzi, the son of Imâd ad-din, that prince entrusted the *kâdi* Kamâl ad-din with the administration of Mosul and of all the empire. In the year 542 (A. D. 1147-8) he caused both (*brothers*) to be arrested, and confined them in the citadel of Mosul, after which, he sent for Najm ad-din Abû Ali al-Hasan, the son of Bahâ ad-din Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, who was then *kâdi* of ar-Rahaba, and appointed him to the kadiship of Mosul and Diâr Bakr, as successor to his cousin Kamâl ad-din. The khalif al-Muktafi then sent an envoy to intercede for Kamâl ad-din and his brother; this procured their liberation from prison, but they were then kept under arrest at their own houses, whilst Jalâl ad-din Abû Ahmad, Kamâl ad-din's son, and Diâ ad-din Abû 'l-Fadâil al-Kâsim, the son of Tâj ad-din, remained prisoners in the citadel. On the death of Saif ad-din Ghâzi, the arrest was suspended, and they both went to see Kutb ad-din Maudûd, the son of Zinki, who had been raised to the throne on the death of his brother Saif ad-din. Finding the prince on horseback in the hippodrome, they immediately dismounted and went up to him. They were arrayed in mourning robes, and had left aside their *tarhas* (1). When they drew near, he got off his horse to meet them, and received their condolences on the death of his brother, with their felicitations on

his own accession. They then mounted again, and placed themselves one on each side of Kutb ad-dîn, after which they returned home, discharged from their arrest. From that time, they regularly rode out in the train of the prince. In the year 550 (A. D. 1155-6), Kamâl ad-dîn entered into the service of Nûr ad-dîn Mahmûd (2), sovereign of Syria, and remained some time at Damascus. In the month of Safar, A. H. 555 (Feb.-March., A. D. 1160), he was appointed *hâkim* (*chief magistrate*), in the place of Zaki ad-dîn, who was removed from office; on which he designated his son and nephews to act as his deputies in the different cities of Syria. He then rose to the vizirship, and exercised the chief magisterial authority over all the Moslim cities of that time, whilst his son, the *kâdi* Muhi ad-dîn, acted in the same capacity, as his lieutenant at Aleppo. During the reign of Nûr ad-dîn, he not only filled the duties of chief magistrate and president of the council of state, but he had also to direct the whole administration of the empire. That prince sent him as his envoy to the court (*of Baghdad*), in the khalifate of al-Muktafi, and the latter confided to him the mission of establishing a peace between Nûr ad-dîn and Kilidj Arslân Ibn Masûd, sovereign of Asia Minor (*Rûm*). On the death of Nûr ad-dîn, Salâh ad-dîn took possession of Damascus and confirmed Kamâl ad-dîn in his attributions. Kamâl ad-dîn was a jurisconsult, an elegant scholar, a poet and a *kâtib*; he possessed a lively wit and a talent for conversation which rendered him the delight of society. He discoursed remarkably well on the points of difference between the orthodox sects and on the fundamental principles of theology and jurisprudence; he maintained a high eminence by his acuteness and intrepidity, and he was equally distinguished for his charity and beneficence. Numerous pious establishments (*wakfs*) were founded by him at Mosul, Nasîbîn, and Damascus. As the prime minister of the empire, he exercised great influence, and, as a statesman, his abilities were of the highest order. None of his sons could be compared with him, and none of them, numerous though they were, ever attained such an exalted rank as he. Mention is made of him by the *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir (*vol. II. p.* 252) in the History of Damascus. He composed some good poetry, and the following lines were repeated to me as his, by persons of his family:

I went to see thee whilst the stars were my only observers, and the dawn was yet an idea, latent in the bosom of the East. Impelled by love, I faced every danger, hoping we might meet.

It is said that he wrote the following verses to his son Muhi ad-dìn, who was then at Aleppo; and the author of the *Kharîda* pronounces them positively to be his :

> I dispatch to thy presence a legion of loving wishes, in the form of letters ; thinking
> 663 of thee, I hold a pleasing conversation with myself, but, alas! it is a mere delusion.

The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn says in the *Kharîda*, in his article on Kamâl ad-din, that these lines were recited to him by the *kâdi* as his own, on the 3rd of the first Rabî, A. H. 571. "They recalled to my mind," he adds, "the words of " the *sharîf* Abû Yala Ibn al-Habbâriya (3), who said, alluding to the slow ap- " proach of morning (*after a night of anxiety*) :

> ' How many the nights I passed, concealing the flame which consumed me, and ut- ' tering complaints to the stars, so as nearly to awake their pity; whilst the East with- ' held from me the sight of morn, as the hand of the wretched holds closely the favour ' it obtained.' "

He then adds: "If the poet had (*changed a single word and*) said : (*ardently de-* " *sired*) *like a tardy favour granted to the wretched*, the thought had been ex- " cellent." It is said that when Kamâl ad-dîn grew old and feeble, so as to be hardly able to move, he used very often to repeat these lines :

> O Lord ! let me not live till I become a burden to any man ; take me by the hand (*unto thyself*), before I am obliged to say, when I wish to rise up: "Take me by the hand."

I am not sure whether these verses be his own or not, and I have since met with them in a poem composed by Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Abi s'-Sakr al-Wâsiti. In the life of Ibn Abî 's-Sakr, we shall again speak of them.—Kamâl ad-dìn was born at Mosul, A.H. 492 (A.D. 1098-9); he died at Damascus on Thursday, the 6th of Muharram, A.H. 572 (July, A.D. 1176), and was interred, the next morning, at Mount Kâsiûn. He was then aged eighty years and some months. His son Muhi ad-dìn composed an elegy on his death.—One of Kamâl ad-dìn's last requests, was that the chief kadiship should be conferred on his nephew, Abû 'l- Fadâil al-Kâsim Ibn Yahya Ibn Abd Allah, surnamed Diâ ad-dìn, and the sultan acceded to this recommendation by nominating him *kâdi* of Damascus. He held this post for some time, but discovering that the prince had a partiality for

the *shaikh* Sharaf ad-dîn Ibn Abi Usrûn (*vol. II. p.* 32), he asked and obtained his dismissal. Sharaf ad-din was appointed to the vacant place.

(1) It would appear from a note by M. de Sacy, in his *Chrestomathie*, tom. II. p. 269, that the *tarha* was a sort of hood worn by the chief *kâdis* of the Shafite sect.

(2) His life will be found in this work.

(3) The *sharîf* Abû Yala Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sâlih Ibn al-Habbâriya, a native of Baghdad, was one of the poets patronised by Nizâm al-Mulk (vol. I. p 413). He had a great propensity to satire, and surpassed, in the gaiety and licentiousness of his poems, Ibn al-Hajjâj (*vol.I. p.* 448), on whose style his own might be said to be formed. He ended by satirizing Nizâm al-Mulk himself. Imâd ad-dîn gives some passages from his compositions in the *Kharida,* MS. No. 1447, fol. 24 *et seq.*

## MUHI AD-DIN AS-SHAHROZURI.

Abû Hâmid Muhammad as-Shahrozûri, surnamed Muhî ad-dîn (*reviver of gion*), was the son of the *kâdi* Kamâl ad-dîn, whose life has been given in the preceding article. Having already mentioned the high rank and authority held by his father, we need not repeat our observations here. The *kâdi* Muhî ad-dîn went to study at Baghdad, and, having distinguished himself by his progress in jurisprudence under the tuition of the *shaikh* Abû Mansûr Ibn al-Bazzâz, he proceeded to Syria and filled the kadiship of Damascus, as his father's deputy. In the month of Ramadân, A. H. 555 (September, A. D. 1160), he removed to Aleppo, where he exercised the chief magistracy in his father's name also, having replaced, in this office, Ibn Abi Jarâda, surnamed Ibn al-Adim (1). On the death of his father, he removed to Mosul and obtained not only the kadiship of that city, but the professorship in the colleges founded there, one by his father, and the other by Nizâm al-Mulk. Having gained the confidence of Izz ad-din Masûd, the son of Kutb ad-din Maudûd, sovereign of Mosul, he became the uncontrolled director of the state, and was frequently dispatched by his master on missions to the court of Baghdad. Bahâ ad-din Yûsuf Ibn Shaddâd, *kâdi* of Aleppo, mentions, in his work entitled: *Maljâ al-Hukkâm and Iltibâs il-Ahkâm* (*resource of magistrates*

664 *when the law is doubtful*), that he was in the retinue of Muhi ad-dîn when that *kâdi* proceeded to Baghdad on one of his missions. The eminence of Muhi ad-dîn may be easily appreciated from the fact of his having such a man as Bahâ ad-dîn in his service. He was distinguished by his princely beneficence, and it is said that, in one of his embassies to Baghdad, he distributed ten thousand *emîrian* dinars (2) to jurisconsults, literary men, poets, and indigent persons. It is said also that, during the whole period of his magistracy at Mosul, he never allowed a debtor to be imprisoned for two dinars or a smaller sum, but discharged the debt himself. Numerous anecdotes are related of his generosity. The great authority and influence which he exercised obtained for him universal respect; and his character, which was of the very noblest cast, was marked by beneficence and affability (3). He possessed a very fair knowledge of the belles lettres, and composed some good poetry. One of his pieces, recited to me at Damascus by a friend, is on a grasshopper, and offers great novelty in its comparisons; he says:

> It has the thighs of a camel, the legs of an ostrich, the claws of an eagle, and the breast of a lion. It borrowed its belly from the serpent of the sands, and its head and mouth from the spirited steed.

In a collection of various pieces, I found the following verses of his on the descent of snow from the clouds:

> When time grew hoary with grief at the loss of its generous men, he tore off this hoariness and scattered it upon mankind.

His birth may be placed approximatively in the year 510 (A. D. 1116-7). The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn says in his *Kharîda*, I know not on what authority, that he was born in the year 519, to which he adds, in the *Sail*, that this event took place in the month of Shaabân. He died at daybreak, on Wednesday the 14th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 586 (June, A. D. 1190), according to Ibn ad-Dubaithi (4), but, on the 23rd of the month, according to the *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn, in his *Sail*. His death took place at Mosul, and he was buried in his house, situated in the quarter of the Castle, but his corpse was subsequently carried to Medîna; so, at least, I have read in an historical work, but Ibn ad-Dubaithi states, in his History, that it was removed to a mausoleum built

for its reception outside the city (*of Mosul*). Having endeavoured to clear up this point, I found Ibn ad-Dubaithi's statement to be true. This mausoleum lies outside the Maidân Gate, near the tomb of Kadîb al-Bân, the celebrated worker of miracles (5).—Kamâl ad-dîn had another son called Imâd ad-dîn Ahmâd, who was sent, in the year 569 (A. D. 1173-4), as ambassador from Nûr ad-dîn to the court of Baghdad. His praises were celebrated by the poet Ibn at-Taâwîzi (6), in a *kâsîda* of which one of the verses is :

> They said: He is an envoy (*rasûl*) whose qualities are above description! and I answered: You speak the truth; such is the description of every apostle (*rasûl*).

(1) Ibn Abi Jarâda, the grandfather of the historian of Aleppo, refused to hold the place of *kâdi* as deputy to Kamâl ad-dîn —MS. No. 728, f. 176. Farther on, we read as follows: "In the year 575 (A.D. 1179-80) some "ill-intentioned persons complained secretly of Muhî ad-dîn as-Shahrozûri, *kâdi* of Aleppo, to Jamâl ad-dîn "Shadbakht, governor of that city, pretending that he favoured the projects of al-Malik as-Sâlih, and producing "poems (*to that effect*), which they declared to be his. This awakened the apprehensions of Muhî ad-dîn, "who proceeded to Mosul; on which the post of *kâdi* at Aleppo was offered to my uncle, Abû Ghânim Muhammad Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Abi Jarâda, who refused it. My father then accepted the place, and continued to "hold it till the death of al-Malik as-Sâlih."—(*History of Aleppo* by Kamâl ad-dîn Ibn al-Adîm. This is the work of which a portion has been published by M. Freytag under the title of *Excerpta ex Historiâ Halebi.*)

(2) I am indebted to the author of the excellent *Essai sur les Médailles des Sasanides* for the following note on the *emirian dinar*:—Les Toulounides, au quatrième siècle, inscrivirent sur leurs monnaies d'or le nom du khalife suivi du titre d'émir. Mais la première monnaie d'or frappée par un khalife et portant ce titre paraît être un dinar de Mostarched billah, dont un exemplaire unique et inédit appartient à la bibliothèque royale. Cette monnaie est frappée à Bagdad بمدينة السلام en l'année 521. D'un côté on y lit, après le symbole, الامام المسترشد بالله امير المومنين; le revers, un peu altéré, permet pourtant de lire: لله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه معز الدنيا والدين محمود. Comme le module et le poids des dinars des derniers khalifs étaient plus considérables que ceux des dinars anonymes frappés pendant les trois premiers siècles, on a dû, dans le peuple, distinguer ces nouvelles monnaies par une appellation vulgaire. Le titre d'émir étant aussi une innovation pour la monnaie de Bagdad, aura frappé l'attention des gens de cette ville qui auront créé la dénomination de *dinar émirien*. Cette distinction était d'autant plus naturelle que les dinars antérieurs, quoique ne portant pas de nom de prince, nous montrent quelquefois son titre خليفة placé dans le champ de la pièce au-dessous du symbole. Je citerai le dinar de 190 de al-Mamoun comme offrant un exemple de cette particularité.—Adrien de Longpérier.

(3) The words رقيق الحاشية, rendered here by *affability*, may perhaps signify *penetration*. It is an expression which has a great variety of meanings.

(4) His life will be found in the third volume.

(5) I have not yet succeeded in finding a notice on the *sûfi* surnamed *Kadîb al-Ban* (*willow-wand*).

(6) The life of this poet is given by Ibn Khallikân.

## FAKHR AD-DIN AR-RAZI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn al-Husain Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali at-Taimi al-Bakri (1) at-Tabarestâni ar-Râzi (*native of Rai in Tabarestân*), surnamed Fakhr ad-dîn (*glory of the faith*) and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Khatîb (*the son of the preacher*), was a doctor of the Shafite sect, and born at Rai. Fakr ad-dîn was the pearl of the age, a man without a peer; he surpassed all his contemporaries in scholastic theology, metaphysics, and philosophy (2). He composed instructive works on many branches of science, such as a commentary on the Koran containing an immense quantity of rare and curious observations; it is a most extensive work, but he left it unfinished; the explanation of the opening *sûrat* alone fills one volume. On scholastic theology he wrote the works entitled *at-Matâlib al-Aâliya* (*the loftiest aims*); the *Nihâya tal-Okûl* (*limit of human reason*); the *Arbaîn* (*forty traditions*) (3); the *Muhassal* (*summary*) (4); the 665 *Kitâb al-Baiyân wa 'l-Burhân, etc.* (*book of elucidation and proof, being a refutation of the partisans of error and impiety*); *the Kitâb al-Mabâhith al-Imâdiya fi l-Matâlib al-Maâdiya* (*Imadian researches on the questions raised concerning the resurrection*) (5); the *Tahdîb ad-Dalâil wa Oyûn al-Masâil* (*correctio argumentorum et fontes questionum*); the *Irshâd an-Nuzzâr ila latâif il-Asrâr* (*direction of investigators towards subtle mysteries*); the *Ajwiba tal-Masâil in-Najjariya* (*replies to the Najjarian questions*) (6); the *Tahsîl al-Hakk* (*acquisition of the truth*); the *Zubda* (*cream*) (7), the *Maâlim* (*guiding marks*), etc. On the fundamentals of jurisprudence he wrote the *Mahsûl* (*results*) and the *Maâlim*. On philosophy he composed the *Mulakhkhas* (*succinct exposition*); a commentary on Avicena's (*vol. I. page* 440) *Ishârat* (*indications* or *theorems*) (8); a commentary on (*the same author's*) *Oyûn al-Hikma* (*fontes philosophiæ*), etc. On the science of talismans he wrote the work intitled *as-Sirr al-Maktûm* (*the hidden secret*), and an Explanation of the excellent names of God. It is said that he left a commentary on az-Zamakhshari's grammatical treatise the *Mufassal*, another on al-Ghazzâli's treatise on jurisprudence, the *Wajîz*, and a third an Abû 'l-Alâ's *Sikt az-Zand* (*vol. I. page* 95). He composed also a compendium on the unattainable perfection of style displayed in the Koran, a collection of excellent strictures on the grammarians, a system of

controversy, and a commentary on the *Kulliyat* (*universalia*) of Avicena's *Canon*. He wrote also a treatise on physiognomy, and another on the merits of as-Shâfi. All his works are highly instructive, and have got into circulation (*even*) in (*distant*) countries, and, by an effect of the good fortune which attended him in these treatises, the public took them for class-books and rejected those of former authors. He was the first who introduced the systematical arrangement so remarkable in his writings, and which had never been employed by any person before his time. He preached with most impressive effect, both in Arabic and Persian; in the midst of his exhortations, feelings of compunction would draw floods of tears from his eyes. The conferences which he held at Herât were attended by the principal doctors of the orthodox sects and the chiefs of the philosophical schools, who come to propose questions to him and hear his excellent answers. By his efforts a great number of the *Karrâmiya* (9) and other sects were converted to the *sunnite* doctrines. At Herât, they gave him the title of *Shaîkh al-Islâm* (*the chief of Islamism*). His first studies were made under his father, and, after his death, he went to al-Kamâl as-Simnâni, and remained with him as a pupil for some time; he then returned to Rai and studied under al-Majd al-Jili, a disciple of Muhammad Ibn Yahya (*vol. II. page* 628). When al-Majd al-Jîli was called to Marâgha, in order to give lessons in that city, Fakr ad-dìn accompanied him, and continued, for a long period, to study scholastic theology and philosophy under his tuition. It is said that he knew by heart the Imâm al-Haramain's treatise on scholastic theology, entitled *as-Shâmil*. Having then proceeded to Khowârezm, he displayed the highest abilities in all the branches of science, and maintained a controversy with the people of that place on questions connected with the doctrines of his sect and with the principles of faith. Being expelled from the city (10), he passed into Transoxiana, where he experienced a similar treatment, upon which he returned to Rai. There was then living in Rai an able physician, who possessed a large fortune and had two daughters. Having fallen sick, and perceiving death to be inevitable, he gave each of those girls in marriage to a son of Fakhr ad-dìn. On his demise, the latter took possession of all his property, and this was the origin of his wealth. He was constantly travelling from place to place: having gone to Ghazna to recover a sum of money which he had advanced to Shihâb ad-din al-Ghûri, the sovereign of that city, he not only met a most honorable and kind reception, but

was enabled, by the protection of the prince, to gain a large sum (*besides what he had received*). He then returned to Khorâsân, and attached himself to the sultan Muhammad Ibn Tukush, surnamed Khowârezm Shâh: this prince treated him with great favour and elevated him to the very highest posts in the empire. The virtues and merits of Fakhr ad-din were boundless. To his knowledge of all these sciences, he joined a talent for poetry, and in one of his pieces he says:

> Human reason can reach only to the extent of its chain; the utmost efforts of mortals mostly serve to lead them into error. Our souls and our bodies are at variance, and the sum of our worldly enjoyments is but bane and evil. Though we pass our lives in investigation, all we can collect may be reduced to this: *it is said*, or *they say* (11). How many men, how many empires have we seen flourishing, and which rapidly disappeared; how many mountains to the summits of which men have ascended, who are now gone, and the mountains remain.

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The learned men of (*all the neighbouring*) countries went to (*consult him*) and persons journied forth from every region to visit him. Sharaf ad-din Ibn Onain, (*a poet*) whose life we shall give, relates that he happened, on a winter's day, to be present, with a numerous audience of men eminent for talent, at one of the lessons given by Fakhr ad-din in the college of Khowârezm, and that much snow had fallen, that country being extremely cold. Whilst the lesson was going on, a pigeon, pursued by a bird of prey, alighted near the professor, and the other bird disappeared on seeing the people assembled there. As the pigeon was unable to fly off, owing to the effects of terror and of cold, Fakhr ad-din went over to it on finishing his lecture, and expressed his pity for the poor thing, as he took it up in his hand. On this, Ibn Onain recited extempore the following lines:

> Son of the generous! son of those who fed the poor in winter, when scarcity prevailed and the snow covered the earth!—of those who protected the unfortunate when their souls trembled under the sword and the gory-pointed spear! Who told the dove that your mansion was a sanctuary, and that you were an asylum for the timorous? It came to visit thee when its death was near, and you bestowed on it new life, in saving it from destruction. Could it receive (*such*) presents (*as men obtain*), it would leave thy hand, bearing off a large donation. It came with its complaints to the Solomon of the age (12), whilst death gleamed at it from beneath the wings of a rapacious, vigorous bird attracted by the sight—nay, by the shadow—of food, and it fled before him with a trembling heart.

Abû Abd Allah al-Husain al-Wâsiti says that he heard Fakhr ad-din repeat the

following line from the pulpit, at Herât, on concluding a discourse wherein he reproved the people of that city :

> A worthy man is despised during his lifetime, but when removed by death, his loss is severely felt.

Fakhr ad-dìn mentions, in his work entitled *Tahsîl al-Hakk*, that he studied dogmatic theology under his father Dìâ ad-dìn Omar, who had learned that science from Abû 'l-Kâsim Salmân Ibn Nâsir al-Ansâri (13), who had been instructed in it by the Imâm al-Haramain (*vol.II. p.* 120), to whom it had been taught by Abû Ishak al-Isfarâini (*vol. I. p.* 8), who had received his information in it from the *shaikh* Abû 'l-Husain al-Bâhili, whose master was the *shaikh as-Sunna*, Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ismaìl al-Ashâri (*vol. II. p.* 227), who had studied it under Abû Ali al-Jubbâi (*v. II. p.*669), whose (*motazelite*) doctrines al-Ashâri afterwards abandoned, and having then returned to orthodox principles, he took the defence of the doctrines held by the *sunnites* and the (*Moslim*) community. As for Fakhr ad-din's knowledge of the Shafite doctrines, he had received it from his father, to whom it had been taught by Abû Muhammad al-Farrâ al-Baghawi (*v. I. p.* 419), who had studied that science under the *kâdi* Husain al-Marwarrûdi (*v. I. p.* 418), who had been taught it by al-Kaffâl al-Marwazi (*v. II. p.* 26), who received his information in it from Abû Zaid al-Marwazi (*v. II. p.* 613), who had learned it under Abû Ishak al-Marwazi (*vol. I. p.* 7), to whom it had been taught by Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn Suraij (*vol. I. p.* 46), who had for preceptor Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Anmâti (*vol. II. p.* 186), who had studied it under Abû Ibrahìm al-Muzani (*v. I. p.* 200), who had been instructed in it by the *imâm* as-Shâfi (*v. II. p.* 569). —Fakr ad-dìn ar-Râzi was born at Rai on the 25th of Ramadân, A. H. 544 (Jan. A. D. 1150), some say 543; and he died at Herât on Monday, the 1st of Shawwâl, A. H. 606 (March, A. D. 1210). On the evening of the same day, he was interred at the mountain contiguous to the village of Muzdâkhân. I saw the dying injunctions dictated by him to one of his pupils, and they clearly prove the soundness of his religious belief.—*Muzdâkhân* is the name of a village near Herât.

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(1) The relative adjectives *at-Taimi al-Bakri* indicate here that Fakr ad-dìn ar-Râzi was a descendant of the khalif Abou Bakr, one of whose ancestors was Taim, the son of Murra, the son of Kaab, the son of Luwaiyi, the son of Ghâlib, the son of Fihr Koraish.



(2) The words علم الاوائل, here rendered by *philosophy*, signify literally, *the science of the ancients*. By *the ancients* is meant *the Greeks*.

(3) These forty Traditions relate to the dogmas of faith. He drew them up for the use of his son. See Fluegel's *Hajji Khalifa*, tom. I. p. 242.

(4) Hajji Khalifa calls this work *a Summary of reflexions made by ancient and modern philosophers*.

(5) Hajji Khalifa notices the title of this work, but does not inform us why these researches were called *Imadian*.

(6) What those questions were I have not been able to discover.

(7) This is said by Hajji Khalifa to be a work on the dogmas of religion.

(8) See Fluegel's *Hajji Khalifa*, tom. I. p. 300.

(9) The Karrâmians, followers of Muhammad Ibn Karrâm, held the principle of anthropomorphism. See an account of this sect in Sale's *Preliminary Discourse* to the Koran.

(10) Probably the city of Korkenj or Jurjaniya, the capital of Khowarezm.

(11) Read قالوا in the Arabic text.

(12) This may perhaps be an allusion to the following legend: "As David was sitting one day at an assem-
" bly of the children of Israil, with Solomon before him, a pigeon came and settled close to Solomon, and
" said: 'O son of David! I am one of the pigeons of this mansion, and young ones have never been be-
" ' stowed upon me to rejoice me.' Then Solomon stroked it on the back and said: 'Go; thou shalt produce
" ' seventy young ones, and thy breed shall multiply, even unto the day of the resurrection.' " — (*Nafâis al-Arâis*, MS. No. 620, fol. 136 verso.)

(13) Abû 'l-Kâsim Salmân Ibn Nâsir Ibn Imrân al-Ansâri, an able jurisconsult, scholastic theologian, and expositor of the Koran, was a pupil of the Imâm al-Haramain and of Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Kushairi. He was noted for his piety and mortified life. His works are, a commentary on the Imâm's *Irshâd*, and the *Kitâb al-Ghaniya*. He died in the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 512 (Sept.-Oct. A. D. 1118).—(*Tab. as-Shâf.*) This work gives the orthography of the name *Salmân*, which is incorrectly written in all our manuscripts of Ibn Khallikân.

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## IMAD AD-DIN IBN MANA.

Abû Hâmid Muhammad Ibn Yûnus Ibn Muhammad Ibn Manâ Ibn Mâlik Ibn Muhammad, surnamed Imâd ad-din (*column of the faith*), was a doctor of the Shafite sect, and the most able master of that age in Shafite doctrines, dogmatic theology, and polemics. His reputation was immense, and jurisconsults came from the remotest regions for the purpose of studying under his tuition. Numerous pupils finished their education under him, and became themselves able and distinguished professors. He commenced his own studies, at Mosul, under

his father, a doctor whose life we shall give, and he then proceeded to Baghdad and studied jurisprudence in the *Nizâmiya* College under as-Sadîd aṣ-Salamâsi (*vol. II. p.* 643); he acted also as under-tutor (*mûîd*) in the same establishment when Sharaf ad-dîn Yûsuf Ibn Bendâr ad-Dimishki (1) was professor there. He learned Traditions at Baghdad from Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Muhammad Ibn Muhammad al-Kushmîhani, at the time of that doctor's visit, and he received other Traditions from Abû Hâmid Muhammad Ibn Abi 'r-Rabî al-Gharnâti (*a native of Granada in Spain*). Having then returned to Mosul, he gave lessons in a number of the colleges there, and composed some works on the doctrines of his sect, such as the *Muhît*, etc. (*the comprehensive, being the combination of what is contained in the* Muhaddab *and the* Wasît) (2); an explanation of al-Ghazzâli's (*vol. II. page* 621) *Wajîz;* a treatise on dialectics; an exposition of the Moslim faith, and a *taalîka* (*collection of notes*) on controverted points of doctrine. This last work he left unfinished. He filled (*at Mosul*) the functions of preacher in the *Mujâhidi* Mosque, and those of professor in the *Nûriya*, *Izziya*, *Zainiya*, *Nafîsiya* and *Alâiyia* colleges. Having acquired great influence at the court of Nûr ad-dîn Arslân Shâh (*vol. I. p.* 174), sovereign of Mosul, he was occasionally employed by that prince as envoy to the court of Baghdad and to that of al-Malik al-Aâdil (*brother of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn*). In the year 596 (A. D. 1199-1200) he maintained a discussion before the khalif's council of state, to prove that an infidel could lawfully purchase a Moslim slave (3). On Thursday, the 4th of Ramadân, A. H. 592 (August, A. D. 1196), he was appointed *kâdi* of at Mosul, but, on Wednesday, the 17th of the month of Safar, of the ensuing year, he was replaced by Abû 'l-Fadâil Yahya as-Shahrozûri, surnamed Diâ ad-dîn, the same whom we have spoken of in the life of Kamâl ad-dîn (*vol. II. page* 646). He became chief of the Shafite community at Mosul, and was noted for his profound piety and extreme self-mortification. He never put on new clothes till he had washed them (4), and he never took up a pen to write without washing his hand afterwards. Mild in disposition, he was an agreeable companion in private society, and enlivened it by his anecdotes and verses. Nûr ad-dîn, the sovereign of Mosul, admitted him into the closest intimacy, and had always recourse to his opinion as a jurisconsult, and his counsel as a statesman. It was for this prince that Ibn Manâ drew up his exposition of the Moslim faith. He never relaxed his efforts till he induced Nûr ad-dîn to

pass from the Hanifite sect to that of as-Shâfi; and, in all the Atâbek family, numerous as its members were, this prince was the only one who professed the Shafite doctrines. On the death of Nûr ad-din, in the year 607, he proceeded to Baghdad on a mission, the object of which was, to obtain the confirmation of al-Malik al-Kâhir Masûd, (*as successor to his father*). We shall speak again of al-Kâhir in the life of his grandfather Masud. Having succeeded in his mission, he returned with the pelisse of investiture and the diploma, and, from that time, he 667 continued to be treated by al-Kâhir with even greater favour than that prince's father had ever shown him. He possessed the highest abilities, but was not fortunate in his works, as they seem unworthy of his talent. He was born in a small house at the citadel of Arbela, A. H. 535 (A. D. 1140-1); this house he afterwards visited, when on one of his missions, and he then applied to it the well-known verse:

(*Behold*) the country in which the amulets were first suspended round my neck (5), and the first land of which my body touched the soil.

He died at Mosul on Thursday, the 19th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 608 (November, A. D. 1211).—Al-Malik al-Moazzam Muzaffar ad-din, the sovereign of Arbela (*vol. II. p.* 535), used to relate that, after the death of Imâd ad-din (*Ibn Manâ*), he saw him in a dream and asked him if he was not yet dead; to which he replied affirmatively, but added that he still continued respected (6). Ibn ad-Dubaithi (7) speaks of this doctor in his *Zail*, and Ibn al-Mustaufi (*vol. II. p.* 556) mentions him in the History of Arbela. We shall notice later his brother Kamâl ad-din Mûsa. They came of a family which produced many men of talent.—His grandson Tâj ad-din (*the crown of religion*) Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd ar-Rahmân, the son of Rida ad-din Muhammad, the son of Imâd ad-din Abû Hâmid, is the author of a good abridgment of al-Ghazzâli's (*vol. II. p.* 621) *Wajîz*, entitled *at-Tâjîz fi Ikhtisâr il-Wajîz* (*the inimitable, being an abridgment of the* Wajîz). He composed also an abridgment of (*Fakhr ad-dîn ar-Râzi's*) treatise on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, entitled *al-Mahsûl*, and another on Rukn ad-din at-Tâwûsi's (*vol. II. p.* 201) system of controverted doctrines. He was born at Mosul, A.H. 598 (A.D. 1201-2); and was still there when the Tartars took it (8), but in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 670 (April, A. D. 1272), he proceeded to Baghdad, and died in that city about the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 671 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 1272).

(1) This sheet was already composed when I perceived that the following note could not apply to the person here named by Ibn Khallikân; but, as it contains information respecting a doctor of some reputation, it seemed to me worth preserving.—Yûsuf Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Bendâr was born at Damascus, A. H. 490 (A.D. 1096-7), in which city his father had settled on quitting Marâgha, his native place. When Yûsuf had grown up, he went to Baghdad and studied jurisprudence under Asaad al-Mîhani and became the tutor of that doctor's class. Having displayed great acquirements as a teacher of the Shafite doctrines, he was raised to the presidency of the Shafite sect in Irâk. He was an acute controvertist, and professed in the *Nizâmiya* and other colleges. A college was afterwards built for himself, and regular assemblies were held to hear him preach, but this practice he subsequently renounced, and applied himself to the learning and teaching of the Traditions. He died in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 563 (July-Aug. A. D. 1168) —(*Tab. as-Shâf.*)

(2) The *Muhaddab* is a celebrated treatise on Shafite law by Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi, and the *Wasît* is a work on the same subject by al-Ghazzâli.

(3) Such is the law, but the practice is against it.

(4) He did so lest they might have contracted some impurity, for this would have invalidated his prayers. See d'Ohsson's *Tab. Gén. de l'Emp. Othom.* tom. II. p. 7.

(5) The amulets, like the Roman *bulla*, are worn by children till the age of puberty.

(6) As this anecdote appears very insignificant in the translation, I suspect that in rendering the passage بلى ولكنى محترم, the meaning of the last word may have escaped me.

(7) The life of Ibn ad-Dubaithi will be found in the third volume of this work.

(8) Mosul was taken by the Tartars, A. H. 660 (A. D. 1261), and nearly all the inhabitants were massacred.

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## AL-JAJARMI.

Abû Hâmid Muhammad Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Abi 'l-Fadl as-Sahli al-Jâjarmi, surnamed Mûin ad-dîn (*defender of the faith*), was an eminent doctor of the Shafite sect, and displayed the highest abilities in various branches of science. He inhabited Naisâpûr and professed in that city. His treatise on jurisprudence, entitled *al-Kifâya* (*the sufficient*), includes, notwithstanding its extreme concision, most of those questions which *muftis* are generally called on to resolve, and forms one volume; his *Idâh*, or *elucidation* of (*al-Ghazzâli's*) *Wajîz*, in two volumes, is a very good work. He is also the author of a well-known system of controversy (1) and of the celebrated *Kawâid*, or *fundamental principles* (*of Shafite jurisprudence*), which bear his name. Numerous pupils acquired great information under his tuition, and, after his death, many derived profit from the study of his works, especially the *Kawâid*, which became a standard class-book. This doctor

died at Naisâpûr on Friday morning, the 21st of Rajab, A.H. 613 (Nov. A.D. 1216). —*Jâjarmi* means *belonging to Jâjarm*, a town lying between Naisâpur and Jurjân, which has given birth to many learned men. When I was at Naisâpûr, in the year 612, I saw, on the 24th of the month of Zû 'l-Hijja (April, A.D. 1216), (*a number of notes in*) his handwriting on the margin of a book, in which he explained Traditions inserted in (*Abu Ishak as-Shîrâzi's*) *Muhaddab*, and the obscure terms (*found therein*). A number of jurisconsults had attended the lectures wherein he explained this work.

(1) By *system of controversy* (*Tarîka fi 'l-khilâf*) is meant a systematic defence of the opinions held by the sect of the author.

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## RUKN AD-DIN AL-AMIDI.

Abû Hâmid Muhammad, the son of Muhammad, the son of Muhammad (some say, of Ahmad,) al-Amidi, surnamed Rukn ad-dîn (*pillar of the faith*), was a doc-
669 tor of the Hanifite sect and a native of Samarkand. He displayed the highest abilities in polemics, and particularly in that branch which is termed *al-just* (1): the first work specially devoted to this subject had him for its author, as all his predecessors had hitherto confounded it with the science of polemics. He commenced his studies under the shaikh Rida ad-din an-Naisâpûri (2), and was one of the four doctors styled *Rukns*, or pillars; for, amongst his fellow-students who attained eminence in that branch of science, were Rukn ad-din at-Tâwûsi (*vol. II. page* 201), Rukn ad-dîn Imâm Zâda (3), and a fourth, whose name I do not recollect (4). Al-Amîdi composed a systematical treatise on polemics; it bears a high reputation, and is in the hands of every jurisconsult; he wrote also a work entitled *al-Irshâd* (*the direction*) (5), on which commentaries have been composed by a number of masters in that department of science, such as Shams ad-dîn Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn al-Khalîl Ibn Saâda Ibn Jaafar al-Khuwaiyi (6), a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi and formerly *kâdi* of Damascus, Auhad ad-dîn ad-Dûni (7), *kâdi* of Manbaj, Najm ad-dîn al-Merendi, Bedr ad-dîn al-Marâghi (*native of Marâgha*), and others. Al-Amidi

composed also a work entitled *an-Nafâis* (*the precious*) (8), of which an abridgment was made by Shams ad-dîn al-Khuwaiyi, the doctor just mentioned, under the title of *Arâis an-Nafâis* (*the brides* from among the number *of the precious*); besides this, he wrote some more fine treatises of a similar cast. Amongst the numerous pupils who studied with profit under his tuition, was the Hanifite *shaikh*, Nizâm ad-dîn Ahmad, the son of the *shaikh* Jamâl ad-dîn Abû 'l-Mujâhid Mahmûd Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abd as-Saiyid Ibn Othmân Ibn Nasr Ibn Abd al-Malik. This Nizâm ad-dîn was a native of Bukhâra, and composed a well known *Tarîka*, or system of controversy. He bore the surname of an-Nâjiri (9), and was generally known by the appellation of al-Hasiri (10). (*Al-Amîdi*) was distinguished for his noble character, profound humility, and agreeable manners. He died on the eve of Wednesday, the 9th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 615 (September, A. D. 1218).—Shams ad-dîn al-Khuwaiyi died at Damascus on Saturday, the 7th of Shaabân, A. H. 637 (March, A. D. 1240), and was interred at the foot of Mount Kâsiyûn. His birth took place in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 583 (December, A. D. 1187).—Auhad ad-dîn died at Aleppo subsequently to the taking of the citadel by the Tartars; the citadel was taken twenty-nine days after the fall of the city, an event which occurred on the 10th of Safar, A.H. 658 (Jan. A.D. 1260), Auhad ad-dîn came into the world in the year 586 (A.D. 1190-1).—I do not know whence the relative adjective *Amîdi* is derived, neither is it mentioned by as-Samâni (*in his* Ansâb; *see p.*157 *of this vol.*). —Nizâm ad-dîn al-Hasîri was slain by the Tartars at Naisâpûr, the first time they invaded those countries. This happened in the year 616 (A.D. 1219-20).—His father was a doctor of the highest reputation for learning. I met him, on different occasions, at Damascus, where he professed in the *Nûriya* college (11). He was born at Bukhâra in the month of Rajab, A. H. 546 (Oct.-Nov. A. D. 1151), and he died at Damascus on the eve of Sunday, the 8th of Safar, A. H. 636 (September, A. D. 1238). The next morning, he was buried outside the gate called Bâb an-Nasr, in the cemetery of the *sûfis*. He used to say : "My father "was known by the surname of an-Nâjiri, but there is a quarter in Bukhâra "where mats (*hasîr*) are made (12), and in that we resided (13)."

(1) *Al-Just* is a Persian word, and signifies *disquisition*, *research*. Not knowing the precise nature of the science to which this term is applied, I am unable to render it by an English equivalent.



(2) Rida ad-dîn an-Naisâpûri was celebrated for his abilities as a doctor of the Hanifite sect, and wrote several works, two of which, the *Makârim al-Akhlâk* and the *Tarîka fi 'l-Khilâf*, are noticed by Hajji Khalifa. If it be taken into consideration that his pupils Rukn ad-dîn at-Tâwûsi (*see page* 201 *of this volume*) and Rukn ad-dîn al-Amîdi died, the former in A. H. 600, and the latter in A. H. 615, his own death may be placed with probability between A. H. 550 and A. H. 600. Another person of the same name, but known only as a Traditionist, died at Naisâpûr in A. H. 617. (*See the third volume of this work.*) The author of the *Tabakât al-Hanafiya*, MS. fonds St. Germain, No. 132, has a notice on Rida ad-dîn an-Naisâpûri (*fol.* 176), in which he gives some particulars respecting his doctrines and opinions, but forgets to inform us of his true name and the date of his death.

(3) The *imam*, preacher, and *mufti*, Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr, generally known by the appellations of Imâm Zâda (*sprung from an imâm*), and surnamed Rukn ad-dîn, was a native of a village in the dependencies of Samarkand, called *Jazgh* جزغ. He studied controversy under Ridâ ad-dîn an-Naisâpûri, and law under Burhân ad-dîn az-Zarnûji, the author of the well-known work entitled *Tâlîm al-Mutaallim*. He acted as *mufti* at Bukhâra, and bore a high reputation for virtue, abilities, piety, and eloquence. Besides filling the duties of a preacher, he gave lessons in *Sufism*. A work of his, the *Sharâ tal-Islâm*, is noticed by Hajji Khalifa; this author places his death in the year 573 (A. D. 1177-8).—(Hajji Khalifa. *Tabakât al-Hanafiya*, fol. 194.)

(4) The fourth Rukn ad-dîn was the imâm al-Haraini الحرايني.—(*Tab. al-Han.*)

(5) This is a work on polemics and controversy.

(6) *Khuwaiyi* means *native of Khuwaii*, a city in the province of Adarbaijân. The date of this doctor's death will be found a little further on.

(7) *Dûni* means *belonging to Dûna*, a village near Nehawend.

(8) This is a treatise on dialectics.

(9) I am unable to discover the meaning of this surname.

(10) This surname is explained lower down.

(11) This college was founded by Nûr ad-dîn Mahmûd, for the teaching of the Traditions.

(12) The printed text and the manuscripts have الحصر; I read الحصير.

(13) The conclusion to be drawn from this appears to be, that he was surnamed *al-Hasîri* for that reason, and that the title of *an-Nâjiri* was one which the family did not acknowledge.

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## IBN DAWUD AZ-ZAHIRI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Dâwûd Ibn Ali Ibn Khalaf al-Ispahâni (*native of Ispahân*), surnamed az-Zâhiri (1), was a jurisconsult, an accomplished scholar, a poet, and a man of wit. He used to hold discussions with Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn Suraij, as we have already stated (*in vol. I. page* 46). On the death of his 670 father (*vol. I. p.* 501), he went to take charge of his class, holding, as he did,

the same opinions; but the assembly thought him too young, and suborned a person to come forward and ask him the definition of drunkenness, and in what state a man should be, so as to be considered drunk. The reply which Abû Bakr made, was: "When his cares are dispelled, and he reveals the secret "which he had kept hidden." They all approved of his answer, and acknowledged the high rank he had attained in learning. In his early youth, he composed a work entitled *az-Zuhara* (*the planet Venus*), and containing a great quantity of curious anecdotes and novel information on literary subjects, with some charming pieces of verse. He was one day holding a discussion on the subject of *îla* (2), with Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn Suraij, in the presence of the vizir Ibn al-Jarràh (*vol. I. p.* 25), and his adversary said to him: "When you first pronounced "this verse of yours: *He that looks often* (at a female) *shall sigh often*, you displayed more intelligence than you do when you discourse about *îla*." To this Abû Bakr replied: "If I pronounced that verse, I can also pronounce "these:

> I permit my eye to roam through the garden of beauty, but I hinder my soul from committing ought unlawful; and I take upon myself such a burden of love, as would break by its weight the solid rock itself. My eye interprets the sentiments of my heart, and, did I not adroitly recall my glances, they would speak aloud. I have seen that all are subject to love, but I see no lover woundless and unscathed.

On hearing these lines, Ibn Juraij said: "In what point do you think to "outdo me? If I pleased, I also could say:

> (*The fair slave*) (3) was still awake; her eyes shot wanton glances, and I passed the night in repelling from her the approach of balmy sleep; so highly did I prize her sweet discourse and her reproaches; whilst I turned frequent glances towards her cheeks. So passed the night; and when the rays of morn appeared, she retired, bearing off the seal of her master and the written deed by which he set her free.

Here Abû Bakr exclaimed: "Let the vizir bear these words in mind, so that "the slave may produce (*if necessary*) two creditable witnesses to the effect of "her receiving the seal of her master!" To this Ibn Suraij replied: "In that "case I shall incur the same penalty as you have done when you said: *I permit* "*my eyes to rove through the gardens of beauty, but I hinder my soul from committing* "*aught unlawful.*" Here the vizir laughed and said: "You both possess wit

"and finesse, and intelligence and learning."—In a collection of various pieces, I found the following verses attributed to Ibn Dâwûd :

> Every man has a guest to rejoice him by his presence, but I have no other guests than sorrows and care. (*She whom I love*) has eyes which shoot arrows into our hearts, and wound deeper than the redoubled stroke of the sword. My beloved asked me how I supported her absence? and I replied: "Was it possible to support it at all, "that you now ask me how I did support it?"

Abû Bakr Abd Allah Ibn Abi 'd-Dunya (4) relates as follows: "I was present "at one of Ibn Dâwûd's assemblies, when a man went up to him and handed him "a paper. Ibn Dâwûd took it and reflected over it for a long time, whilst his "pupils imagined that it was a question on a point of law to which an answer "was requested. He then wrote some words on the back of the paper, and "returned it to the man whom we recognised to be the celebrated poet Ibn "ar-Rûmi (*vol. II. p.* 297). The paper contained these words :

> "O son of Dâwûd! O doctor of Irâk! give us your opinion on the eyes whose glances "slay us. Can they be punished for the wounds which they inflict, or may they shed "with impunity the heart's blood of lovers?

"Here was the answer :

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> "How can he give you an opinion who has been slain and prostrated by the darts "of separation and desire? The son of Dâwûd opineth that death produced by meet-"ing the beloved is less painful than death caused by separating from her."

Ibn Dâwûd was deeply learned in jurisprudence. He left a great number of works, such as the *Kitâb al-Wasûl ila Mârifa til-Usûl* (*the mode of acquiring a knowledge of the fundamentals of jurisprudence*); the *Kitâb al-Inzâr* (*book of admonition*); the *Kitâb al-Aazâr* (*book of excuses*); the *Kitâb al-Intisâr*, etc. (*defence* [of the truth] *against Muhammad Ibn Jarîr and Abd Allah Ibn Shirshîr and Isa Ibn Ibrahîm ad-Darîr*) (5), etc. He died on Monday, the 9th of Ramadân, A. H. 297 (May, A.D. 910), at the age of forty-two years; some say, erroneously however, that his death took place in the year 296. The *kâdi* Yûsuf Ibn Yâkûb died on the same day. It is related that, when Ibn Suraij received intelligence of the death of Ibn Dâwûd, he threw away the leaves of the volume which he was then writing

out, and said: "The man is dead who gave me the most powerful motives to "study, for I desired to hold discussions with him and maintain them with "ability."

(1) See vol. I. page 502; note (1).

(2) In Moslim jurisprudence the term *ila* is employed to designate the oath made by a husband not to have intercourse with his wife. The fulfilment of this oath during four months effects a divorce. See d'Ohsson's *Tab. Gén. de l'Emp. Othom.*, tom. V. p. 216.

(3) I must observe that in this piece I have substituted the feminine pronouns for the masculine.

(4) See vol. I. page 531, note (2).

(5) For Muhammad Ibn Jarir, see page 597 of this volume; for Ibn Shirshir, see same vol. p. 57.

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## ABU BAKR AT-TORTUSHI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Walîd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khalaf Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Aiyûb al-Kurashi al-Fihri (*descended from Fihr, the progenitor of the Koraish family*) al-Andalusi at-Tortûshi (*native of Tortosa in Spain*), and generally known by the surname of Ibn Abi Randaka, was a doctor of the Malikite sect, noted for self-mortification. He studied under Abû 'l-Walîd al-Bâji (*vol. I. p.* 593), at Saragossa, and learned from him the solution of the objections (*made to the doctrines of Mâlik*); he heard him also teach Traditions, and obtained from him a certificate authorising him to teach in his turn. He studied also, in his native place, the science of arithmetic and the art of calculating inheritance shares. In Seville he cultivated the belles lettres under Abû Muhammad Ibn Hazm (*vol. II. p.* 267). Having set out for the East in the year 476 (A. D. 1083-4), he made the pilgrimage and visited Baghdad and Basra. He studied jurisprudence under Muhammad Ibn Ahmad as-Shâshi, surnamed al-Mustazhiri (*vol. II. p.* 625), the Shafite doctor, and under Abû (*'l-Abbâs*) Ahmad al-Jurjâni (*vol. I. p.* 272) (1). He resided for some time in Syria, and gave lessons in that country. His character was that of a learned *imâm* and devout ascetic, pious, humble, practising self-mortification, leading a life of poverty and content with little. He used to say: "When two advantages are offered to you,

"one of them worldly and the other spiritual; seize on the latter, and you will "obtain them both." He often recited the following lines :

> God possesses intelligent servants who have renounced the world through fear of temptation. When they considered it and discovered that it was not a fit abode for the living, they took it for an ocean and made of their good works a ship.

Having gone to see al-Afdal Shâhanshâh (*vol. I. p.* 612), he spread on the floor a cloak which he had brought with him, and having sat down, he addressed an exhortation to that emir which drew tears from his eyes. He then said :

> O thou whom it is a pious act to obey, and whose rights all are bound to acknowledge! (*Muhammad*,) he for whose sake thou hast been exalted, is considered by that man as a liar.

He here pointed to a Christian who was seated at al-Afdal's side, and the emir immediately ordered the man away. Al-Afdal had confined at-Tortûshi in the mosque of Shakik al-Mulk, near the observatory (2), and, as this doctor grew fatigued of staying there, he at length said to his servant: "How long must we "suffer with patience? go and collect for me some of the (*food*) left out for the "use (*of the poor*)." The servant gathered him food, and he eat thereof for three days; then, towards the hour of evening prayer, he said to his attendant: "I have 672 "hit him now!" and, the very next morning, al-Afdal was assassinated whilst riding out. On the death of this emir, the government of the country devolved to al-Mâmûn al-Batâihi (*vol. II. p.* 427), and this vizir treated our *shaikh* with the utmost respect. It was for him that at-Tortûshi composed his work called Sirâj al-Huda (*flambeau of guidance*), a very good treatise of its kind. He is also the author of the *Sirâj al-Mulûk* (*flambeau for princes*), a *Tarîka*, or system of controversy, and other treatises. I met with some poetry attributed to him, the following piece, for instance, which has been also inserted by the *hâfiz* Zaki ad-dîn Abd al-Azîm al-Mundiri (*vol. I. p.* 89) in his biographical notice of at-Tortûshi :

> When you wish to advance an affair for the success of which you are anxious, let your messenger be blind, deceitful, deaf and dumb—spare every other messenger, and employ that one which is called *money*.

In the life of the philologer Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn Fâris (*vol. I. p.* 101),

will be found two verses containing nearly the same expressions. "I was one "night sleeping in the Holy Temple (*at Jerusalem*)," says at-Tortûshi, "when, "towards the hour of midnight, I heard a melancholy voice recite these lines:

'Can fear (*of God*) and sleep exist together? how strange! beshrew thee for a heart; 'thou art a liar! I swear by the might of God that, if thou wast true, no portion of 'thee would ever yield to slumber.

"These words awoke all the sleepers, and brought tears into every eye." At-Tortûshi was born in or about the year 451 (A. D. 1059-60), and he died on the last third of the night preceding Saturday, the 26th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 520 (June, A. D. 1126). Ibn Bashkuwâl (*vol. I. p.* 491) says, in his *Silat*, that he died in the month of Shaabân of that year, at Alexandria; the funeral prayer was said over him by his son Muhammad, and he was interred in the Wâla cemetery, near the New Tower (*el-Burj el-Djadîd*), and to the south of the Green Gate (*al-Bâb al-Akhdar*).—*Tortûshi* means *belonging to Tortûsha* (*Tortosa*), a maritime city situated at the eastern extremity of the territory possessed by the Moslims in Spain.—*Randaka* is a Frankish word; I asked a Frank the meaning of it, and he answered *radd taâl* (3).—We have already spoken of the Wâla cemetery in the life of *hâfiz as-Salafi* (*vol. I. p.* 88).

(1) All the MSS. have omitted the word العباس. I adopt it on the authority of al-Yâfi, who has copied the entire passage, in the notice given by him on at-Tortûshi in the *Mirât*. See MSS. No. 644, year 520.

(2) For al-Makrîzi's description of the observatory of Cairo, see *Notices et Extraits*, t. VII, p. 20.

(3) The words *Radd taâl* mean *render, come hither*, and may be held as equivalent to the Spanish words *renda-se aca*, which Ibn Khallikân and his Frank seem to have considered as the original whence *Randaka*, or *Rendaqué* according to the Moorish pronunciation, was formed.

## ABU 'L-HUDAIL AL-ALLAF.

Abû 'l-Hudail Muhammad Ibn Hudail Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Mak'hûl al-Abdi, generally known by the surname of al-Allâf al-Mutakallim (*the forage-man, the*

*scholastic theologian*), and a *mawla* to the family of Abd Kais, was the chief doctor of the Basra Motazelites, one of their most learned men, and the author of discourses, conferences, and controversies on subjects connected with the Motazelite tenets. He was an able disputant, employing the strongest proofs and an abundance of demonstrations and decisive arguments. It is related that having met Sâlih Ibn Abd al-Kaddûs in great grief for the loss of his son, he said to him: "I know not why you should grieve for him, since, according to you, man "is like the corn growing in the field." To this Sâlih replied: "Abû 'l-Hudail! "I grieve for his loss, for the sole reason that he had not yet read the *Kitâb* "*as-Shukûk* (*book of doubts*)."—"And what book is that, Sâlih?"—"It is a "work composed by me, and whoever reads it is led to doubt of every thing
673 "that exists, so as to imagine that it exists not; and to doubt of every thing that "does not exist, so as to imagine that it exists."—"Well," said Abû 'l-Hudail, "doubt of your son's death, and do as if he was not dead, although he is so; "and doubt also about his reading of the *Kitâb as-Shukûk*, so that you may "imagine he has read it, although he never did." One of Abû 'l-Hudail's works bears the title of *Milâs*: Milâs was a Magian who had embraced the Moslim faith after getting up a conference between Abû 'l-Hudail and some Dualists (1), in which the latter were reduced to silence by their adversary. A number of schoolmen were assembled in the presence of Yahya Ibn Khâlid the Barmekide, and he asked them to describe the true nature of love: each of them said something on the subject, and Abû Hudail, who was one of the company, spoke as follows: "O vizir! love seals up the eyes and the heart; its pasture-ground is "the body, and its watering-place the liver (2); he who is possessed by it re"volves in his mind a crowd of fantastic thoughts; the enjoyment of his wishes "is never free from alloy, and the accomplishment of his desires is never pure "from trouble; contrarieties hasten to afflict him, whilst he himself drains the "beverage of death, and quenches his thirst at the ponds of sorrow for the loss "of the beloved: unless, indeed, that love come from an ardour of character "and a vivacity of disposition which render the lover like a mettlesome steed, "heedless of the voice of control and not to be reclaimed (3) by the check of "reprimand." Thirteen schoolmen were present at this sitting, and Abû 'l-Hudail was the third who spoke. To avoid lengthening this article, I suppress what the others said. I read in a collection of anecdotes, that an Arab woman,

a native of the desert, described love in these terms: "It tries to be concealed "from sight, and yet it is too great to be kept secret; it lies hidden (*in the bosom*) "as fire in the flint; if you strike it, it is given out, and if you let it alone, "it remains unseen: if it be not a mode of madness, it is at least an essence "extracted from magic." Abû 'l-Hudail was born A. H. 131 (A. D. 748-9), or, by other accounts, either in 134 or the following year; he died in the year 235 (A. D. 849-50) at Sarra man râa. Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi (*vol. I. p.* 75) places his death in the year 226, and al-Masûdi states, in his *Murûj ad-Dahab* (or *meadows of gold*), that he died in the year 227. Before his death, he lost the use of his sight, and his intellect grew disordered. He did not, however, forget any of the fundamental principles of doctrine, but the weakness of his head put it out of his power to maintain a discussion or confute an adversary.

(1) The Magians were called *Dualists*, because they believed in the existence of two independent first causes, one producing good and the other evil.

(2) See vol. I. page 116, note (5).

(3) I read ولا يصبح. The whole passage is more or less corrupted in each of the manuscripts.

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## ABU ALI AL-JUBBAI.

Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Salâm Ibn Khâlid Ibn Humrân Ibn Abbân, generally known by the appellation of al-Jubbâi, was one of the doctors of the Motazelite sect, and an able master in the science of dogmatic theology. His ancestor Abbân was a *mawla* to (*the khalif*) Othmân Ibn Affân. Al-Jubbâi acquired his knowledge of theology from Abû Yûsuf Yâkûb Ibn Abd Allah as-Shahhâm al-Basri, who was at that time the head of the Motazelite sect at Basra. He left a number of celebrated discourses on the doctrines of the Motazelites. It was from him that the *Shaikh as-Sunna* (*the sunnite doctor*) Abû 'l-Hasan al-Ashari (*vol. II. p.* 227), learned dogmatic theology, and some of the learned have transmitted down to us the following account of a discussion which the pupil had with his master: he proposed to him the case of three brothers,

one of whom was a true believer, virtuous and pious; the second an infidel, a debauchee and a reprobate; and the third an infant: they all died, and al-Ashari wished to know what had become of them. To this al-Jubbâi answered: "The "virtuous brother holds a high station in paradise; the infidel is in the depths "of hell, and the child is among those who have obtained salvation."—"Sup-"pose now," said al-Ashari, "that the child should wish to ascend to the place "occupied by his virtuous brother, would he be allowed to do?"—"No," replied al-Jubbâi; "it would be said to him: 'Thy brother arrived at this "'place through his numerous works of obedience towards God, and thou hast 674 "'no such works to set forward.'"—"Suppose then," said al-Ashari, "that "the child say: 'That is not my fault; you did not let me live long enough, "'neither did you give me the means of proving my obedience.'" — "In that "case," answered al-Jubbâi, "the Almighty would say: 'I knew that if I "'allowed thee to live, thou wouldst have been disobedient, and incurred the se-"'vere punishment (*of hell*); I therefore acted for thy advantage.'"—"Well," said al-Ashari, "and suppose the infidel brother were here to say: 'O God of "'the universe! since you knew what awaited him, you must have known "'what awaited me; why then did you act for his advantage and not for "'mine?'" Al-Jubbâi had not a word to offer in reply. This discussion proves that the Almighty elects some for mercy, and others for punishment; and that his acts are not the results of any motive whatsoever.—I have since read, in Fakhr ad-dìn ar-Râzi's (*vol. II. p.* 652) commentary on the Koran, in the *sûrat* entitled *al-Aanâm* (*cattle*), that, when al-Ashari ceased attending the conferences held by al-Jubbâi and renounced his doctrines, he frequently contested his master's opinions, and each conceived a profound aversion for the other. It afterwards happened, that, one day, when al-Jubbâi was holding a conference as an exercise for his disciples, a great number of persons were assembled to hear it, and al-Ashari went there also and concealed himself in a place where al-Jubbâi could not see him. He then said to a woman who was near him: "I will give you a question to propose to this *shaikh*;" and prompted her to ask one question after another, till at length al-Jubbâi was reduced to silence; but he perceived that these questions could not have originated with the woman, and that they must have proceeded from al-Ashari.— I read in Ibn Haukal's geographical work, entitled *al-Masâlik wa 'l-Mamâlik* (*routes and*

*realms*), in the chapter on Khûzestân, that *Jubbâ* is the name of a city and an extensive district covered with date-trees, sugar-cane plantations, etc.; and that it produced Abû Ali al-Jubbâi, the eminent *shaikh*, the chief of the Motazelites, and the first dogmatic theologian of the age.—Al-Jubbâi was born A. H. 235 (A. D. 849-50), and he died in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 303 (Feb.-March, A. D. 916). We have already spoken of his son, Abû Hâshim Abd as-Salâm, and of the meaning of the word Jubbâi (*see page* 133 *of this volume*).

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## *THE KADI* ABU BAKR AL-BAKILANI.

The *kâdi* Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn at-Taiyib Ibn Muhammad Ibn Jaafar Ibn al-Kâsim, surnamed al-Bâkilâni and a native of Basra, was a celebrated dogmatic theologian. He professed the doctrines of the *shaikh* Abû 'l-Hasan al-Ashari (*vol. II. p.* 227), and, being a staunch partisan and supporter of his opinions, he obtained the presidency of the Asharite sect. He resided at Baghdad, and composed a great number of works on dogmatic theology and other subjects. In learning he stood without a rival, and obtained great renown by his talent as a successful investigator of truth, by the readiness of his replies, and the quantity of Traditions which he had collected. He was noted for his prolixity in discussion, and it happened one day that, whilst engaged in an argument with Abû Saîd al-Hârûni, during which he multiplied his illustrations and made a discourse of extreme diffuseness, he turned to the auditors and said: "I "take you to witness that, if my adversary repeat what I have just uttered, "without making any change in my words, I shall not require any further an- "swer from him." On this al-Hârûni exclaimed: "And I also take you to "witness that if he himself repeat it, I shall admit the whole as true!" The *kâdi* Abû Bakr al-Bâkilâni died at Baghdad on Saturday evening, the 21st of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 403 (June, A. D. 1013), and was interred the next day. A contemporary poet composed the following elegy on his death:

675 Behold a mountain (*of learning*) borne off on the shoulders of men! Behold what brilliant talents are now enclosing in the tomb! Behold the sword of Islamism, now sheathing in its scabbard! Behold the pearl of Islamism, now restoring to its shell.

His corpse was interred in his house, in the street of the Magians (*Darb al-Majûs*), and the funeral prayer was said over it by his son al-Hasan. It was afterwards removed to the cemetery at the Harb Gate. *Bâkilâni* is derived from *bâkila* (*beans*), and designates the seller of such vegetable food. Some pronounce the latter word *bâkillâ*. This relative adjective is formed irregularly, the letter *n* being inserted (*before the formative final letter*). It is analogous in its form to the words *Sanâni* (*native of Sanâ*) and *Bahrâni* (*belonging to the tribe of Bahrâ*), which adjectives are employed as the relatives of *Sanâ* and *Bahrâ*. Al-Hariri condemns this form in his *Durra tal-Ghawâss*, and says that *bâkila*, with a short final *a*, takes *bâkili* for its relative, and that *bâkillâ*, with the long final, takes *Bakillâwi* or *Bâkillâiyi*. He adds that the relatives derived from *Sanâ* and *Bahrâ* should not be considered as examples proper to sanction a rule, inasmuch as they are exceptional cases. The first form of this relative has not, however, been condemned by as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156). God best knows which is right.

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## ABU 'L-HUSAIN AL-BASRI.

Abû 'l-Husain Muhammad Ibn Ali at-Taiyib al-Basri (*native of Basra*) was a theologian (*mutakallim*) of the Motazelite school and one of their most distinguished doctors. His language was pure, his style highly elegant, and his information copious. He ranked as the first *imâm* of that age. A number of excellent works were composed by him on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, such as the *Motamid* (*the well-supported*), a voluminous treatise, from which Fakr ad-dîn ar-Râzi (*vol. II. p.* 652) extracted the materials of his *Kitâb al-Mahsûl*; the *Tasaffuh al-Adilla* (*examination of proofs*), in two volumes; the *Ghurar al-Adilla* (*brilliant demonstrations*), in one large volume; a commentary on the

*Osûl al-Khamsa* (1); a work on the *imamate*, and others on dogmatic theology. His writings were studied by numbers with advantage and profit. He inhabited Baghdad, and died in that city on Tuesday, the 5th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 436 (October, A. D. 1044), and was interred in the Shûnîzi Cemetery. The *kâdi* Abû Abd Allah as-Saimari (1) said the funeral prayer over his corpse.— "The word *mutakallim* (*discourser, dogmatic theologian*) is employed to designate "persons conversant with the science of *kalâm* (*discourse*), by which word is "meant the *dogmas of religion*. It was called *the science of discourse*, because "the first difference of opinion which arose in the (*Moslim*) religion sprung "from this question: the Word of Almighty God (*the Koran*) is it created or "not? People *discoursed* on this branch of science, and it therefore received "the name of the *science of discourse* (*ilm al-kalâm*); being specially designated "by this term, although all the other sciences are propagated also by means "of discourse (3)." Such are the words of as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156).

(1) Hajji Khalifa is not very satisfactory in his note on this work; he merely says: *Al-Osoul al-Khamsa, the five foundations* on which Islamism was erected; composed by the *shaikh* Abû Muhammad al-Bâhili, who died in the year . . . , and also by the *shaikh* Jaafar Ibn Harb. On the first of these was composed the commentary of Abû 'l-Husain Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Basri.

(2) As-Saimari was *kâdi* of Karkh, the suburb of Baghdad. See vol. I. p. 646.

(3) The word *mutakallim* is employed also in a more restricted sense, and then means *scholastic theologian.* Ibn Khallikân does not appear to make any distinction between dogmatic and scholastic theology.

## IBN FURAK.

*Al-Ustâd* (*the master*) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Fûrak, a noted dogmatic theologian, philologer, grammarian, and preacher, was a native of Ispahan. He remained for some time in Irâk, giving lessons, and then proceeded to Rai, but, as the innovators in religion spread calumnies against him, he removed to Naisâpûr on the invitation of the people in that city. A college and a house were then built for him, and, by the aid of the Almighty, he

revived numerous branches of science. The divine favour which attended his endeavours was there manifested in the progress of all those who studied jurisprudence under him. The number of his works on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, the dogmas of religion, and the style of the Koran, approached to nearly a hundred. He was subsequently invited to Ghazna, and he maintained frequent controversies in that city. One of his sayings was: "The "burden of a family is the result of lawful passion; what then must be the "result of unlawful passion?" He evinced great ardour in confuting the partisans of Abû Abd Allah Ibn Karrâm (1). Having left that place with the intention of returning to Naisâpûr, he died of poison on the road. His corpse was borne to Naisâpûr and interred at al-Hîra. The funeral chapel which covers his remains is a conspicuous object and much frequented by pilgrims: when the people are in want of rain, they offer up prayers at his tomb, and their request is
676 always granted. He died A.H. 406 (A.D. 1015-6). Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Kushairi, the author of the celebrated epistle (*vol. II. p.* 152), states that he heard Abû Ali ad-Dakkâk (2) relate as follows: "I went to visit Abû Bakr Ibn Fûrak when "he was ill, and he shed tears on seeing me. On this, I said to him: 'The "'Almighty will cure you and restore you to health;' and he replied: 'You "'think that I stand in fear of death, but know that my fear proceeds from the "'thought of what cometh after death.'"—*Al-Hîra* is the name of an extensive quarter in the city of Naisâpûr; it has produced some learned men, who bore the surname of *al-Hîri*. This place is liable to be confounded with the *Hîra* which lies outside of Kûfa.—*Ghazna* is a large city and lies just within the confines of India, where that country borders on Khorâsân.

(1) Ibn Karrâm taught anthropomorphism.

(2) Some account of Abû Ali ad-Dakkâk is given in the life of Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Kushairi.

## ABU 'L-FATH AS-SHAHRASTANI.

Abû 'l-Fath Muhammad Ibn Abî 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Kârim Ibn Abi Bakr Ahmad as-Shahrastâni, a dogmatic theologian of the Asharite sect, was also distinguished as an *imâm* and a doctor of the law. Having studied jurisprudence under Ahmad al-Khawâfi (*vol. I. p.* 79), Abû Nasr al-Kushairi (*vol. II. p.* 154), and other masters, he displayed the highest abilities as a jurisconsult. In scholastic theology he had for master Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Ansâri, and he remained without an equal in that branch of science. His works are: the *Nihâya tal-Ikdâm* (*the limits of progress*), on scholastic theology; the *Kitâb al-Milal wa 'n-Nihal* (*treatise on religions and sects*), and the *Talkhîs al-Aksâm li-Mazâhib al-Anâm* (*succinct exposition of the* (*work called*) al-Aksâm (*sections*), *for the use of persons of all denominations*). He knew by heart a great quantity of traditional information, his conversation was most agreeable, and he used to address pious exhortations to his auditors. In the year 510 (A. D. 1116-7), he proceeded to Baghdad, and resided there three years, during which period a high degree of favour was manifested towards him by the public. He received Traditions, at Naisâpûr, from Ali Ibn Ahmad al-Madîni, and other teachers; and, of the Traditions which he himself delivered, some were taken down in writing by the *hâfiz* Abû Saad Abd al-Kârim as-Samâni (*vol. II. page* 156). This writer speaks of him in his *Zail*, or supplement. "As-Shahrastâni was born at Shahrastân, A. H. 467 (A. D. 1074-5);" so I find it written in my rough notes, but I do not know whence I took it: as-Samâni says, in his *Zail*, that he asked as-Shahrastâni concerning the year of his birth, and he replied: "In 479 (A. D. 1086-7)." He died at Shahrastân, towards the end of the month of Shaabân, A. H. 548 (November, A. D. 1153); some place his death, but erroneously, in 549. Towards the commencement of the *Nihâya tal-Ikdâm*, he has inserted the following lines:

I have roamed through all these monuments, and surveyed the various memorials (*left by man*); and I saw nought but wretches tearing their beards in despair, or gnashing their teeth with remorse.

He omits naming the author of these verses, but I have found them attributed to Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Bâja, surnamed Ibn as-Sâigh, a native of Spain, whose life will be found in this work.—*Shahrastân* is a name borne by three cities; the first in Khorâsân, and situated between Naisâpûr and Khowârezm, on the edge of the sandy desert which forms the frontier of Khorâsân, and extends to Khowarezm: this is the one generally known, and the same which produced Abû 'l-Fath Muhammad (*the subject of this notice*) and many other learned men. It was built by Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir (*vol. II. p.* 49), the emir of Khorâsân, in the khalifate of al-Mâmûn. The second Shahrastân is the capital of the district of Sâpûr, in the province of Fars; so, at least, it is stated by Ibn al-Bannâ al-Bashshâri (1). The third, called also Djai, lies on the bank of the river Zenderûd, at a mile's distance from *al-Yâhûdiya* (*the Jewish quarter*), now 677 the modern city of Ispahân; a market is held there, and it contains the tomb of the *imâm* (*khalif*) ar-Râshid, the son of al-Mustarshid. The name itself is a compound Persian word; *shahr* signifying *city*, and *istân, country*; it is therefore equivalent to *the city of the country*. Such are the observations made by Yâkût al-Hamawi, in his *Mushtarik*, to which we have added some remarks of our own. As-Shahrastâni used to repeat the following saying, uttered by an-Nazzâm al-Balkhi Ibrahìm Ibn Saiyar (*vol. I. p.* 186), and authenticated by a chain of evidence through which he traced it up to that learned and celebrated scholar: "If discord could assume a visible form, the hearts of men would be "appalled at its aspect and the very mountains would tremble: its burning "heat would be less supportable than that given out by live coals of *ghada* "wood (2); and if the people of hell were tormented with it, they would seek "shelter in their former punishments, as in a place of repose." He gave also as authentic the following passages, attributing them both to Ibn Duraid:

I bade him farewell, but my soul withheld its adieus and departed with him. We separated, and my heart shrunk within me, but my tears gushed out.

O you who bear away a heart love-broken and wretched! love is a torture, but the torture which I endure surpasses all.

The preceding anecdotes are given by Abû Saad as-Samâni, in his supplement to the history of Baghdad. Towards the end of the article, he says: "I was "at Bukhâra when I heard of his death."

(1) Perhaps this name must be pronounced al-Bushâri, in which case the person who bore it was a native of Alpuxaras, near Grenada.

(2) See vol. II. page 453, note (19).

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## MUHAMMAD IBN ISHAK.

Abû Bakr, or, according to others, Abû Abd Allah, Muhammad Ibn Ishak Ibn Yasâr Ibn Jabbâr (*alias* Saiyâr) Ibn Kûnân, the author of the work called *al-Maghâzi wa 's-Siar* (*the conquests and expeditions of the Moslims*), was a native of Medina and a *mawla* (*client*) to the family of al-Muttalib; his grandfather, Yasâr, having been made prisoner by Khâlid Ibn al-Wâlid at Aîn at-Tamr, and delivered as a *mawla* (*slave*) to Kais, the son of Makhrama, the son of al-Muttalib, the son of Abd Manâf, member of the tribe of Koraish. Muhammad Ibn Ishak is held by the majority of the learned as a sure authority in the Traditions, and no one can be ignorant of the high character borne by his work, the *Maghâzi*. "Whoever wishes to know the (*history of the Moslim*) conquests," says Ibn Shihâb az-Zuhri (*vol. II. page* 581), "let him take Ibn Ishak (*for* "*guide*);" and al-Bukhâri himself cites him in his history. It is also related that as-Shâfi said: "Whoever wishes to obtain a complete acquaintance with "the (*Moslim*) conquests, must borrow his information from Ibn Ishak." Sofyân Ibn Oyaina (*vol. I. page* 578) declared that he never met any one who cast suspicions on Ibn Ishak's recitals, and Shôba Ibn al-Hajjâj (*vol. I. page* 493) was heard to say: "Muhammad Ibn Ishak is the Commander of "the faithful"—meaning that he held that rank as a traditionist. It is related, that, as az-Zuhri went to a village of which he was the proprietor, a number of the *seekers of Traditions* (1) were following him, on which he said: "Why do "you keep away from the squinting boy?" or (*by another account*): "I left the "squinting boy with you;" meaning Ibn Ishak. As-Sâji (2) mentions that az-Zuhri's pupils had recourse to Muhammad Ibn Ishak, whenever they had doubts respecting the exactness of any of the Traditions delivered by their master; such was the confidence which they placed in his excellent memory. It is stated that Yahya Ibn Mâin (3), Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (*vol. I. p.* 44), and Yahya Ibn Sâid al-

Kattân (4) considered Muhammad Ibn Ishak as a trustworthy authority, and quoted his Traditions in proof of their legal doctrines. Though al-Bukhâri (*vol. II. p.* 594) did not quote from him (*in his Sahîh*), he nevertheless held him for a trustworthy traditionist; and if Muslim Ibn al-Hajjâj cited only one of his Traditions, and that one relative to the stoning of adulterers, it was on account of the attack which Mâlik Ibn Anas had directed against him: Mâlik had 678 been told that he said: "Bring here Mâlik's Traditions; I am the doctor to "cure their infirmities;" and this induced him to exclaim: "And what "is Ibn Ishak? He is one of the *Dajjâls* (*antechrists*), but we shall drive "him out of the city!" alluding, perhaps, by these words, to (*the declaration of Muhammad*) that the Dajjâl shall not enter al-Medîna (*the city*). Muhammad Ibn Ishak went to (*the khalif*) Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr at Hîra, and put the *Maghâzi* in writing for his use; from this it resulted that the learned men of Kûfa had the advantage of hearing him read and explain that work. He gave (*one or some*) of his Traditions on the authority of Fâtima, the daughter of al-Mundir Ibn az-Zubair, and the wife of Hishâm Ibn Orwa Ibn az-Zubair; Hishâm was informed of the circumstance and denied Ibn Ishak's statement, saying: "Did he then go and visit my wife?" The *khâtib* Abû Bakr Ahmad (*vol. I. p.* 75) relates, in his History of Baghdad, that Muhammad Ibn Ishak saw Anas Ibn Malik (*vol. II. p.* 587) with a black turban on his head, and all the little boys running after him and exclaiming: "There is one of the blessed Prophet's "companions, who is not to die till he meets the Dajjâl (5)." Muhammad Ibn Ishak died at Baghdad, A. H. 151 (A. D. 768); other accounts place his death in 150 or 152, and Khalifa Ibn Khaiyât (*vol. I. p.* 492) says that his death took place in 153, according to one statement, or in 154, according to another. The date first given comes probably nearest the truth. He was buried in the cemetery at the Khaizurân Gate, on the east bank of the Tigris. This cemetery, the most ancient of those on that side of the river, is called also after al-Khaizurân, the mother of Harûn ar-Rashîd and al-Hâdi, because she was buried there.—It was from Ibn Ishak's works that Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishâm (*vol. II. p.* 405) extracted the materials of his *Sira tar-Rasûl* (*history of the Prophet*), and every person who treated this subject has been obliged to take Ibn Ishak for authority and guide.—We have spoken of *Ain at-Tamr* in the life of Abû 'l-Atâhiya (*vol. I. p.* 202).

(1) *The seekers of Traditions* (*talaba tal-Hadîth*); see Introduction to vol. I. p. xxxi.

(2) The *hâfiz* Abû Zakariya Yahya as-Sâji, a native of Basra, and one of al-Muzani's disciples, died in that city, A.H. 307 (A.D. 919-20). He is the author of some works.—(*Tabakat al-Fokahâ.*)

(3) His life will be found in this work.

(4) Abû Saîd Yahya Ibn Saîd al-Kattân, an *imâm* and *hâfiz* of great reputation for veracity and piety, was a native of Basra. Ahmad Ibn Hanbal declared that he never saw his like, and Ibn Bendâr mentions that he frequented his society for twenty years, and thought him incapable of having ever offended God by an act of disobedience. "During twenty years," says Ibn Maîn, "Yahya read the Koran through once every night, and "for forty years he never missed the evening prayer at the mosque." He gave Traditions on the authority of Jaafar as-Sâdik, Mâlik, and Humaid at-Tawîl; Ibn al-Madîni and others delivered Traditions on his authority. He died in the month of Safar, A. H. 198 (Oct. A.D. 813).—(Al-Yâfi's *Mirât;* ad-Dahabi's *Tab. al-Huffâz.*)

(5) See Sale's Introduction to the Koran, section IV.

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## AT-TIRMIDI *THE TRADITIONIST.*

Abû Isa Muhammad Ibn Isa Ibn Sûra Ibn Mûsa Ibn ad-Dahhâk as-Salami (1) ad-Darîr al-Bûghi at-Tirmidi (*the blind, native of Bûgh, belonging to Tirmid*), a celebrated *hâfiz*, was one of those great masters in the science of the Traditions whose authority was generally followed. His work entitled *al-Jâmî wa 'l-Ilal* (*collection of the Traditions, and motives of the Prophet's sayings*) is the production of a well-informed man, and its exactness is proverbial. He had been pupil to Abû Abd Allah Muhammad al-Bukhâri (*vol. II. p* 594), and he received Traditions from some of those *shaikhs* to whom al-Bukhâri was indebted for his own; such were Kutaiba Ibn Saîd (2), Ali Ibn Hujr (3), Ibn Bashhâr, and others. He died at Tirmid, on the eve of Monday, the 13th of Rajab, A.H. 279 (October, A. D. 892). As-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) says that he died at the village of Bûgh in 275; and he repeats this in his *Ansâb*, under the article *Bûghi*. —*Bûgh* is a village in the district of Tirmid, and at six parasangs from that city. —Of *Tirmid* and the different manners of pronouncing the name we have already spoken (*vol. II. p.* 602).

(1) The patronymic سلمى, if pronounced *Salmi*, means *descended from* a person called *Salm;* if pronounced *Salami*, it signifies *belonging to the tribe of Salama*, or *native of Salamiya*, and if pronounced *Sulami*, it means *belonging to the tribe of Sulaim.* I have not discovered which is the proper pronunciation in the present case.



(2) The *imâm* and traditionist Abû 'r-Rajâ Kutaiba Ibn Saîd Ibn Hamîd, a *mawla* to the tribe of Thakîf, was a native of Ghalân, a village near Balkh. He travelled to various countries for the purpose of learning Traditions, and he taught some of his own on the authority of Mâlik Ibn Anas. Ahmad Ibn Hanbal gave Traditions on his authority. Born A. H. 150 (A. D. 767-8); died A. H. 241 (A. D. 855-6). — (*Nujûm.*)

(3) The *imâm* Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Hujr Ibn Aiyâs Ibn Mukâtil as-Saadi, a learned jurisconsult and *mufti*, a *hâfiz* of great reputation and a poet, was born A.H. 154 (A D. 771). He ranked as one of the first doctors in Khorâsân. The Traditions which he had collected in various countries were taught by him at Marw, his native place. He died A. H. 244 (A. D. 858-9).—(*Nujûm.*)

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## IBN MAJA.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yazîd Ibn Mâja al-Kazwîni, a *mawla* to the tribe of Rabîa (*ar-Rabai*) and a celebrated *hâfiz*, is the author of the work on the Traditions entitled *Kitâb as-Sunan* (*book of the sunna*). He ranked as a high authority in the Traditions, and was versed in all the sciences connected with them, and acquainted with every thing respecting them. He travelled to 679 Irâk, Basra, Kûfa, Baghdad, Mekka, Syria, Egypt, and Rai, for the purpose of writing down the Traditions under the dictation of the masters who taught them in those countries. He is the author of a commentary on the Koran and a very fine historical work (1); as for his book on the Traditions, it is counted as one of the six *Sahîhs* (*authentic collections*). His birth took place in the year 209 (A. D. 824-5), and he died on Monday, the 22nd of Ramadân, A. H. 273 (February, A. D. 887). On the following day he was interred, and his brother Abû Bakr said the funeral prayer over the corpse, and deposited it in the tomb with the assistance of Abd Allah, the third brother.—*Rabai* means *belonging to Rabîa;* a number of tribes bear this name, and I do not know which of them it was that counted Ibn Mâja among its members.—*Kazwîni* means *belonging to Kazwîn*, a celebrated city in Persian Irâk, which has produced many learned men.

(1) According to Hajji Khalifa, this work is a history of Kazwîn.



## AL-HAKIM IBN AL-BAII AN-NAISAPURI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hamduyah Ibn Noaim Ibn al-Hakam ad-Dabbi at-Tahmâni (1), surnamed al-Hâkim an-Naisâpûri (*the magistrate of Naisâpûr*), and known also by the appellation of the *hâfiz* Ibn al-Baii, was the most eminent traditionist of his time, and the author of some celebrated works of quite an original cast. This highly learned and accomplished individual studied jurisprudence under Abû Sahl Muhammad Ibn Sulaimân as-Sôlûki (*vol. II. p.* 609), the Shafite doctor; he then proceeded to Irâk and read (*legal treatises*) under the tuition of the jurisconsult Abû Ali Ibn Abi Huraira (*vol. I. p.* 375), after which he travelled to various countries for the purpose of collecting Traditions, and devoted himself to that object with such perseverance, that he established his reputation on that basis. The number of persons from whose lips he learned them was immense; the alphabetical list of his masters consisting of nearly two thousand names; he even cited as his authorities for part of the information which he conveyed, some persons who survived him; so great was the quantity of Traditions which he had acquired and the number of teachers from whom he received them. He composed upwards of one thousand five hundred *juz* (2) on the sciences connected with the Traditions, such as the *Two Sahîhs* (*as-Sahîhân*) (3); the *Ilal* (*the motives of the Prophet's sayings*); the *Amâli* (4); the *Fawâid as-Shuyûkh* (*instructive observations made by his masters*); the *Amâli 'l-Ashiya* (*evening dictations*); and the *Tarajîm as-Shuyûkh* (*biographical notices of his masters*). The works for which the public were indebted to his own special researches are: the *Mârifa tal-Hadîth* (*knowledge of the Traditions*); the *Tarîkh Ulamâ Naisâpûr* (*history of the doctors of Naisâpûr*); the *Mudkhil ila Ilm is-Sahîh* (*introduction to the knowledge of the* Sahih); the *Mustadrak ala 's Sahîhain* (*strictures on the two* Sahîhs); a treatise on the distinguishing characteristics of the two *imâms* (*al-Bukhâri and Muslim*), and another on the merits of the imâm as-Shâfi. He travelled twice to Hijâz and Irâk, and, in his second journey, which he made in the year 360, he held discussions with the traditionists (*huffâz*), conferred with the *shaikhs* and wrote down under their dictation. He had also an argument with the *hâfiz* ad-Dârakutni, and convinced

him. In the year 359 (A. D. 969-70), he held the kadiship of Naisâpûr under the Sàmânide government during the vizirship of Abû 'n-Nasr Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr al-Otbi, subsequently to which he was offered the kadiship of Jurjân, but refused it. This dynasty occasionally sent him on political missions to the court of the Buwaih (*Buide*) princes. He was born at Naisâpûr in the month of the first Rabi, A.H. 321 (March, A.D. 933), and he died in that city on Tuesday, the 3rd of Safar, A. H. 405 (August, A. D. 1014). (*Abû Yala*) al-Khalili (*vol. I. p.* 53) says, in his *Irshâd*, that the *Hâkim* died A. H. 403, that he began to learn the Traditions in 330, and that he made *dictations* in Transoxiana in 355, and in Iràk in 357; he adds, that ad-Dârakutni attended his lessons with assiduity, and that Abû Bakr al-Kaffâl as-Shashi, with other doctors of the same period, obtained some of their information from him.— He received the appellation of *al-Hâkim* (*the magistrate*), because he had filled the 680 place of *kâdi.*

(1) *At-Tahmâni* signifies *descended from Tahmân*. One of the Hâkim's ancestors must have borne this name. *Ad-Dabbi* signifies *descended from the tribe of Dabba*, or *from* a person named *Dabba*, or *native of Dabba*, a town in Hijâz. It may be added that three of the Arabian tribes bore the name of *Dabba*.

(2) The word *juz* signifies *volume*, and *section* of a work. It probably means *quire* in this place.

(3) Hajji Khalifa does not notice this work under the title given here; it may perhaps be a combination of the matter contained in the *Sahîhs* of al-Bukhâri and Muslim.

(4) See vol. II. page 159.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

PAGE 45, *line* 29. For *Osaibîâ* read *Osaibiâ*.

P. 46, *line* 29. For *al-Kâfûr* read *Kâfûr*.

P. 53, *line* 12. For *Abû Tamîm* read *Abû Tammâm*.

P. 72, 5 *ab imo*. For *sovereigns* read *sovereign*.

P. 80, *line* 7. For *on the excellence* read *on excellence*.

P. 86, *note* (1). It appears from the History of Mekka by al-Azraki, that *Zû Tuwai* (ذو طوى) was situated in the neighbourhood of that capital.

P. 95, 7 *ab imo*. For *Abû 'l-Saâdât* read *Abû 's-Saâdât*.

P. 105, *line* 20. For *he retreated to Egypt* read *he passed into Egypt*.

P. 107, *line* 11. For *thee* read *thou*.

P. 114, *line* 5. For *al-Khallâl* read *Ibn al Khallâl*.

P. 117, *note*. For *as-Sulami* read *as-Salami*, and see, in page 204, another note on the same person.

P. 137, line 8. For *Hadji* read *Hajji*.

P. 143, *last line*. For *was* read *who was*.

P. 163, 4 *ab imo*. For *Bahrâm* read *Bahrâni*.

P. 171. For *al-Ferbari* read *al-Farabri*. The life of this doctor will be found in the next volume.

P. 190, *line* 10. For *Sharakhân* read *Sarakhân*.

P. 193, 6 *ab imo*. The emir Mûsak Ibn Jakû was a maternal uncle of the sultan Salâh ad-dîn, and accompanied that prince in most of his campaigns. In the year 585 (A. D. 1189, he fell sick near Acre, and was ordered by his nephew to proceed to Damascus and get himself treated there. Mûsak died soon after his arrival He was noted for his piety and beneficence —(*Nujûm*.)

P. 202, *note* (1). Add : See note (2), page 662.

P. 206, *line* 7. For *Sinâ* read *Sanâ*.

P. 210, 7 *ab imo*. For *al-Musaiyab* read *Ibn al-Musaiyab*.

P. 221. Abû 'l-Hasan al-Jurjâni bore a high reputation as a genealogist, and his work on that subject is frequently cited by Ibn Khaldûn.

P. 239, *line* 4. For *balmilk* read *bilmilk*.

P. 265, *lines* 1 and 8. For *Wahib* read *Wuhaib*.

P. 281, *line* 19. For *they had* read *had*.

P. 301, 3 *ab imo*. For *thy* read *your*.

P. 320, *line* 18, *dele* (2), and in line 24, for (3) read (2).

P. 323, *line* 12. For *Dumyat* read *Dumya*.

P. 339, *note* (1). For *pearts* read *pearls*.

P. 341, *line* 12. For *priase* read *praise*.

P. 343, *line* 24. For *Yatamirûna* read *yâtamirûna*.

P. 352, *line* 3. For *Osmân* read *Osâma*.

P. 365, *line* 3. For *Zij* read *Zîj*.

P. 356, *line* 22. For *Hamid* read *Humaid*.

*Ibid*, *line* 16. For (5) read (4) and for (4) read (5).

P. 367, *line* 5. For *Zaij* read *Zîj*.

P. 372, *line* 14. For *ath-Thuraya* read *ath-Thuraiya*

P. 374, *line* 6. For *al-Maghaira* read *al-Mughaira*.

P. 376, *line* 8, For *ath-Thakifi* read *ath-Thakafi*.

*Ibid*, *note* (5). For *al-Jârîrî* read *al-Jarîri*.

P. 378, *line* 13. For *Darr* read *Zarr*.

P. 380, *last line*. For *Hamîd* read *Hâmid*.

P. 385, *line* 22. For *as-Sirâj al-Munîr* read *is-Sirâj il-Munîr*.

P. 396, *line* 3. For *ahda* read *hada*.

P. 400, *line* 15. For *'l-Alâ* read *Amr*.

P. 408, *line* 25. For (8) read (9).

P. 415, *line* 19. Suppress the parenthesis ( *cousin* (?) ).

P. 419, *addition to note* (6): The most celebrated of the *kâdi* Iyâd's productions is a large volume on the character, habits, and history of Muhammad; the title is *Kitâb as-Shafâ fi Taarîf Hukûk al-Mustafa*. The *Bibliothèque du Roi* possesses two or three copies of this work.

P. 428, *last line*. For 1182 read 1182-3.

P. 432, *line* 3. For *talents*. read *talents*, .

P. 438, *line* 17. For *Makhzoum* read *Makhzûm*.

P. 439, *line* 17. For *reduntant* read *redundant*.

P. 445, *line* 19. For *al-Ghaith* read *al-Ghiâth*.

*Ibid*, *line* 33. For *Ghiath* read *Ghiâth*.

Correct the pagination of pages 454 and 455; it has been printed 554 and 555, by mistake.

P. 464, *line* 14. For *the* read *he*.

P. 467, *note* (1). For *most* read *some*.

P. 489, *line* 16. For *musannifa* read *musannafa*.

P. 490, *line* 1. For Abu 'l-Kasim read al-Kasim.

P. 493, 5 *ab imo*. For *Mandâi* read *al-Mandâi*.

P. 498, 4 *ab imo*. For *was dwelling* read *dwelt*.

P. 527, *line* 11. For *Adûd* read *Adud*.

P. 568. The note (3) does not apply to the text.

P. 584, *line* 19. For *Hânîfa* read *Hanîfa*.

P. 590, *line* 16. For *various* read *many*.

P. 610. I believe that, for *ad-Dubbi* we should read *ad-Dabbi*.

P. 623, *antepenult*. For *Hâmîd* read *Hâmid*.

P. 633, *note* (4). For *me* read *thee*.

P. 649, note (3). The life of Ibn al-Habbâriya is given by Ibn Khallikân.

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# INDEX TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

## PART I.—PROPER NAMES.

N. B. The names preceded by an asterisk are those of persons or places particularly noticed in this volume. The letter *n* placed after the number of the page indicates that the name occurs in a note. In consulting this list, search for the name or surname by which the person was *usually* known, and neglect all prefixes, such as *Abû*, *Ibn*, etc.

A.

B.

D.



E.



F.



G.

L.



M.





N.



O.

## T.

U.



W.



Y.



Z.

## PART II.—NOTES.



END OF VOL. II.



